

CONTENTS

THE COINAGE OF BRITAIN IN THE DARK AGES, <i>by</i> PHILIP V. HILL	1
HEDON NEAR HULL—A NEW NORMAN MINT, <i>by</i> F. ELMORE JONES	28
THE TRAIL OF THE EASTERLINGS, <i>by</i> S. E. RIGOLD	31
THE COINAGES OF HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI IN HENRY'S NAME, <i>by</i> C. A. WHITTON	56, 171, 290
MISCELLANEA:	
AN IRISH FIND OF FORGED SCOTTISH COINS, <i>by</i> D. F. ALLEN	90
HENSTRIDGE, SOMERSET, TREASURE TROVE, 1936, <i>by</i> D. F. ALLEN	91
KINGSLEY TREASURE TROVE, <i>by</i> D. F. ALLEN	91
WELLINGTON, SHROPSHIRE, TREASURE TROVE, 1938, <i>by</i> D. F. ALLEN	92
THORPE HALL, YORKS., TREASURE TROVE, 1939, <i>by</i> D. F. ALLEN	93
ANCIENT BRITISH TIN COIN FROM CANTERBURY, <i>by</i> L. R. A. GROVE	94
OBITUARIES	95, 224
PROCEEDINGS	98, 226, 352
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	114, 242, 365
LIST OF MEMBERS	121, 372
SAXON SCEATTAS AND THEIR PROBLEMS, <i>by</i> PHILIP V. HILL	129
DISTINGUISHING MARKS ON THE LATER ISSUES OF DAVID II, <i>by</i> JAMES DAVIDSON	155
THE REGNAL ATTRIBUTION OF THE INITIAL MARK ROSE AND SUN DIMIDIATED, <i>by</i> F. O. ARNOLD	164
MISCELLANEA:	
A COIN OF THE DOBUNI, <i>by</i> H. DE S. SHORTT	213
A NEW TYPE FOR ALFRED, <i>by</i> C. E. BLUNT	213
THE MEDALLIC JETTON OF PERKIN WARBECK, <i>by</i> C. E. BLUNT	215
A SHIP TYPE OF CHARLES II, <i>by</i> J. D. A. THOMPSON	216
WILLIAM III 1697 HALF-CROWN OF THE YORK MINT WITH AN EDGE INSCRIPTION ANNO REGNI OCTAVO, <i>by</i> E. C. LINTON	220
AN UNPUBLISHED ANGEL OF EDWARD IV, <i>by</i> C. E. BLUNT	221
REVIEWS	222, 351
THE 'STANDARD' AND 'LONDON' SERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS, <i>by</i> PHILIP V. HILL	251
A ROUND HALFPENNY OF HENRY I, <i>by</i> PETER SEABY	280
ROUND HALFPENNIES OF HENRY I, <i>by</i> P. GRIERSON <i>and</i> C. BROOKE	286
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS: THE BROWNE WILLIS CABINET, <i>by</i> J. G. MILNE	333

MISCELLANEA:

ON A FIND OF EARLY BRITISH TIN COINS AT SUNBURY-ON-THAMES, by HOWARD LINECAR	339
THE END OF ROMANO-BRITISH COINAGE RECONSIDERED, by PHILIP V. HILL	340
A NEW TYPE FOR ARCHBISHOP WULFRED, by R. P. MACK	343
A NORMAN PENNY FROM COLCHESTER CASTLE, by R. A. G. CARSON	344
AN UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF HENRY I, TYPE 2, by G. V. DOUBLEDAY	345
SIX COINS OF HENRY I (CLASS XIV) FROM AN UNCERTAIN HOARD, by R. H. DOLLEY	345
COINS OF HENRY I FROM THE BOURNEMOUTH DISTRICT, by H. W. TAFFS	347
A HOARD OF ENGLISH GROATS AND FLEMISH DOUBLE PATARDS FROM NORHAM CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND, by S. E. RIGOLD	348
TWO UNPUBLISHED IRISH COINS, by R. CARLYON-BRITTON	350
INDEX	380

LIST OF PLATES

COINAGE OF THE DARK AGES IN BRITAIN	<i>Facing Page</i> 26
INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH COIN TYPES IN EUROPE PLATES I-II	54
THE COINAGES OF HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI IN HENRY'S NAME:	
PLATE I. SOVEREIGNS OF HENRY VII; OF HENRY VIII (EARLY OBVERSES); FALSE RYAL OF HENRY VIII	88
PLATE II. EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF HENRY VIII (REVERSES)	88
PLATE III. LATER SOVEREIGNS OF HENRY VIII, 1544-7	88
PLATE IV. HALF-SOVEREIGNS OF HENRY VIII, 1544-7 (i)	88
PLATE V. " " " " (ii) AND EDWARD VI	88
PLATE VI. SOVEREIGN, HALF-SOVEREIGNS (iii), EDWARD VI	88
PLATE VII. HALF-SOVEREIGNS (iv), EDWARD VI	88
PLATE VIII. CROWNS OF HENRY VIII, 1526-44 (i)	212
PLATE IX. CROWNS (ii) HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI; HALF-CROWNS (i) HENRY VIII	212
PLATE X. HALF-CROWNS (ii) HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI	212
PLATE XI. HENRY VIII, ANGELS	212
PLATE XII. " HALF-ANGELS, GEORGE NOBLES AND HALF	212
PLATE XIII. " FIRST AND SECOND COINAGE GROATS, LONDON	212
PLATE XIV. " FIRST AND SECOND COINAGES, GROATS TO FARTHINGS, LONDON	212
PLATE XV. HENRY VIII, ECCLESIASTICAL COINS (i)	212
PLATE XVI. " " " (ii)	212
PLATE XVII. " " " (iii)	212
PLATE XVIII. BASE COINAGE, TOWER AND SOUTHWARK TESTOONS AND GROATS (i)	332
PLATE XIX. BASE COINAGE, TOWER AND SOUTHWARK GROATS (ii), EDWARD VI	332
PLATE XX. BASE COINAGE GROATS, CANTERBURY AND YORK, 1544-51	332
PLATE XXI. BASE COINAGE HALF-GROATS, TOWER, SOUTHWARK, CANTER- BURY AND YORK, 1544-51	332
PLATE XXII. BASE COINAGE, PENCE AND HALFPENCE	332
PLATE XXIII. BRISTOL (i) GOLD AND TESTOONS, 1546-9	332
PLATE XXIV. " (ii) GROATS TO HALFPENCE, SHILLING OF EDWARD VI, 1546-9	332
SAXON SCEATTAS AND THEIR PROBLEMS	
PLATE I. SAXON SCEATTAS: PROTOTYPES AND 'SCEATTA-LIKE' IMITATIONS	154
PLATE II. SAXON THRYMSAS AND SCEATTAS	154
PLATE III. SAXON SCEATTAS	154
PLATE IV. SCEATTAS AND EARLY PENNIES	154
DISTINGUISHING MARKS ON THE LATER ISSUES OF DAVID II	160
EXHIBITS	234
THE 'STANDARD' AND 'LONDON' SERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS	
PLATE I. 'STANDARD' SERIES (i)	278
PLATE II. 'STANDARD' SERIES (ii)	278
PLATE III. 'LONDON' SERIES (i)	278
PLATE IV. 'LONDON' SERIES (ii)	278
EXHIBITS AND MISCELLANEA	346

THE COINAGE OF BRITAIN IN THE DARK AGES

By PHILIP V. HILL

THERE has recently been a revival of the controversy between those authorities who deny the need for coinage in the Dark Ages after the middle of the fifth century and those who contend that the practice of striking coins scarcely ceased, in one part of the country or another, from the end of the Roman occupation to the seventh century, when the Nordic settlers began to issue their first thrymsas on the Merovingian pattern. The study of barbarous imitations has convinced me that the weight of evidence belongs to the latter view, that there was without a shadow of doubt a series of pieces which can be attributed to the Romano-Britons in the Dark Ages and which continued to be produced at least until conditions became so desperate (during the latter half of the sixth century?) that a monetary medium of exchange was no longer necessary or even practicable.

To provide a background for our researches into the coinage of the Dark Ages in Britain it will be necessary to describe the little we already know of the history and social conditions of the country from the last years of the Roman occupation to the first years of the "Saxon" settlements—a period of nearly two centuries. We have but few contemporary authorities upon whom to draw—the author of the *Vita Germani*, probably Constantius Presbyter, who wrote c. 480 and who therefore may be relied upon for the fifth century; St. Patrick, whose *Epistle to the Christians subject to Coroticus* gives a good idea of conditions of north-west Britain in the mid-fifth century; Gildas, the British monk, who composed his *De Excidio Britanniae* c. 546 and who may be used for his own times, although rather too hysterical to be trustworthy as a general historian; and the *Historia Brittonum* (date uncertain),¹ which does give us a few facts amidst its tangle of fable and legend. From the English side we have even fewer authorities. In his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* Bede follows Gildas very closely for most of the earlier history and is of use only when he arrives at a point nearer his own time (c. 730), while the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the compilation of which was begun by command of Alfred at the close of the ninth century, is very sparse and unreliable for the earlier periods, though sufficiently thorough for Alfred's day. The Greek and Latin authors—"Prosper Tiro", Zosimus, and Constantius Presbyter—can, with the exception of the last-named, be entirely ignored, since their language is often so obscure that they contribute nothing whatever to our knowledge. From all these elements we must attempt a picture, unfortunately anything but complete, of the state of Britain in the Dark Ages.

¹ Some authorities say that it was written during the last quarter of the seventh century and enlarged by Nennius in the ninth; others that it was written by Nennius c. 796 and revised by a certain Samuel of Gwynedd (North Wales) c. 810.

Gildas attributes the misfortunes of the Britons to the continental adventure of Magnus Maximus (usurper in Britain, 383–8), and there is some truth in his opinion, although in point of fact they had begun a century earlier when the first Nordic pirates made their descents upon the east and south coasts. Towards the middle of the fourth century the danger from the northern and western barbarians—Picts from beyond the Wall and Scots from Ireland—started to grow serious, becoming gradually more intensified until 367, when the great Pict War laid waste large areas of the country, cut communications between the towns, and caused the virtual breakdown of the system of defence. It is indeed probable that at this time many of the remoter country-districts lost for ever their veneer of romanization and “went native” again—a grim foretaste of what was to come a century later. Admittedly the pacification of Britain by Count Theodosius (father of Theodosius I) in 368–9 led to a reorganization of the defences which gave to Britain a temporary peace, but within fifteen years discontent among the army caused a Spaniard named Magnus Maximus to usurp the purple in Britain. Soon afterwards, with a view to making a bid for Rome, he invaded Gaul, taking with him as many of the British troops as could be spared. The natural result was a renewal of the barbarian raids, which continued for some years until, towards the end of the century, Stilicho, the energetic and capable Vandal general of Honorius, was placed in command of the defence of Britain in the hope that he would repeat the work of the elder Theodosius thirty years earlier. In this he apparently enjoyed considerable success, but it was only temporary and his pacification of Britain lasted less than ten years. In 402 the attack of Alaric and the Visigoths upon Italy necessitated the withdrawal by Stilicho of a British legion to defend the frontiers nearer home, while four years later a confederacy of Suevi, Alani, and other German tribes crossed the Rhine and invaded Gaul, almost cutting the communications between that province and Britain. Such was the state of affairs on the Continent when, disgusted at Stilicho’s failure to relieve the province from recent attacks by the barbarians, the British army mutinied. First they appointed a certain Marcus as emperor, only to murder him almost immediately afterwards; then they saluted one Gratian as emperor, but he lasted only about four months; finally, a private soldier, Constantine, seized power and set himself up as Constantine III (407). Not content with authority in this island, he assembled many of the remaining British troops and sailed for Gaul in an attempt to succeed where Maximus had failed. Although he managed to survive for nearly four years, until his capture and execution in 411, he wasted time in securing Spain and in conducting a fruitless campaign against Honorius’ armies on the Rhine instead of applying himself to the more useful task of driving the barbarians out of Gaul. Meanwhile, the Britons grew more and more impatient of their protégé’s failure, so that eventually in 410 they expelled the officials whom he had appointed and set up their own administration, taking upon themselves the responsibility

for the defence of the island. The famous rescript of Honorius of the same year justified their conduct. It is possible that they organized a provincial league, similar to that which had recently been organized in Armorica (Brittany), and appointed their own military officers for defence purposes, while at the same time recognizing Honorius as emperor and themselves as citizens of the Empire. What is commonly known as "The Withdrawal of the Romans", therefore, was not a single event but a combination of events—the withdrawal of most of the forces by Maximus and Constantine III, the expulsion of the latter's officials by the Britons themselves, and the rescript of Honorius ordering them to take measures for their own defence. It is likely that for a time municipal government survived in the towns but the country districts must have relapsed very quickly into the native tribal system under local magnates, such as that which had existed before the Romans came. That these chieftains were the forerunners of the sixth-century *reges* whom Gildas censures so severely can hardly be doubted.

The last edition of the *Notitia Dignitatum*, an official handbook of the early fifth century, gives a good idea of the imperial defences at the time when it was published, which was probably before 407, though some authorities would bring it down to c. 428. It is a noteworthy fact that the *Notitia* does not mention the south-west or Wales, although the Scots are known to have been ravaging those parts at that time, as is shown by the account in the old Irish chronicles of the death of Niall "of the Nine Hostages", an Irish king, in the British (= English) Channel c. 405, and by the expulsion of a band of Scots from North Wales by Cunedda of Strathclyde just before 400.¹ It is therefore possible that even at this date the defence of the districts of Wales and south-west Britain was already in the hands of the local inhabitants and that, if the expedition of Cunedda can be taken as a pointer, it was carried out by British chieftains leading British armies.

The account in the *Vita Germani* of the first visit of St. Germanus to Britain in 429 is important as painting for us a fairly adequate picture of the social conditions twenty years after the "Withdrawal". Pope Celestine sent Germanus, formerly a successful soldier and at that time Bishop of Auxerre, to Britain to suppress the heresy of Pelagius, with its denial of original sin, which had gained a firm hold upon the Britons. On his arrival he called a synod at Verulamium, where he and the champions of orthodoxy thrashed out the question with the heretics. We are told that the Pelagians were supported by men of wealth and standing (presumably local magnates and chieftains), all dressed in costly apparel. From this account several facts emerge. It is clear that Verulamium must have been some distance from the danger-areas of the "Saxon" advance or a synod would hardly have been held there: obviously the south-east

¹ Recent research has placed the date of Cunedda about fifty years later, but this probability does not affect the argument in any way.

was still mainly intact and the walls of its cities had not yet been destroyed. Nor were the Britons yet reduced to the precarious and poverty-stricken existence of a century later: their chieftains were rich and powerful and they themselves had the time to indulge in theological arguments. Such security, prosperity, and leisure can only have been the result of their hitherto successful defence against the outer barbarians. But while the synod was in progress news came that a formidable alliance of Picts and Saxons had invaded the province and had penetrated even to the north midlands. Doubtless remembering the military reputation which Germanus had enjoyed in his youth, the Britons asked for his assistance and he, massing a vast army, defeated the barbarians in the famous "Hallelujah" Victory which gave to Britain another term of peace from her enemies. Eighteen years later we find St. Germanus again in this country, not only to combat the Pelagian heresy, which had sprung up once more, but also to help in a military capacity against the barbarians. This time, however, no victory took place, so far as we know, for Britain, with her powers of resistance gradually sapped by the repeated incursions, was in a far worse condition than before.

The second visit of St. Germanus brings us to the time of the semi-legendary "Vortigern",¹ a king or chieftain of, possibly, South Wales whose short-sightedness in calling in the aid of the Jutish pirates against the Picts and Scots in 449 led, according to the legend, to the first Nordic settlements on British soil. It is not easy to disentangle fact from fancy in the more or less apocryphal accounts and traditions of the early "Saxon" conquests, but nevertheless we can get from them a general idea of the state of the island in the mid-fifth century. It would appear that two rival factions were in process of formation: one a native "Celtic" party, led by Vortigern, and the other a "Roman" party, formed a few years later, probably to combat the disastrous effects of the former's policy, by Ambrosius Aurelianus, Romano-British patrician and "modest descendant of emperors". Far from uniting for the sake of defence, however, the two factions were constantly at war with each other and facilitated the barbarian advance by their dissensions, although Ambrosius and his followers, unlike their rivals, seem also to have made some attempt to stem the "Saxon" flood.

By the end of the century it appears that the supremacy of the "Roman" party under Artorius (Arthur) was complete, and his victory over the Teutons at Mons Badonicus (Bath?) in the early years of the following century (516 is the traditional date) gave to southern Britain a period of peace which was to last for thirty or forty years. The invaders were forced to retreat to the parts which they had already conquered and as a result started to consolidate and to organize into kingdoms Essex, East Anglia, and other areas in eastern Britain. Meanwhile, while the south was enjoying a respite from

¹ "Vortigern" is the name given to him by Nennius: Gildas or a later interpolator calls him "Gurthrigernus" and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* "Wyrtegeorn".

attacks the north was enduring constant strife between the Briton on the one hand and the Pict, Scot, and Angle on the other.

From Gildas, the British monk whose *De Excidio Britanniae* is our main authority for the first half of the sixth century, we can learn of the state of Britain towards the close of the thirty years' peace, just before the invaders made their second and finally successful attempt to conquer the western districts. Gildas divides his book, which he wrote c. 546, into two parts: (i) a short, rather fanciful history of Britain to the beginning of the sixth century, and (ii) a letter addressed to five British kings whose iniquitous ways he felt himself called upon to denounce. From this letter (for we may discount his "history" altogether) we learn that the land still remaining in British hands had by this time crystallized into various native kingdoms, undoubtedly the result of the division of the remoter country-districts into tribal "cantons" a century or more earlier. Gildas enumerates five such kingdoms from North Wales (Gwynedd) to Devon and Cornwall (Damnonia), but we know that these were not all and that there were seven or eight others in the north-west, of which the most northerly was Strathclyde with its capital at Dumbarton (Alclyde).

Not only does Gildas give us an idea of the political organization of the British-held parts of the island in the middle of the sixth century, but he also mentions two coins which, in spite of their archaic nomenclature, "denarius" and "obol",¹ must have been in current use or at least recognizable to his readers. It has been conjectured that by "denarius" he means the clipped siliqua, so familiar a sight in late silver hoards (Fig. 1). These siliquae, however, are most unlikely to have been in continuous use since their manufacture in the fourth century, for they nearly always appear in very fine condition or even in mint state, so that the only conclusion to which we can come is that they were not circulated but treasured for their metal value alone, serving as bullion until their owners were forced to hide them in the earth on the approach of some barbarian raiders. From time to time hoards are found composed of siliquae clipped so closely to the type that no trace of either obverse or reverse legend remains. We can imagine that this was the result of persistent clipping, as the metal scarcity grew steadily worse, and that the silver fragments were carefully conserved for future use. By "obol" Gildas quite probably meant the very small copper pieces (*minimi* and "*minimissimi*") which, as we shall see, must have been current in his time. Admittedly obols were originally struck in silver, but it is not altogether unreasonable to suppose that the word was used by Gildas with much the same meaning as we use "stiver" or "brass farthing". (We must beware of imagining that the "*minimissimi*" were called "obols" by Gildas or his contemporaries!) Yet, since the obol was the smallest

¹ In his abuse of the priests he says: "*Uno sane perditio denario moestos, et ad unum inquisitum laetos*" (§ 66) and, in the same section, "*Egenis eleemosynam esse dandum summis e labiis praedicantes, sed ipsi vel obolum non dantes*". Later he remarks, "*Ille [i.e. Judas Iscariot] triginta argenteis venalem habuit omnium Salvatorem, vos vel uno obolo*" (§ 107).

silver coin in most Greek states, so in sixth-century Britain the term can be equated to the smallest coin in use, which was the tiny "minimissimus".

The final stage in the Anglo-Saxon conquest began with the victory of Ceawlin of Wessex at Deorham in 577, which not only split the Britons of Wales from those of Damnonia but also lost to the Britons the towns of Bath, Gloucester, and Cirencester. An attempt by the Britons to call in Scottish aid in 603 proved unavailing and the combined force was defeated by Æthelfrith of Northumbria at Daegsastan (Dawston in Liddledale?). Ten years later Æthelfrith pressed still farther west and by his victory near Chester drove a wedge between Wales and Strathclyde. In 633 the energetic Cadwallon of Gwynedd brought about a British revival, but it lasted only until his death in battle near Hexham a year later, so that to all intents and purposes the Teutonic supremacy was complete throughout most of the island by the end of the sixth century.

From the closing years of the fourth century onwards the output and modules of the barbarous imitations struck in this country must necessarily have been regulated by two factors, one economic and the other political—the metal scarcity, which gradually became more acute as time went on, and the repeated barbarian raids upon the Continent as well as upon this country. About 385, when the economic situation began to get serious, a small coin of $\text{Æ}4$ module was introduced (Fig. 2) and it soon became the staple bronze denomination of the Late Empire. It is reasonable to suppose that after that time no barbarous imitations would be produced in a module larger than that of the official $\text{Æ}4$ until, as we shall see, larger pieces were revived—at least in this country—probably towards the end of the sixth century. Next, about the time of the death of Theodosius I in 395 the Gallic mints were closed, thus limiting the supply of coin to Britain from the nearest and most convenient sources. Then, in 405, a great barbarian attack upon Gaul almost cut the lines of communication between Britain and the Continent and resulted in the permanent occupation by the invaders of large areas of Gaul: the supply of coin to Britain was thus further impaired. Finally, in 410 the Britons set up their own provincial administration and, while recognizing the sovereignty of Honorius, virtually threw off central control.

In such circumstances no very great quantity of coin would have been imported into Britain, especially after 410, although after a term of years, large numbers of Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$ arriving more or less sporadically, could, and did, accumulate here. At first, therefore, the Britons would be forced to subsist upon their existing stocks, composed of both current money and earlier obsolete issues, but these were constantly dwindling by reason of the many hoards which were being buried for safety in the precarious days of the early fifth century. It might be expected that in course of time there would have been attempts at remedying this deficiency by striking (Fig. 3) or casting (Fig. 4) imitations of the Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$, but such imitations are

rare in this country,¹ although common enough on the Continent, especially in Spain, so that it is possible that large-scale copying was not practised in Britain until considerably later in the fifth century, when the existing stocks were beginning to fail. Yet, as the account of the first visit of St. Germanus suggests, Britain was by no means impoverished even twenty years after the "Withdrawal", and the metal shortage, which is so very definitely attested by hoards buried at that time, must have been offset to a large extent by considerable prosperity in other spheres, such as industry and agriculture: indeed, the well-dressed supporters of Pelagius may have been "capitalists" who had accumulated into their own hands much of the wealth of the rapidly disintegrating society.

The list of hoards, which is given as an appendix to this paper, is divided into three periods according to burial-dates. The first covers those buried during the first half of the fifth century; the second, those buried during the time of metal-scarcity; and the third, one of probably late date, perhaps towards the end of the sixth century. In addition a fourth section gives a list of hoards of clipped siliquae. Incidentally, the hoards of Period II are arranged within the section roughly in chronological sequence according as a study of their composition suggests an early, medium, or late date in the period of metal-scarcity.

Owing to the intensification of the barbarian raids in the first years of the fifth century there was naturally a vast number of hoards buried at that time. Of these a small selection is given in the Appendix, and it is a noticeable fact that they nearly always end with coins of Arcadius and Honorius, in greater or less quantity, though occasionally an earlier emperor is the last to be represented. Moreover, they also contain a few worn third-century radiates with, sometimes, third- or fourth-century pieces, orthodox or barbarous, clipped to $\text{Æ}4$ module (Fig. 5). Obviously, then, we are to see in these deposits the first stages of the metal crisis which was to grow to such alarming proportions half a century later. In two hoards, those from Kidding-ton and Wiveliscombe, barbarous imitations with stylistic affinities with the seventh-century Saxon sceattas were noticed. Of such imitations as these (which are presumably late in date) we shall have occasion to speak further. All that we can say here is that their incidence in these early hoards must be regarded as a mere coincidence of style rather than as a suggestion of lateness of date for the deposition of the hoards. Those which contain imitations of $\text{Æ}4$ of Theodosius I and his sons may naturally be attributed to slightly later dates in the period than the others, since we must always allow a certain length of time to elapse after the first appearance of an issue before it can become sufficiently familiar to serve as a prototype for barbarous

¹ e.g. the hoards from Cirencester, Laxton, and Richborough (I and III) each furnish one Theodosian imitation, the Nobottle hoard three, the Kiddington hoard five, the Wiveliscombe II seven, and the Icklingham II eleven. The Richborough II hoard, of which two-thirds, and the Weymouth Bay, of which over one-third of the copies were of Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$, were notable exceptions.

copies. A similar "time-lag" may perhaps have been in operation in the case of coins circulating in outlying districts. Those of Arcadius and Honorius, for example, may have taken some few years to reach the remoter parts of Wales, the west country, and the north, and this probability has a considerable bearing upon the date of hoards from those regions which contain such coins in any quantity, especially at a time when official issues were arriving in this country only sporadically. The increasing scarcity of metal is shown very clearly by the Kiddington and Nobottle hoards, both of which seem to have been buried at about the same time—towards the middle of Period I. Already, as the Kiddington hoard proves, the reduction by clipping of $\text{Æ}3$ to $\text{Æ}4$ module had begun, while the ten blanks in the same hoard emphasize still farther the shortage of metal; they must have been intended as flans for barbarous copies to supplement the dwindling stocks of official coins. The Nobottle hoard contained two very interesting orthodox overstrikes, both Theodosian types overstruck (obverse on reverse) on other contemporary types; one on a "Victoria Augg." (one Victory) and the other a "Salus Reipublicae" on a "Victoria Augg." cut in half.

We may here consider various other features of the coinage during the last years of Period I and the first half of Period II. It has been noted that certain barbarous imitations are struck on flans of a distinctly yellowish colour. Such pieces are often of a very debased style and technique (Fig. 6), quite unlike those copies, both large-size and minimi, which are almost certainly contemporary with their prototypes. In fact, one would unhesitatingly postulate a late date for them on grounds of style alone. There is little doubt that the source of supply for their flans was the orichalcum sestertii and dupondii of the Early Empire¹ hammered out, often into the thinness of a wafer, and roughly cut up with a chisel or shears, usually without any regard for neatness of execution. One sestertius would in that way produce the metal for quite a substantial number of new coins at a time when metal was at an ever-increasing premium.²

The same conditions which almost certainly produced these orichalcum pieces must also have been responsible for the use of clipped coins, fragments of orthodox or barbarous pieces, and half- (Fig. 8) or quarter-coins, occasionally restruck with new types (Fig. 9), some of which are included in late (post-Roman) hoards. Very often these fragments are just roughly broken (Figs. 10, 11), but sometimes they are neatly shaped and rounded. A typical example of the latter was in the Worlebury Camp hoard. It was part of a coin of Magnentius or

¹ "At some date—we cannot say quite when—it might have become profitable to pick over abandoned sites for the metal they might contain" (H. Mattingly in *Antiquity*, 1943, p. 163). This must have been the reason why so many late hoards contain early orthodox and barbarous pieces and would also account for the availability of earlier $\text{Æ}1$ and $\text{Æ}2$ for conversion into barbarous minimi in post-Roman days.

² It must not be imagined that all such pieces are of post-Roman date, as I have noted "contemporary" barbarous radiates the flans for which have been produced in the same way (Fig. 7).

Decentius with Chi-Rho reverse and it had been chisel-cut in the shape of a hexagon to $\text{Æ}4$ size (Fig. 12). Although the late barbarous minimi of which the hoard was largely composed were very badly worn, this piece was in excellent condition—a fact which (if the hoard is as late as it seems to be) vitiates the possibility that the coin from which it had been cut had been in continuous use from the mid-fourth century. The Richborough minim hoard (Richborough III) also contained an interesting fragment. It was part of a Constantinian “Beata Tranquillitas” which had been neatly cut to the shape of the altar, the inscription on which (VOT/IS/XX) was almost intact. The obverse, however, had been restruck with a crude radiate head, but so efficiently as to obliterate any trace of an undertype (Fig. 13).

Then, again, there are the very crude barbarous copies, usually of fairly small module, the flans for which had been clipped with shears from sheet-metal (Fig. 14). They are so thin that one can only conclude that they represent yet another attempt to conserve metal and so must be attributed to the period, probably in the latter half of the fifth century, when it was becoming increasingly scarce.

A study of hoards proves the constant use of barbarous radiates throughout the fourth and fifth centuries—a continuity of circulation which implies a continuity of manufacture. Barbarous “Fel. Temp.” copies, too, must have enjoyed a considerably longer life than their prototypes, and there exist imitations of radiates, “Fel. Temp.” and even of Constantinian coins (Figs. 15–17) struck at $\text{Æ}4$ module which exhibit a similarity of treatment and style to that of the late Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$ copies. If, then, as seems likely, barbarous radiates and “Fel. Temp.” copies were continuously struck during the fourth and early fifth centuries, the recurrence of their types in post-Roman days is made more feasible than it would otherwise have been.

By the middle of the fifth century the political and economic situation had grown steadily worse—if, indeed, we may judge from the account of St. Germanus’ second visit in 447—so that the period of acute metal-scarcity may then be said to begin.¹ For the Britons it never came to an end, as we shall see, and we may postulate that after some considerable time (perhaps a century) they had no further need for a monetary medium of exchange.

Towards the end of Period I or at the beginning of Period II may be dated the Weymouth Bay hoard, with its large percentage (33 per cent. of the total number of barbarous, which, however, are not numerous) of Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$ copies. Nevertheless, the fact that the hoard did contain so many late imitations is in itself sufficient to date it well after the “Withdrawal”. As in other early fifth-century hoards of Period I, third-century radiates, both orthodox and barbarous, were again in circulation, though in rather larger quantities, and this

¹ Gildas, however, states quite definitely (*op. cit.*, § 21) that after the failure of the Britons’ appeal to Aetius in 446 and their consequent determination to defend themselves a period of temporary prosperity set in. But there is no reflection of this in the hoards of the latter half of the fifth century.

would suggest that these earlier pieces were beginning to be used at this time to help supplement the dwindling stocks of late bronze. Two barbarous overstrikes in the hoard show us other methods of increasing the quantity of Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$ in circulation, though, of course, we must remember that overstriking does not add to the number of coins current, but only alters their types. One, a barbarous "*Salus Reipublicae*", had been overstruck on part of a coin of ?Valens and another on a piece with reverse either Two-Victories or Camp-gate (by which the report means, presumably, the rare "*Victoria Auggg.*" $\text{Æ}4$ which preceded the commoner "single Victory" type or the "*Spes Romanorum*" $\text{Æ}4$ of Maximus and Victor). Another interesting hoard which may be dated to this period (latter half of the fifth century) is that from Redenhall, Norfolk, probably c. 460. This hoard is quite definitely post-Roman, as is evidenced in no uncertain manner by a minimus (Fig. 18) copied from a type, the Christogram, which, with a "*Salus Reipublicae*" legend, was first struck by Arcadius and which was in more general circulation on the Continent about the middle years of the fifth century. This piece also shows stylistic affinities of the obverse head with Saxon sceattas, and it is perhaps significant that in the early years of the next century, not long after the suggested date for the deposition of the hoard, the kingdom of East Anglia, according to Saxon tradition, began to take shape. At Redenhall, as at Weymouth, we have an instance of the recirculation in fairly large numbers of third-century coins, both orthodox and barbarous. Minimi, radiate and diademed, were in this hoard, but none of them fell to less than 0.30 in. in diameter.

Although the political situation improved considerably for the Britons of the west and south as a result of Mons Badonicus, the economic situation on the contrary went from bad to worse—at least judging from the hoards buried about, or soon after, 500. The modules of the minimi, both radiate and diademed (Figs. 19–21), gradually decreased until, probably some time during the first half of the sixth century, the diademed minimi reached the ridiculously tiny size of 0.10 in. in diameter. Some hoards consist of radiate minimi exclusively, or almost so, with few if any orthodox pieces; such are the Hayle, Mere, Perran-ar-worthal, and Whitchurch hoards (all, incidentally, from the south-west) which contain minimi ranging from 0.25 in. to 0.50 in. in diameter. The part of the Whitchurch hoard in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, includes six orthodox pieces of Victorinus and Tetricus I, of which one had been clipped to $\text{Æ}4$ module and one was an irregularly shaped fragment, as well as a lump of unworked bronze and a small rectangular plate of bronze. All these testify to a scarcity of metal which was not the case during the third century, so that it would hardly be reasonable to attribute this hoard a date more or less contemporary with the orthodox radiates in it. Furthermore, the minimi are generally of quite a different style from earlier radiate minimi, such as those in the Verulamium Theatre hoard (c. 300): they are cruder in design, rougher in execution, with

none of the neatness in either art or technique, which distinguishes the earlier pieces. The late date of the hoards from Whitchurch and the other places is indicated only too clearly by their extreme poverty and by the stylistic imperfections of their contents.

The tiny "minimissimi" from Bourton-on-the-Water,¹ Lydney, and a few other sites, with types derived from the fourth-century "Fel. Temp. Reparatio" (legionary and horseman) issue, are undoubtedly very late, perhaps even as late as the middle of the sixth century (Fig. 22).

"At Lydney the 'minimi' were associated with the Temple precincts of the god Nodens—a fact which itself seems to point to a Britain clear of the supervision of the 'most Christian' emperor Theodosius the Great. The extreme scarcity of metal, attested by the minute pieces, cannot be understood either in the Roman period or just outside it. The province must have been starved, and starved for some long time. This coinage, then, . . . should belong to a time when the use of the bronze left by the Romans was beginning to be exhausted—perhaps when Britain . . . was at the very ebb of her vitality."²

The age of Gildas at the close of the thirty years' peace after the victory of Mons Badonicus seems, therefore, to correspond with this picture of a devitalized Britain, hemmed in on all sides by enemies and with her reserves of metal exhausted, so that it may well be that these tiny debased "minimissimi" were the last coins ever to be struck by the Romano-Britons.

The Richborough Radiate (Richborough IV) hoard of 1931 was by far the most interesting discovery of recent years and, in so far as the dating of barbarous imitations is concerned, ranked in importance with the hoard from the theatre at Verulamium. The presence in it of two very distinctive kinds of copies serves to argue a late date for its deposition. First, about a score of pieces with radiate obverses but with reverses derived from fourth-century types (mostly "Fel. Temp. Reparatio" (Fig. 23) and "Gloria Romanorum")—that is to say, copied from prototypes between 50 and 100 years apart—suggest at once that they could not have been contemporary imitations: otherwise the die-engraver would not have failed to make use of a diademed and not a radiate obverse. The conclusion is that they must have been produced at a time far removed from either prototype—and, one might add, by people to whom the relationship of obverse head and reverse type in the originals was but imperfectly understood. Secondly, this suggestion of a late date was supported by the presence of another class of imitations, so numerous as to compose no less than 11 per cent. of the total number of recognizable copies in the hoard (Fig. 24). Their style and fabric bore very close resemblances to the Saxon thrymsas and sceattas, so much so that the conclusion

¹ It is significant that the reverse design of one of these "minimissimi" (X) is paralleled by the design on certain late fourth- and fifth-century pottery from the same site and from Silchester: cf. also a similar type on a coin from the admittedly late Richborough Radiate hoard (*N.N.M.* 80, Pl. x. 5) (cf. Fig. 24).

² H. Mattingly in *Antiquity*, 1943, p. 164.

was reached that "the artists of the thrymsas and sceattas must . . . have seen and handled coins similar to those in the hoard".¹ On these grounds, then, the burial of the hoard has been assigned to a date very close to 600, or at least to some time during the latter half of the sixth century.

Apart from the "sceatta-like" imitations no fewer than four other classes of barbarous copies are recognizable in the Richborough hoard: (i) radiates which are contemporary, or nearly so, with their prototypes (Fig. 25); (ii) radiate minimi of early ("contemporary") style (Fig. 26); (iii) large-size copies which from their style and art seem to have been produced at a considerably later date than those of class (i) (Fig. 27); (iv) similar minimi (Fig. 28). The few orthodox coins in the hoard and the earlier imitations were in too good a condition to have been in continuous use since the third and fourth centuries, so that the heterogeneity of the hoard can be explained only by the possibility, mentioned above, that the recirculation of such pieces was the result of their rediscovery at a later date or, as may have been the case here, of loot captured by the invaders.

If a very late date for the hoard is correct, how can we reconcile it with the tradition that Kent fell into Jutish hands as early as the mid-fifth century? Were the survivors of the Britons in Kent still using a momentary medium of exchange even after a century and more of subjection to their conquerors? The "sceatta-like" imitations may provide an answer to these problems. These pieces, both from the Richborough hoard and elsewhere, are mostly larger than minim size and at first sight it would seem that metal was by now in better supply than it had been hitherto. But the style and fabric of the "sceatta-like" copies strongly suggest that they were produced, not by the Romano-Britons, but by the "Saxon" settlers at a time when their final victories over the Britons had consolidated their hold over most of the province and when their more settled ways of life were beginning to make them realize the need of a coinage of their own. Having recognized such a need, they would in all probability use coins dug up from the earth² or captured from the unfortunate Britons, supplementing them with copies in bronze of their own making. Therefore, if we once admit the Jutish origin of the "sceatta-like" pieces of the Richborough hoard, we shall have no difficulty in reconciling its late date with the tradition of the fifth-century conquest of Kent.

Unfortunately, the Richborough IV hoard is the only one which can be assigned at all definitely to Period III, so that any conclusions which we may draw from it cannot as yet be adequately checked. Nevertheless, one point is certain—that "sceatta-like" imitations occur in sufficient quantities elsewhere to warrant our considering them as a definite class (Figs. 29-31). This hypothesis is supported

¹ D. F. Allen in *N.N.M.*, 80, Appx. B, p. 116.

² The Saxon tradition of buried Roman hoards is voiced in the entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 418: cf. Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 2.

by their very distinctive style and fabric, which are completely different from those of the imitations produced by the Britons at any time during their long tradition of copying. Apart from that, if they are as late as they really seem to be, the possibility of an economic revival on the part of the Britons after the period of acute metal scarcity, with the result that they began again to strike coins larger than the Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$, cannot possibly be admitted. Furthermore, the provenances of these "sceatta-like" pieces are, with very few exceptions, confined to the south and east of a line from the Severn estuary to the Humber. It must surely be more than a coincidence that this area is roughly the same as the distribution area of the majority of the Saxon sceattas¹ and also the district in early Saxon England most likely to have been influenced first by the civilizing tendencies of cross-Channel trade.

In Period III may possibly also be placed the rare coins with radiate obverses which do not have any definite affinity with sceattas but which are of a "late" appearance with, often, attempts at entirely original and un-Roman compositions on the reverses (Figs. 32, 33). This divergence from Roman prototypes, taken together with their style and the fact that a score or so were in the Richborough IV hoard, seems to point to a date well outside the Roman period.

One class of coins has so far been omitted from our study of Dark Age coinage—the problematical group generally known as the "Carausius II" group (Fig. 34). These pieces, struck at $\text{Æ}3$ module, have on the obverse a crude diademed head with a barbarized version of "Domino Carausio Caes." (in one example the "Caesar's" name is Censeris) and on the reverse the legionary and horseman or emperor in galley types of the "Fel. Temp." series but with a legend which embodies a Constantinian name. Sir Arthur Evans² first put forward the theory that the then newly discovered "Carausius II" coin from Richborough was struck by a colleague of Constantine III. Since Evans wrote, five other examples have come to light, two of them overstruck on earlier coins, and recently³ Dr. Sutherland has reconsidered the evidence. He concluded that for several reasons the coins could not have been struck as late as the time of Constantine III: (i) their modules are invariably superior to those of the official $\text{Æ}4$ issues, which since their inception must have regulated the modules of all subsequent imitations; (ii) overstriking occurs on two of the coins and if such overstriking had been employed in the early fifth century it would have been done on the contemporary $\text{Æ}4$ and not on larger pieces; (iii) the title of Caesar, which appears on at least

¹ See Sutherland in *Num. Chron.*, 1942, pp. 67-9. The provenances are: Canterbury and Richborough (Kent), Bermondsey, Verulamium (Herts.), Asthall, Kiddington, and Wood Eaton (Oxon.), Castor, Higham Ferrers, and Astrop (Northants.), Colchester (Essex), Icklingham (Suffolk), Redenhall and Caister St. Edmund (Norfolk), South Witham (Lincs.), Worlebury Camp and Wiveliscombe (Som.), Driffield (Yorks.), and Corstopitum (Northumb.). Of these sites the only ones which do not fall within the sceatta distribution area are Driffield and Corstopitum.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1887, pp. 191-219.

³ *Ibid.*, 1945, pp. 125-33.

three of the six coins, lapsed after Julian (355–60) and, although it may still have continued on random later imitations of, say, Julian or Constantius Gallus, its use on coins of definite rulers, such as Evans regarded “Carausius II”, cannot be later than the official use of the



title; (iv) the prototypes are mid-fourth century and for that reason the reverse legends, *CONSTAN*, *CONSTATI*, &c. (which replace the normal “*Fel. Temp.*” legend) would more naturally be influenced by the names of Constantius II or Constans than by that of Constantine III who reigned half a century later. To these four reasons may be added a fifth: the similarity in style and fabric of the “*Carausius II*” group to many of the “*Fel. Temp.*” overstrikes, which are without doubt to be assigned to the 350’s, may be used to give additional

evidence to the theory of its earlier date.¹ On those grounds, therefore, we shall have to omit these coins from our considerations.

Under whose authority was this currency issued after the termination of the Roman domination? Sutherland² has regarded the "Carausius II" and "Censeris" coins as the products of petty local rulers in this country who grasped at partial autonomy during the troubles of the Magnentian usurpation and it is not unlikely that the Æ4 from Richborough bearing the name of "Pavunius" or "Pruumus" and with a "Victoria Auggg." reverse was struck in similar circumstances by a local tyrant during the chaos which accompanied the "Withdrawal".³ With this single exception the coins which may probably be attributed to the Dark Ages, if they show any obverse name at all, have merely barbarized versions of the name of the ruler who struck the prototypes. We can only guess at the issuing authority (if one existed at all) who, in the years immediately following the "Withdrawal", was probably the municipal magistrates and, as time went on, the tribal chieftains or local magnates. Later, during the sixth century, the coins must have been struck under the authority of the *tyranni* of the petty kingdoms against whom Gildas fulminates, while, if we are correct in assigning the "sceatta-like" imitations to the English invaders, we can imagine that it was their own chieftains who permitted the striking of coins. Two points are certain—that with few exceptions⁴ barbarous imitations had but a local circulation, each district looking after its own monetary needs and that, whether or not they were produced under the aegis of persons in authority, they were executed by individuals, working either singly or in groups at unofficial mints, who more often than not had little or no knowledge of the technique of coin-production or even of the Latin tongue.

It must not be imagined that the opinions put forward in this paper are universally accepted. There is a small but influential opposition who hold the view that Dark Age coinage was non-existent and who postulate a break in this island's monetary system for more than two centuries from the mid-fifth to the late seventh century. This school of thought bases this hypothesis mainly on archaeological evidence, or, rather, on the lack of it, and on the fact that archaeologically "minimissimi" and other kinds of coins to which we have given a late date are found associated with coins and other objects of Roman date. However this may be, it is as well to keep an open (one might say, unbiased) mind when dealing with such a thorny subject as this: it is extremely unwise to dogmatize even though we may be con-

¹ I recently came across three further examples in Mr. Fred Baldwin's collection. Two support Sutherland's hypothesis regarding the name on the reverse in a most remarkable way, reading **CONSTAVS C F I** and **CONSII** [] **VSI** respectively—*Num. Chron.*, 1948, pp. 91-3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 132-3.

³ *Ibid.*, 1934, p. 309, where Salisbury, however, suggests that it was produced by Priamus, a local ruler on the Rhine.

⁴ e.g. coins sharing the same dies from Lincoln and Norfolk and, more amazing still, from Richborough and Kenchester (Herefordshire).

vinced of the soundness of our own arguments. We should be prepared to alter our opinions and even to make concessions to the other side if necessary.

Nevertheless, it may be as well to reply here to the main arguments of our opponents, and we shall begin by considering the validity of numismatic evidence in general. Coins can often be deceptive witnesses for dating and must be used extremely cautiously, especially late Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$. We have seen in the case of the Redenhall hoard that the date of its burial cannot be determined by its latest orthodox coin. If this can happen with a hoard, it is equally possible that it can happen in dating archaeological sites and strata. Time-lag, due to wear, must be added to the length of time a coin takes to travel from its mint to outlying districts. We know, too, from hoards that obsolete bronze coins were in use, probably as small change, for many years after they had officially been withdrawn from circulation, e.g. third-century antoniniani (often clipped to the required module) were circulating side by side with Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$. All these factors should make us more cautious about accepting as final the evidence of individual coins for dating purposes. The evidence of the bath-house at Canterbury, which the opposing school of thought accepts as conclusive, can hardly, in these circumstances, be made the basis of any dogmatic assertions. Here "minimissimi" (which I assign tentatively to the Dark Ages) were found in association with mid-fourth-century pieces in what was apparently a fourth-century layer. From this it was argued that, if these tiny coins are later than the fourth or early fifth century, it is inconceivable that no pieces of the intervening period were found to bridge the gap: therefore, *all* "minimissimi" are fourth-century! Why, it was asked, should the users of the baths drop coins *c.* 370 and their successors not lose any money until *c.* 500? The answer is in our foregoing remarks—and in the fact that "minimissimi" of 0.10 in. or 0.20 in. in diameter could easily slip from an upper stratum into a lower through the cracks in the earth. And, in any case, would the baths have actually been in use by Romano-Britons fifty years after the English occupation had begun?

We have seen that there is little literary evidence to support our theory, but what there is fits in very well. Constantius Presbyter's description of the wealth of Britain soon after the "Withdrawal" is incompatible with the numismatic evidence if we are to believe that such impoverished hoards as the Bermondsey, Worlebury Camp, and Richborough III were buried in Roman times. More than a century after St. Germanus' first visit Gildas speaks of a "denarius" and an "obol". If coins had ceased to be used by the mid-fifth century, these terms would have meant nothing to his readers a century later and Gildas would hardly have jeopardized his reputation for learning by using obscure language.

The "early" school has claimed that barter replaced coins by about the middle of the fifth century and in this they may be partly correct. It is quite understandable that in the difficult conditions which

prevailed in those days the more primitive medium should tend to reassert itself. Nevertheless, the use of barter does not necessarily exclude *completely* the use of coins, as is shown by the fact that coins, albeit few in number, are yielded by country villas where barter seems to have been the usual medium of exchange. Why should not both have been carried on simultaneously?

Turning to the evidence of individual coins and classes of coins, we find that the numismatic evidence is all in favour of the continuation of coinage in the Dark Ages. The Redenhall minim with the Chi-Rho reverse, for example, is definitely late fifth century or even later still. Its style, with the "sceatta-like" obverse, is certainly not contemporary and the prototype itself was not generally current until the middle years of the fifth century. Nor is there any place for the tiny "minimissimi", scraps and fragments, half- and quarter-coins—not even for small change—in the economics of the fourth century when regular supplies of official coins were coming over from the continental mints. They are the currency of a Britain starved of her resources, with her economic and political life broken down and under constant stress of invasion from all sides. Moreover, when we consider the large number of imitations still extant which have definite stylistic affinities with thrymsas and sceattas, we find it difficult to believe that so many were mere coincidences. That would be to place too great a strain on the imagination.

Finally, we may be justified in asking the opposite side two questions: is it conceivable that the traditions of coinage—and, for that matter, of imitating—which had been carried on in this island for nearly six centuries should suddenly cease in the mid-fifth century? Or is it more likely that, however difficult the conditions of life, it was continued so long as the Roman traditions remained and until the invading flood made it impossible for the Britons to maintain even the last vestige of romanization?

Some idea of the course of Dark Age coinage may now be given, although it must be remembered that dates must be taken with extreme reserve: they cannot be regarded even as approximate, only as vaguely possible. More evidence is still awaited and much research has still to be done before we can define the limits of our subject with any pretence to accuracy, but what has been given in these pages may be taken to represent the general run of the currency during the two problematical centuries between the Roman and Saxon occupations—that is, if one is willing to admit the necessity for any kind of money at all after the mid-fifth century.

Our results were better presented in tabular form.

Period I, c. 410–450

1. Remaining stocks of Theodosian $\text{Æ}4$, supplemented by a very few cast or struck imitations of Theodosian coins.
2. Earlier coins, orthodox or barbarous, clipped to $\text{Æ}4$ module.
3. Probably some copies of earlier pieces (e.g. Constantinian and "Fel. Temp.") struck at $\text{Æ}4$ module.

4. Clipped siliquae.
5. Probably some late copies on flans cut from sheet-metal and on orichalcum flans (see Period II (1) below).

Period II, c. 450-550

1. Late barbarous copies, mostly with radiate heads, some struck on flans clipped from sheet-metal, others made from early imperial orichalcum coins hammered out and cut up.
2. Clipped siliquae (Gildas's "denarius"?)—not circulated but hoarded as bullion and kept as sources of supply for silver.
3. Irregularly shaped fragments and cut and rounded fragments of earlier coins, orthodox and barbarous.
4. Radiate (?) and diademed minimi, superseded in time by diademed "minimisimi" (Gildas's "obol"?).

Period III, c. 550-600

1. Barbarous imitations, mostly radiates and of large module (though some minimi exist, as well as a few pieces taken from fourth-century prototypes), having stylistic affinities with thrymsas and sceattas: some struck on orichalcum flans. Beginnings of English coinage?
2. Large-size pieces with no definite affinities with sceattas, but late in style and often with new designs not attributable to any Roman prototype.

In conclusion, we may say that, although there seems to exist sufficient evidence for the use of coins in the Dark Ages and for the forms which they took, the ideas expressed in these pages are but tentative, for we do not yet know enough about barbarous imitations to form any final judgement. Nevertheless, the way is open for further research into this vast *terra incognita*, at least for those who, untrammelled by any preconceived notions of their own making, have the energy and determination to carry it out.

A few words of acknowledgement. Many of the coins illustrated in this paper are in my own collection. For their kind permission to illustrate the remaining pieces I should like to thank: Mr. John Allan, former Keeper of Coins, the British Museum; Miss G. V. Barnard of Norwich Castle Museum; Mr. Fred Baldwin; Mr. F. Brooks; Mr. H. St. George Gray, formerly of Taunton Castle Museum; Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard; Mr. M. R. Hull of the Colchester and Essex Museum; Mr. A. P. Pallett; and Mrs. Audrey Williams of Verulamium Museum. My thanks are also due to Mr. K. A. Howes who has prepared the casts for the illustrations.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Clipped siliqua	Jovian: VOT V MVLX in wreath	..
2. Theodosian Æ4	VICTORIA AVGGG, two Victories	..
3. Struck copy of Theodosian Æ4	VICTORIA AVGGG, one Victory	Wiveliscombe hoard (Taunton Museum)
4. Cast copy of Theodosian Æ4	SALVS REIPVBLICAE	..

5. Barbarous clipped to Æ4 module	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE of House of Valentinian I	? Selsey (F. Brooks)
6. Late barbarous radiate on orichalcum flan	Pax	Uncertain British provenance
7. Contemporary radiate imitation on orichalcum flan	Salus	Uncertain British provenance
8. Half-coin, orthodox	SECVRITAS REIPVBLICAE of Valentinian I	Spain
9. Quarter-coin restruck with barbarous types	Altar	Verulamium (Verulamium Museum)
10. Roughly broken fragment	Orthodox GLORIA ROMANORVM of Valentinian I	Spain
11. Roughly broken fragment	Barbarous FEL TEMP REPARATIO	..
12. Cut-and-rounded fragment	Orthodox SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES, <i>Chi-Rho</i> , of Magnentius	Worlebury Camp hoard (Taunton Museum)
13. Fragment with original rev. and restruck obv.	Radiate: Constantinian BEATA TRANQVILLITAS	Richborough III hoard (British Museum)
14. Flan clipped from sheet metal	Male figure	..
15. Imitation struck at Æ4 module	Radiate: Altar	..
16. Imitation struck at Æ4 module	Constantinian: GLORIA EXERCITVS	(Fred Baldwin)
17. Imitation struck at Æ4 module	FEL TEMP REPARATIO	Woodeaton (Ashmolean Museum)
18. Late minimus copied from 5th-cent. type	SALVS REIPVBLICAE, <i>Chi-Rho</i>	Redenhall hoard (Norwich Museum)
19. Late minimus	Radiate: Male figure with sceptre	..
20. Late minimus	Diademed: GLORIA ROMANORVM (Emperor and captive)	..
21. Late minimus	Diademed: Centaur l. (? derived from <i>Fel. Temp.</i>)	(A. P. Pallett)
22. "Minimissimus"	FEL TEMP REPARATIO	Colchester (Colchester Museum)
23. }	Hybrid with radiate obv. and rev. derived from <i>Fel. Temp.</i>	Richborough IV hoard (British Museum)
24. }	"Sceatta-like" imitation—Cross and pellets (? derived from Altar)	
25. }	"Contemporary" radiate: Hilaritas	
26. }	"Contemporary" minimus: Spes.	
27. }	"Later" radiate: two figures	
28. }	"Later" minimus: male figure with sceptre	
29. "Sceatta-like" imitation	Hilaritas	..

30. "Sceatta-like" imitation	Constantinopolis	..
31. "Sceatta-like" imitation	FEL TEMP REPARATIO	..
32. Late "un-Roman" imitation	Spes	..
33. Late "un-Roman" imitation	Three figures	Uncertain British provenance
34. "Carausius II"	FEL TEMP REPARATIO overstruck on Constantinian (? Providentiae Augg.)	Uncertain British provenance (Fred Baldwin)

APPENDIX:

<i>Site</i>	<i>Date of finding</i>	<i>Probable burial date</i>	<i>Total quantity</i>	<i>Quantity of barbarous</i>	<i>Type of minimi</i>
PERIOD I, <i>c.</i> 400-50 Caerwent I (Mon.)	1902	<i>c.</i> 410+	4,006	<i>c.</i> 550	R
Cirencester (Glos.)	<i>c.</i> 1929	<i>c.</i> 410	924	11	D
Duston (Northants.) [hoard?]	<i>c.</i> 1860	<i>c.</i> 400+?	12	All	R, D
Icklingham II (Suffolk) [Æ, Æ]*	1902	<i>c.</i> 420	1,064	46	R, D
Kiddington (Oxon.)†	Before 1935	<i>c.</i> 420-30	1,176	26‡	R, D

LIST OF HOARDS

<i>Size of minimi</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Types of barbarous</i>	<i>References</i>
?	Gallienus-Carinus; Helena-Arcadius and Honorius	Unc. 3rd cent. (44) 4th cent. (c. 506)	<i>B.B.C.S.</i> , 1924, pp. 92-3.
?	Claudius II; Constantius I-Arcadius and Honorius	Unc. 3rd cent. (2) Gloria Exercitus (one standard) (4) Fel. Temp. (4) Victoria Auggg. (1)	<i>N.C.</i> , 1929, pp. 332-4
0.35-0.50	..	Tetricus I (5) Tetricus II (1) Unc. 3rd cent. (1) Fel. Temp. (5, incl. 2 overstrikes)	<i>N.C.</i> , 1934, pp. 266-8.
?	Gallienus (Caesar)-Arcadius and Honorius	Tetricus I (5) Unc. 3rd cent. (6) Beata Tranq. (1) Gloria Ex. (two standards) (1) Gloria Ex. (one standard) (4) Constantinopolis (3) Urbs Roma (2) Fel. Temp. (11) 2-Victories [Mag.] (1) Chi-Rho [Dec.] (1) Salus Reip. (4) Vict. Auggg. (2 Vict.) (4) Vict. Auggg. (1 Vict.) (3)	<i>N.C.</i> , 1929, pp. 319-27; <i>N.C.</i> , 1938, pp. 59-61.
0.45-0.50	Claudius II; Constantine I-Arcadius and Honorius	Unc. 3rd cent. (9) Constantinopolis (2) Urbs Roma (1) Glor. Ex. (ii) (1) Glor. Ex. (i) (3) Fel. Temp. (5) Salus Reip. (1) Vict. Auggg. (ii) (3) Unc. Theod. (1) Blanks (10)	<i>V.C.H. Oxon.</i> , i, p. 329; <i>N.C.</i> , 1936, pp. 82-7; <i>Oxon.</i> , 1936/7, pp. 70-80.

APPENDIX: LIST OF HOARDS (*cont.*)

<i>Site</i>	<i>Date of finding</i>	<i>Probable burial date</i>	<i>Total quantity</i>	<i>Quantity of barbarous</i>	<i>Type of minimi</i>	<i>Size of minimi</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Types of barbarous</i>	<i>References</i>
Laxton (Northants.)	1936	<i>c.</i> 410	339	1	..	..	Claudius II-Arcadius and Honorius	Theodosian (1)	<i>N.C.</i> , 1936, pp. 156-63
Nobottle (Northants.)	1929	<i>c.</i> 420	814	13	..	..	L. Verus; Victorinus-Allectus; Constantine I-Arcadius and Honorius	Claudius II (1) Unc. 3rd cent. (1) Fel. Temp. (6, incl. 1 overstrike) Unc. Const. (4) Vict. Auggg. (ii) (1) Vict. Auggg. (i) (2) Theodonian (1)	<i>N.C.</i> , 1930, pp. 275-81; <i>A.J.</i> , 1933, pp. 282-305.
Richborough I (Kent)	1924	<i>c.</i> 400	74	1	..	..	Constantius II and Constans-House of Theodosius I		<i>Rept.</i> , ii, pp. 118-19.
Richborough II	1926	<i>c.</i> 440	1,202	53	R, D	?	Maximinus I-Arcadius and Honorius	Tetricus I (1) Unc. 3rd cent. (9) Constantinopolis (1) Glor. Ex. (i) (1) Fel. Temp. (2) Gloria Romanorum (1) Spes Romanorum [Fl. Victor] (1) Salus Reip. (31) Vict. Auggg. (i) (4) Unc. 4th cent. (2) Unc. 3rd cent. (2) Providentia Augg. (1) Gloria Ex. (ii) (2) Urbs Roma (1) Fel. Temp. (24, incl. 6 overstrikes) Spes Reip. [Const.] (1) Fel. Reip. [Mag.] (3) 2-Victs. [Mag.] (2) Sec. Reip. (1) Glor. Rom. (1) Salus Reip. (3) Vict. Auggg. (i) (4) Unc. 4th cent. (1)	<i>Rept.</i> , iii, pp. 34, 192-5
Wiveliscombe II (Somerset)	1946	<i>c.</i> 400	1,139	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	D	?	Tetricus I and II; Helena-Arcadius		<i>N.C.</i> , 1946, pp. 163-5; <i>S.A.S.P.</i> , 1946, pp. 65-75 (Personal examination).

Woodbridge (Suffolk)	c. 1935	c. 400 (probably slightly earlier)	442	5	..
Wroxeter I (Salop) [Hypocaust]	1859	c. 410+?	132	8	R
Wroxeter II [Salop]	1859	c. 410+?	38	1	R
PERIOD II, c. 450-550 Icklingham IV	c. 1934	c. 470	c. 28	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	R, D
Redenhall (Norfolk)	Before 1895	c. 460	144	78 $\frac{1}{2}$	R, D

..	Unc. 3rd cent. (barb.); Constantinian era— Magnus Maximus	Unc. 3rd cent. (5)	N.C., 1935, pp. 49-53.
?	Claudius II and Tetricus I (barb.); Constantine I— Valens	Claudius II (1) ? Tetricus I (1) ? Unc. 3rd cent. (6)	T. Wright, <i>Uriconium</i> , p. 68; N.C., 1859, pp. 79-83; V.C.H. <i>Salop</i> , i, pp. 217-18; <i>Kenchester Rept.</i> , i, p. 55.
?	Caracalla; Carausius; Constantinian era— Gratian	(Unspecified)	T. Wright, <i>Uriconium</i> , p. 69; V.C.H. <i>Salop</i> , i, pp. 217-18.
0.30-0.50	Claudius II (barb.)— Probus (barb.); Valentinian I; Valens	Claudius II (1) Tetricus I (1) Probus (1) Unc. 3rd cent. (8) Virtus Exerc. (1) Urbs Roma (1) Emperor/Urbs Roma (1) Fel. Temp. (7)	N.C., 1934, pp. 262-6.
0.30-0.50	Postumus—Quintillus; Theodora—Honorius; 5th cent. (barb.)	Claudius II (3) Postumus (1) Tetricus I (8) Unc. 3rd cent. (5) Glor. Ex. (ii) (7) Glor. Ex. (i) (7) Constantinopolis (3) Constantinopolis/ Urbs Roma (1) Constantinopolis/ Glor. Ex. (ii) (1) Urbs Roma (3) Urbs Roma/Pax Publica (1) Fel. Temp. (20) 2-Victs. [Mag.] (4) Fel. Reip. [Mag.] (2) Unc. 4th cent. (11) Chi-Rho [5th cent.] (1)	N.C., 1946, pp. 157-9. (Personal examina- tion).

APPENDIX: LIST OF HOARDS (*cont.*)

<i>Site</i>	<i>Date of finding</i>	<i>Probable burial date</i>	<i>Total quantity</i>	<i>Quantity of barbarous</i>	<i>Type of minimi</i>	<i>Size of minimi</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Types of barbarous</i>	<i>References</i>
Weymouth Bay (Dorset)	c. 1928	c. 450	4,400+	47	R, D	?	Postumus-Allectus; Constantine I-Arcadius and Honorius	Tetricus I (9) Unc. 3rd cent. (6) Urbs Roma (1) Urbs Roma/Constantinopolis (1) 2-Victs. [Const.] (1) Fel. Temp. (8) Spes Reip. [Const.] (1) Glor. Rom. [Mag.] (2) Glor. Rom. [Val.] (1) Salus Reip. (5) Vict. Auggg. (i) (11) Unc. 4th cent. (1)	<i>D.A.S.T.</i> , 1929, pp. 158-82; <i>N.C.</i> , 1931, pp. 14-27.
Bermondsey (London)	1945	c. 500	361	82||	R, D	0.35-0.45	Claudius II (barb.); Constantine I-Arcadius and Honorius	Claudius II (2) Unc. 3rd cent. (1) Glor. Ex. (ii) (1) Glor. Ex. (i) (1) Fel. Temp. (6) Salus Reip. (1) Vict. Auggg. (i) (9) Unc. 4th cent. (1) Unc. barb. (c. 60)	<i>N.C.</i> , 1946, pp. 167-9. (Personal examination).
Colchester (Essex)	c. 1870	c. 500	40	All‡	R, D	0.35-0.50	..	Claudius II? (1) Tacitus? (1) Tetricus I (1) Tetricus II (5) Unc. 3rd cent. (23) Constantinopolis (1) Fel. Temp. (8, incl. 1 overstrike)	<i>N.C.</i> , 1934, pp. 255-62.
Hayle (Cornwall)	1825	c. 500	Many thousands	All	R	0.25-0.45	..	Postumus; Victorinus; Tetricus I; Unc. 3rd cent.	<i>V.C.H. Cwll.</i> , v, pp. 35-6; <i>N.C.</i> , 1936, pp. 202-9.
Mere (Wilts.)	c. 1870	c. 500	100**	99	R	0.30-0.50	Victorinus	Claudius II; Victorinus; Tetricus I and II	<i>N.C.</i> , 1934, pp. 300-2.
Perran-ar-worthal (Cornwall)	c. 1845	c. 500	60+	All	R	0.30	..	Tetricus I and II	Sainthill, <i>Olla Podrida</i> , ii, p. 112; <i>N.C.</i> , 1853, proc. pp. 12-14; <i>V.C.H. Cwll.</i> , v, pp. 34, 38.

Whitchurch (Somerset)††	c. 1870	c. 500	422	416—	R
Worlebury Camp (Somerset)‡‡	1852	c. 500	241	77	R, D
Bourton-on-the-Water (Glos.)	1880+	c. 550	23	All	D
Lydney II (Glos.)	1929	c. 550	1,646	All	D
Richborough III§§	1931	c. 500-50	1,238	All	R, D

0.25-0.50	Victorinus; Tetricus I	(Unspecified)	<i>N.C.</i> , 1934, pp. 92-105; <i>N.C.</i> , 1935, pp. 16-20. (Personal examination of Ashmolean coins). <i>N.C.</i> , 1946, pp. 153-6. (Personal examination)
0.20-0.50	Salonina; Claudius II; Helena-Arcadius and Honorius	Claudius II (1) Unc. 3rd cent. (1) Glor. Ex. (ii) (3) Glor. Ex. (i) (5) Constantinopolis (2) Urbs Roma/Constantinopolis (2) Urbs Roma/Glor. Ex. (ii) (1) 2-Victs. [Con.] (3) Fel. Temp. (47) Gloria Romanorum [Mag.] (1) 2-Victs. [Mag.] (3) Fel. Reip. [Mag.] (1) Unc. 4th cent. (7) Fel. Temp. (23)	
0.10-0.20	..		<i>B.G.A.S.T.</i> , 1934, pp. 133-9; <i>N.C.</i> , 1935, pp. 284-6. <i>Rept.</i> , pp. 116-31.
0.10-0.35	..	Glor. Ex. (i) (2) 2-Victs. [Con.] (3). Fel. Temp. (most of recognizable remainder, incl. 1 overstrike).	
0.15-0.50	..	Claudius II (9) Victorinus (2) Glor. Ex. (ii) (1) Glor. Ex. (i) (23) Constantinopolis (26) Urbs Roma/Constantinopolis (2) Emperor/Constantinopolis (5) Urbs Roma (13) Pax Publica (1) 2-Victs. [Con.] (4) Fel. Temp. (137, incl. 2 overstrikes) Gloria Rom. (1) Salus Reip. (1) Remainder—unc. prototypes	<i>N.C.</i> , 1939, pp. 112-19. (Personal examination.)

APPENDIX: LIST OF HOARDS (*cont.*)

<i>Site</i>	<i>Date of finding</i>	<i>Probable burial date</i>	<i>Total quantity</i>	<i>Quantity of barbarous</i>	<i>Type of minimi</i>	<i>Size of minimi</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Types of barbarous</i>	<i>References</i>
PERIOD III, c. 550-600 Richborough IV	1931	c. 600	875	853	R, D	0.35-0.50	Gallienus-Allectus [Constantius II- Arcadius: uncertain whether these formed part of original deposit]	Gallienus; Quintillus; Tacitus; Probus; Postumus; Victori- nus; Tetricus I and II; Unc. 3rd cent. Fel. Temp. (7) Glor. Rom. (12)	N.N.M. 80 (Personal examina- tion.)

* See also list of siliquae hoards.

§ Including "sceatta-like" imitations.

** Including clipped coins and one blank.

†† The examples in the Ashmolean include one orthodox clipped to Æ4, one orthodox fragment, a lump of bronze, and a small bronze plate.

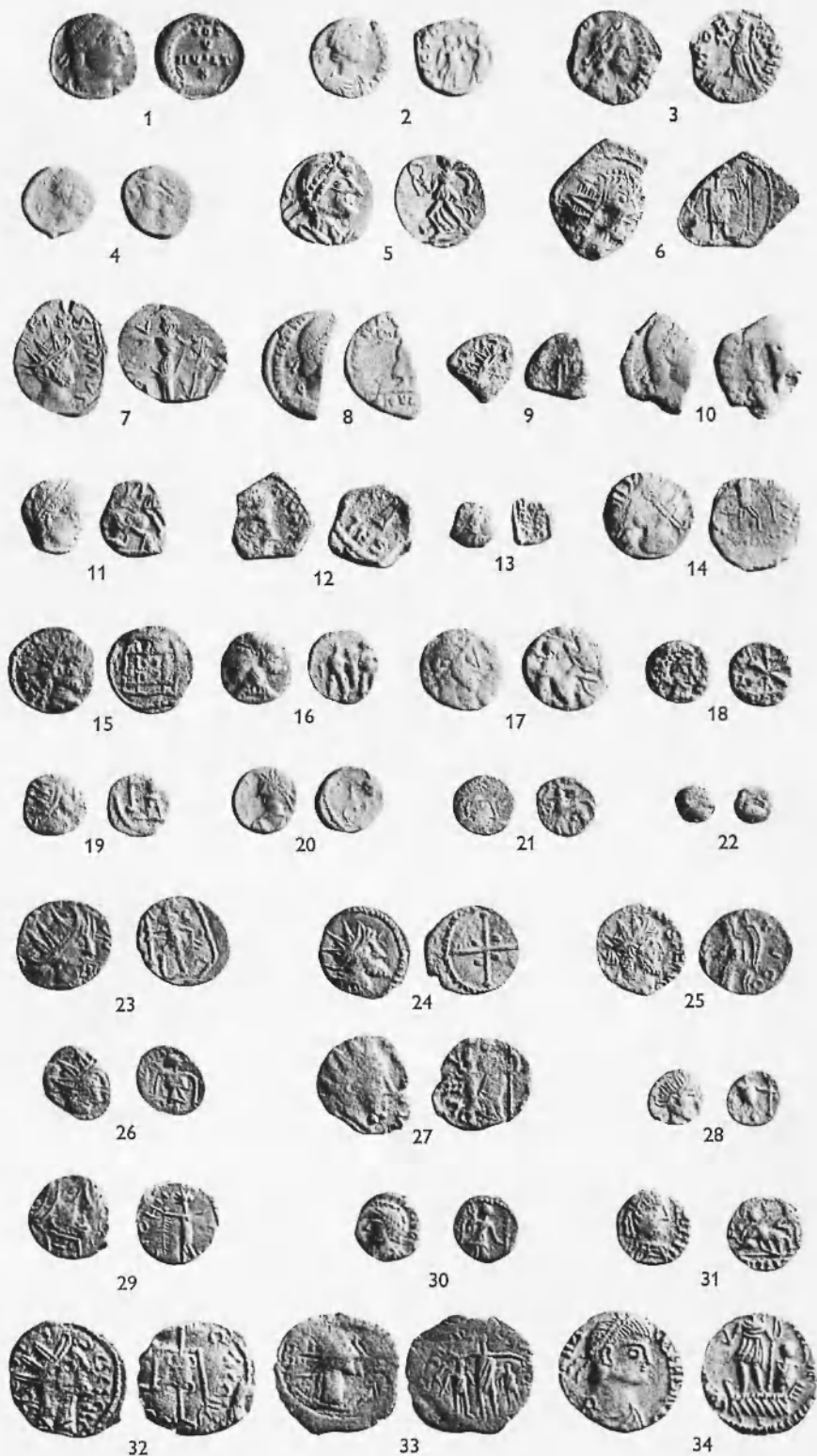
‡‡ Including fragments and one cut-and-rounded fragment: also one "sceatta-like" imitation.

§§ The account of this hoard included site-finds: the hoard itself, of radiate and diademed minimi, had been scattered.

† Containing Æ3 clipped to Æ4 module.

|| Including one "sceatta-like" imitation and clipped coins.

‡ Including one "sceatta-like" imitation.



COINAGE OF THE DARK AGES IN BRITAIN

SILIQUEAE HOARDS

Site	Date of finding	Probable burial date	Total Quantity	Per cent. clipped	Percentages				References
					Before 364	364-378	378-392	After 392	
East Harptree (Som.)	1887	c. 376	1,496	..	71	29	..	..	N.C., 1888, pp. 22-46.
Shapwick II (Som.)	1937	c. 390	125	..	9	54	36	..	N.C., 1938, pp. 53-8.
"North Mendip" (near Bristol) (Som.) .	c. 1868	c. 390	2,044	..	33	20	36	3	N.C., 1915, pp. 433-78.
Groveley Wood (Wilts.)	1906	c. 400	299R 2Æ	..	8	36	48	3	N.C., 1906, pp. 329-47.
Sproxtton (Leics.)	1811	c. 410	95	7.4	26	30	27	15	N.C., 1934, pp. 61-73.
Icklingham I (Suffolk)	Before 1907	c. 410	318	3.5	5	32	36	20	N.C., 1908, pp. 215-17.
South Ferriby (Lincs.)	Before 1935	c. 410	228	59.2	20	27	21	30	N.C., 1935, pp. 254-74.
Terling (Essex)	1824	c. 410	36W 286R	4.9	11	23	33	24	N.C., 1933, pp. 144-81.
Colerne (Wilts.)	1940	c. 410	280	100	7	30	32	34	N.C., 1942, pp. 97-104.
Shapwick I	1936	c. 410	120	10.8	6	23	34	34	N.C., 1936, pp. 245-50.
Edington (Som.)	1838	c. 420	62+	47	8	10	40	42	N.C., 1948, pp. 82-5.
Icklingham II	1902	c. 420	69R 995Æ	46	9	18	30	42	N.C., 1929, pp. 319-27.
Rams Hill (Oxon.) (with skeleton)	1940	c. 430	7R 2Æ*	100	29	14	14	43	Ant. J., 1940, pp. 481-5.
Whorlton (Yorks.)	1810	c. 430	40	92.5	23	..	18	59	G.M., 1811/II, p. 616. (Personal examination.)
Icklingham III	c. 1886	c. 450+	230	100-	4	13	20	62	N.C., 1936, pp. 257-61.
Tuddenham St. Martin (Suff.)	1938/9	c. 450+	114	c. 10	5	22	20	46	N.C., 1948, pp. 169-73.
Coleraine (Ireland)	1854	c. 450?	1,937	23.2	14	29	14	44	N.C., 1855, pp. 101-15.

* Including one Æ core of a forgery of a siliqua.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

A.J.	Archaeological Journal.	N.C.	Numismatic Chronicle.
Ant.	Antiquity.	N.N.M.	Numismatic Notes and Monographs (American Numismatic Society).
Ant. J.	Antiquaries Journal.	Oxon.	Oxoniensia.
B.B.C.S.	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies.	Rept.	Report (Kenchester; Lydney; Richborough II and III).
B.G.A.S.T.	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.	S.A.S.P.	Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society.
D.A.S.T.	Transactions of the Dorset Archaeological Society.	V.C.H.	Victoria County History.
G.M.	Gentleman's Magazine.	R. Radiate.	D. Diademed.

HEDON NEAR HULL—A NEW NORMAN MINT

By F. ELMORE JONES

AN interesting addition to the list of English mint towns is made possible by the discovery of a satisfactory identification of the uncertain mint name of "hEDV-" found on a coin of Stephen, type 7, in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow University.

Dr. Brooke refers to this reading on p. 171 of the Introduction to *Norman Kings* as follows: "hEDV-" a coin of Stephen's last type which is in the Hunterian Collection reads † GERTR ··· OM : hEDV [E?]. The identification of the mint is quite uncertain but Hythe is possible (cf. Domesday HEDE)."

I have myself always considered Hythe a very improbable attribution on phonetic grounds (even allowing for the fact that Brooke was without knowledge of the last letter of the mint spelling) and have felt pretty sure that we have here the name of an entirely new mint town. I was therefore particularly interested to hear of a second specimen in Mr. Fred Baldwin's collection (from the same obverse die as the Hunterian coin but a different reverse die) and to find that this clearly supplies the two missing letters and gives the full reading as being: † GERTRD : OM : hEDVN.

I have the support of one of our leading authorities on Norman place-names in identifying this reading with the now unimportant town of Hedon, some six miles east of Hull in the East Riding of Yorkshire. I am indebted to this authority for the following note on the Norman history of Hedon which I reproduce verbatim:

"In the reign of Stephen Hedon (Yorkshire East Riding) appears to have been a small but quite important Borough in the Seigniorship of Holderness, a port whose trade was based on the export of wool of the East Riding to Northern Europe and the Baltic in exchange for furs and other articles. Fishing was almost certainly carried out from this centre. The date of its establishment as a Borough I have not yet been able to find but in the Pipe Roll of 1205 the Burgesses paid to the King the considerable sum of £23. 6s. 8d. in confirmation of their long established liberties as a Borough. It would therefore appear that it was almost certainly a Borough during the reign of Stephen. That it was quite an important little town is shown in the Pipe Roll of 1204 when one fifteenth was levied on the property of the merchants in the Ports of England. Hedon then paid £60. 8s. 4d. This compares with Grimsby which paid £91.

"At this time, e.g. 1204, Hedon possessed two hospitals, one was probably established in about 1200 but the earlier was established by William Le Gros, Earl of Aumale (or Albemarle according to some authorities), Lord of Holderness. The date of establishment of this hospital is not known because the Charter has been lost, but it is certainly between 1138 the date of the Battle of the Standard and 1179 when the Earl died.

"William Le Gros was the leader of the King's forces at the Battle of the Standard and was appointed such by Archbishop Thurstan of York, and amongst whose lieutenants, at this battle, were Robert de Stuteville and Walter L'Espece.

"As to the spelling of Hedon at this time the following variations were used:

Hedon(a) 1138-42 in St. Leonard's Cartulary.

Haduna 1138-42 in early Yorks. Charters.

Hedun 1148 in the Registrum Cartarum Hospit. St. Leonard Ebor.

Edune 1150-60 Cartulary of Meaux Abbey.

Heddun(a) or *Heddon*¹(a) 1160-81 in the Magnum Registrum Album of the Dean and Chapter of York.

The derivation from the old English *HEAH DUN*—high hill—is impossible on topographical grounds. In view of the *Haddon* spellings the first element is probably *HAED*, i.e. uncultivated land which can result when shortened in *HAD* or *HED*."

The foregoing evidence seems well-nigh conclusive in itself.

It appears, however, that this was not the only place of that name (or one very similar to it) in the twelfth century, but the Yorkshire "*Hedun*" is the one most frequently mentioned in contemporary documents and the one most likely to have held borough status during Stephen's reign. Another compelling factor is the incidence of Gerard as a moneyer's name at York and Lincoln (and at no other mints) in the succeeding "Tealby" and Short-Cross coinages of Henry II. Gerard occurs at York in both the "Tealby"² and early Short-Cross issues. It also occurs at Lincoln in the latter only (spelt *GIRARD*).

Reference to the Pipe Rolls of Henry II (*B.N.J.*, vol. ii, p. 185), which, as I have shown in another paper to the Society (on the Stephen mint of "*BRAN* . . ."), reproduce the names of many moneyers who were coining only in Stephen's last issue (which overlapped four years into the reign of his successor), discloses two entries relating to a moneyer of this name. One, under 13 Hen. II, p. 93, is to Gerard Fitz Lefwin, who is recorded as having rendered an account for 50 marks for the coinage rights of the mint. This may well be the Gerard of the York "Tealby" coins. The second entry opens up an intriguing field of speculation; it occurs under 3 Hen. II, p. 83, and records that Gerard the moneyer of *Grimsby* renders an account of one mark of gold (£6) which he has paid into the Treasury.

This entry has always been a mystery, Grimsby being unknown as a mint of either Stephen or Henry II (or, for that matter, of any other reign). It is certain that Hedon was a ferry port across the Humber to Grimsby and it is not at all improbable that the Gerard of Grimsby of the Pipe Roll entry and the Gerard on Hedun of the Stephen coins are identical.

In concluding on this interesting note of conjecture, I wish to record my gratitude to the many sources of help I have received in the preparation of these notes, particularly to Mr. Baldwin, the owner of the newly discovered coin, and to Captain W. J. C. Youde who shares my keen interest in the Norman period.

Since the preparation of the foregoing notes on this attribution I have been in correspondence with the East Riding Antiquarian Society on the subject. I am much indebted to Mr. W. Foot Walker, an Hon. Joint Secretary of that Society, for the following information and for the weight it adds to the evidence adduced above:

"The earliest recorded allusion to Hedon as a borough is to be found in the Charter

¹ "*Heddon*" represents also the modern pronunciation.

² Hitherto an unpublished "Tealby" moneyer, but one definitely established by D. F. Allen and noted by him in the *B.M. Catalogue* (in course of publication), viz. *B.M.C.* 784.

of Henry II (1154–1189) granting free burgage in 'Hedduna' to William, Earl of Albemarle and Lord of Holderness, who may have been William Le Gros, d. 1179, or his successor William de Mandevil, d. 1189. The original is lost and the text is known only from an Inspeximus Charter Roll, 2 Henry V, p.m. 19, n. 5.

"It is possible that Gerard the moneyer of Hedun may be identified with the grantee in a Charter of William de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle and Lord of Holderness (1190–1195) in which Gerard, his chamberlain, received 2 carucates of land and a capital messuage in Barmston in the seigniorship of Holderness.

"If this is indeed the same Gerard, the grant was probably made in return for more than 30 years' service as Chief Officer of the household of successive Seigniors (Poulson Holderness, vol. i, 1840, p. 207)."

THE TRAIL OF THE EASTERLINGS

By S. E. RIGOLD

THERE is nothing very original in the details of this paper; for these I am indebted to many predecessors from Lelewel to Herr P. Berghaus, who has recently reopened the subject in the new *Hamburger Beiträge*.¹ But their writings are scattered, inaccessible, and, considering how intimately the subject concerns England, surprisingly little known here.

Instead, I am offering three things: (a) a précis of much of this earlier work; (b) some criticisms, more provocative than final; (c) one of those dangerous theses, an "historical pattern", in this case a harmonious interplay of numismatic, political, and economic history. It is not a new discovery of cause and effect, but an unfamiliar way of looking at facts that should be familiar. Perhaps no historian ought to hope for more.

Three preliminary notes will show the nature of my thesis. Firstly, an apology for the "sensationalist" title; I well know that the word "Sterling" has several mooted derivations—one connects it with "stater", which seems odd;² another with a "star" device; but the traditional one with the "Easterlings", a perfectly genuine Middle-English word for the Hanseatic merchants. I use it to symbolize my most basic fact, that, while medieval British coins seldom copy or are copied by those of France, they have many typological connexions with the lands to the east—the Netherlands, the Baltic, Germany, and even deeper regions of central Europe. They also have connexions with Aragon, Portugal, and Aquitaine, which could be the subject of another story, the "trail of the Westerlings".³

Secondly, a sketch of the geographical background; southern England and northern France are walled apart by high cliffs and economically of little mutual benefit. From the days of the Belgae⁴ the easy passage, the easy anchorage, and the easy interchange of goods have always been between the Thames and the Netherlands—the Rhine delta and the Frisian coast that extends from thence to Jutland. At the end of this coast lies the Corinthian Isthmus of northern Europe—the few miles between the Eider marshes and the Schlei, the line of the Danneverk, where one can almost see the "East Sea" and the North in one *coup d'œil*. At the eastern end of this stands the now deserted fortress-town of Hedeby,⁵ from which the

N.B. E. & S. = Engel et Serrure, *Traité de Numismatique du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1891; Ch. = J. Chautard, *Imitations des Monnaies au type Esterlin . . .*, Nancy, 1872.

¹ "Der Periode der Sterlings", *Hamb. Beitr. zur Numismatik*, Heft i (1947), pp. 34 ff.

² *Ibid.*, note 10, for the authority for this contention (E. Schröder).

³ *v.i.* for a brief reference to Aquitaine and a possible linkage (Sançerre). Chautard was also aware of this Western group.

⁴ Strabo, iv. 199–200.

⁵ "Haita-bu" in the Runic inscr., alias "Slias-wic", i.e. (old) Slesvig. It was visited by Othere under Ælfred. v. E. Nobbe (*Festschr. zur Hundertjahrfeier des Museums vorgesch. Altertümer in Kiel*, 1936, pp. 131 ff.) for a summary of the coin-finds.

passage was easy to southern Skaane, to Gothland, and thence to all the Baltic. On both sides of the isthmus spread the great river-systems, which, in the days before easy land-transport, gave passage to the fastnesses of central Europe, Bohemia, and the Baltic-Euxine route that the Swedes of Ros first opened up in the ninth century.¹



Thirdly, the economic background; I mention two cardinal factors without assessing them absolutely: (a) Throughout the Middle Ages, from the eighth century at latest, England was a potential exporter of wool;² though we occasionally hear of it being sent abroad *woven*, England's manufacturing power was always less developed than that

¹ The House of Rurik, c. 862. The obvious channel for Arabic dirhems in northern treasures, incl. Cuerdale, and, for example, Terslev, in Denmark.

² An epistle of Charlemagne to Offa (796) (Stubbs, *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii. 496-8; v. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 56, 219) mentions "sagae" (cut cloak-lengths) as long-established exports from England, the "Billingsgate Decree" of Æthelred (*Hansische Urkundb.*, i. 2; Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 222), "pannos" of cloth. Eadgar (Liebermann, *op. cit.*, p. 204) controlled the price of cloth. Bede (*H.E.* iv. 22) shows the Frisians in another traffic in 679.

of Frisia's hinterland.¹ (b) Britain was a prime producer of silver, at least after Æthelstan asserted his suzerainty over north Wales.² In short, she exported raw materials and imported luxuries and manufactured articles, a state of affairs which lasted, in many ways, until Queen Elizabeth's days. The closing of the London Steelyard in 1598 coincided approximately with the beginning of many home industries—latten,³ vessel-glass,⁴ pins, and such-like small wares. I hope to show here how closely coins mirror the economic vicissitudes of the eastern passage.

Whether or not coins have any bearing on the question of the Netherlandish connexion of "Jutish" culture in Kent⁵ (a link which conforms well with the Easterling pattern), I begin here with the "Sceatta period" (i.e. probably from the last quarter of the seventh century, the age of Saxon missionaries in Frisia⁶). A succession of researchers, Dirks,⁷ Lelewel,⁸ Mejjufr. de Man,⁹ Baldwin Brown,¹⁰ le Gentilhomme,¹¹ and Sutherland,¹² have made it amply clear that these issues were in part a common medium between England and Frisia and in part purely Frisian, and that the two sources are so confused that it is often hard to assign an issue to one coast or the other. There is a demonstrable linkage of types¹³ between "Lundonia's" own signed contribution and the purely Frisian "Wodan/Beast" design, to which I shall return (Pl. I, 1 and 3).¹⁴ The chief Netherlandish find-spots are themselves significant: Domburg,¹⁵ the ancient port of Walcheren (Chaucer's Shipman was now sending to Middelburg¹⁶), Franeker,

¹ The Rhenish glass and pottery industries, among others, seem to have survived the barbarian invasions.

² The Chester, Shrewsbury, Hereford, and perhaps Tamworth mints come into prolific operation before the end of Æthelstan's reign, but are not mentioned in the monetary law of Grateley (Brooke, *E.C.*, p. 56, cf. p. 59, 5). *A.S.C.* (sub anno 926) and Wm. of Malmesbury (ii. 131, 133) record the reduction of Chester, *fiducia Britonum rebellantem*, by Edward the Elder, followed by the submission of Howel the Good to the newly ascended Æthelstan; but the probable occasion for the new mints was when the latter compelled "Nordwallensium regulos apud Herefordensium urbem in deditionem transire ut ei nomine vectigalis annuatim auri XX lib, argenti CCC lib annumerarent" (Wm. Malm. ii. 134; alas, no date! William is late, but had a source not now available).

³ The "Cullen-plate" of monumental brasses was hitherto always imported.

⁴ Verzellini's patent dates from 1570; transferred to an Englishman in 1592.

⁵ Gold bracteates (not *quite* coins) have a typical Danish-Frisian-English distribution. *v. Leeds, Archaeology of A.-S. Settlements*, pp. 121 ff. and "Denmark and Early England" (*Antiq. J.* xxvi. 22 ff.). Hodgkin, *Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons*, is generally relevant.

⁶ SS. Boniface, Willibrord, and their disciples.

⁷ *Num. Belge*⁵, ii (1870), pp. 81 ff., 269 ff.

⁸ Mainly a pioneer study of types, esp. *Reapparitions du type gaulois au moyen âge*.

⁹ *Que sait-on de . . . Domburg?* and her catalogue. Other Dutch references from le Gentilhomme (*v.i.*).

¹⁰ *Arts in Early England*, pp. 56 ff.

¹¹ *B.N.J.* xxiv. 195 ff.

¹² *Num. Chron.*⁶ ii (1942), pp. 42 ff.

¹³ Cf. *B.M.C. A.-S.* i, Pl. I, 18 ("Lundonia")—Pl. III, 25—*ibid.* 19–24—*ibid.* 18 (Wodan)—also Pl. iv. 13–15.

¹⁴ One was found at Hedeby (*v. Nobbe, op. cit.*) and one or two in England (*v. Sutherland*). Surely a sun-face rather than Wodan ("The rising of the sun and the running of the deer"—to quote a very pagan carol).

¹⁵ De Man, *Que sait-on . . .*, and Dirks, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ *Prol. C.T.* 277.

Terwispel, and Hallum¹ in Friesland proper, Dordrecht and the lost port of Dorestadum (Wijk bij Duurstede) on the Neder-Rijn.² Were these settlements already taking in the raw yarn for the Pallia Frisonica, and perhaps even English silver? It seems probable that they were, while we have some relics of the opposite flow of trade, handling worked articles and wine, in the Rhenish pottery common on heptarchic Saxon sites.³

In the later eighth century, when Charlemagne, victorious over the Saxons and Frisians, was extending a "missionary-trader-gun-boat" kind of diplomacy to the early Danish kingdom,⁴ Dorestadum redoubled its prosperity. Its mint-output was enormous;⁵ the late and base trientes are plentiful as such things go, but the peak is reached with the first⁶ (22-shilling) issue of Charles (Pl. I, 4). For all these, judging from its paludine situation, the mint must have depended on imported silver, in part, surely, British. The pennies of this mint became the first currency of the whole Baltic, which they entered via the isthmus, and were imitated with increasing barbarism⁷ (and surely the prototype was barbarous enough!) throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. In the ninth-century hoard of Krinkberg (Holstein)⁸ it is Dorestad first and the other mints nowhere (I mean Imperial mints; the cache had its quota of Nordic copies). The most debased of these "barbarisms" are the uniface productions of the Wendish region (Pl. I, 5),⁹ but more interesting is the series typologically linked with milder distortions of the same prototype struck in Hedeby or south Sweden (Pl. I, 2). Most have come from the graves at Birka.¹⁰ "Wodan" and his monster, or "deer", appear again together on them after an interval of more than 200 years,¹¹ a phenomenon usually explained as pure imitation, which is unlikely, since it is the subjects, not the treatment, which recur; more likely they had some cult-significance to the sailors of the isthmian passage. Another figure in the same context is one of those two strange northern Dioscouri, with horned helmets and crossed spears, who meet

¹ Dirks, *Num. Belge*⁵, ii. (v. Pl. "C"—"Lundonia" is present).

² Dirks, *ibid.*, and Hooft v. Iddekinge, *Friesland . . . in de Middeleeuwen*.

³ e.g. Whitby Abbey (v. *Archaeologia*, lxxxix. 85).

⁴ Hodgkin, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

⁵ Hooft v. Iddekinge (*op. cit.*) places the "Madelinus" trientes all after 690—Pepin (E. & S., fig. 359) introduced the battle-axe device continued by Charlemagne. The later (20s.) issues include the pleasing galley type (E. & S., fig. 400) and continue at least until Lothar I.

⁶ c. 768–82. Illustrated by Nobbe (v. next note but one).

⁷ E. & S., figs. 612–16.

⁸ E. Nobbe, "Der Karolingische Münzschatz vom Krinkberg" (*Festsch. z. Hundertjahrfeier des Mus., . . . in Kiel*), pp. 136 ff.

⁹ E. & S., fig. 617. It has been suggested as the origin of the strange bearing on the dexter half of the Lithuanian arms. v. E. & S., figs. 1862–3.

¹⁰ Arbman, *Birka* (the vol. devoted to grave-finds)—they are associated with coins of Edward the Elder, St. Peter of York, and worn or immobilized coins of Louis the Pious; also Hauberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntinger i Danmark*, Pt. I, Pl. I, 3, 6.

¹¹ The commonest of the Birka motifs, the monster, reappears, or persists, on Lund coins until Cnut (Hauberg, *op. cit.*, Pl. iv, 58): note also the "Celtic cross" of four eccentric rosettes, another sceat design.

us at Sutton Hoo¹ and again in Vendel, at both ends of the same route—an archaeological problem comparable to the “Jutish question”.

Keeping the historical sequence, I have also illustrated the next phase of “barbarization”; the “Christiana-Religio” type of Louis the Pious (Pl. I, 6)² circulated in the north concurrently with false Dorestad and “Birka” pennies; it was illiterately copied around the middle Elbe as the so-called “Wenden-pfennig” (Pl. I, 7),³ and as such resisted the next wave of sea-borne Anglian coinage,⁴ fairly successfully as far as the southern shores of the Baltic are concerned. But both these crude derivations from Imperial coins are poor and unfertile in comparison with this fresh Anglian influx, by which the wretched Æthelred might be said to have gained a sort of moral victory over his foes, by the spread of his coinage over the whole Baltic-Scandinavian area. He was, after all, heir to a kingdom whose wealth and organization are revealed in an astonishingly civilized and consistent monetary system.

This is the setting: in the later ninth century the Norseman descended upon the ruins of the Carolingian empire.⁵ A Swedish house established itself piratically in Hedeby. Dorestad, the greatest port of the north, was sacked four times and finally obliterated. A century later, from 980 onwards,⁶ the Danes renewed their depredations; Sven Forkbeard took and burned Hedeby “after faring westward” as the near-by runic inscription records,⁷ and once more half the story is well known, and, as such, too often repeated. Thousands of pounds of English silver fell into the hands of the “great army”, first as plunder, then from 991–2⁸ as Danegeld, which was clearly paid largely in coin. Hoards of freshly collected pennies have been found in the Danish sphere (e.g. from List on the Isle of Sylt, c. 1002⁹)—comprising all issues from the beginning of Æthelred’s reign and even those of his predecessor. There are, in fact, rather fewer of the “Hand Type”¹⁰ (before 990) and the Helmet type¹¹ which coincided with the relative peace of 995–7. The “CRUX” type,¹² the “long-cross”,¹³ and the apparently re-issued “small-cross” types¹⁴ predominate. The

¹ On the embossed plates of the helmet.

² For a possible northern mint for these, at Hamburg, see Havernik (*Hamb. Beitr.* i. 9 ff.).

³ E. & S., fig. 618.

⁴ E. & S., figs. 1152–4 (rationalization of the “Wendenpfennig” into the “Holzkirche” pennies of Otto III, which are often found hoarded with those of Æthelred).

⁵ The first serious shock began c. 834. Later in the century raids give place to settlements in force.

⁶ A.S.C., sub anno.

⁷ Jacobsen and Moltke, *Danmarks Runeinskrifter*, Haddeby III; Stephenson, *Runic Monuments*, p. 744 (cf. D.R. Slesvig VI, mentioning “Aenklanti” = England).

⁸ A.S.C., sub anno.

⁹ Nöbbe, in *Hamburg. Nachrichtenblatt f. Deutsche Vorzeit*, 1940, pp. 107 ff.

¹⁰ Br. 2, B.M.C. ii, Hild. B.

¹¹ Br. 4, B.M.C. viii, Hild. E.

¹² Br. 3, B.M.C. iii, Hild. C.

¹³ Br. 5, B.M.C. iva, Hild. D.

¹⁴ Br. 1, B.M.C. i, Hild. A.

first of these became the prototype of the first native regal coinage of the north: besides the Norse king of Dublin,¹ Sven Forkbeard himself in Denmark (Pl. I, 8),² that muscular Christian, Saint Olaf, in Norway,³ Olaf Skötkonung in Sweden⁴ (for all three of whom the renegade Saxon moneyer Godwine worked), Henry, Count of Stade, on the lower Elbe,⁵ and perhaps Arnold of Flanders,⁶ all struck "Crux" pennies; while the English originals were buried in masses throughout Scandinavia⁷ and even Finland.⁸

But this is not the whole tale. Not only did the northern kings copy Æthelred's issues until past the middle of the eleventh century,⁹ but in "coins per annum" of reign the hoards of Sweden (including the then Danish Skaane) are 60 per cent. richer in English coins of Cnut, and even 85 per cent. of Harold I than in those of Æthelred.¹⁰ The Finnish hoards contain little after c. 1025—and I suspect the figures from Sweden proper (without Skaane) might show the same result. For Norway I have no exact figures. Cnut is plentiful, his successors less so. But for Denmark and Skaane certainly, Sweden and Gothland possibly, the flow continues at high pressure until type Brooke 4 of Edward the Confessor (= B.M.C. iv, Hild. D) and then rapidly dwindles to nothing. This issue coincides roughly with the year 1052,¹¹ when a son of Godwin made his last rebellious invita-

¹ Sihtric Caoch (Silkbeard) (989-1029). The "Dymn" (obverse), usually explained as a corruption of Dublin, may be a Celtic chieftain, Domhnall.

² (c. 988-1014), Hauberg, op. cit., pt. I, Pl. I, and *Guide to Nat. Museum Coins, Copenhagen*, fig. 15, p. 14.

³ (1016-30), E. & S., fig. 1333.

⁴ (c. 994-1022), *Copenhagen Guide*, p. 9.

⁵ (976-1016), *Z.f.N.* xiv (1887): the obv. reads "HROZA ME FECIT".

⁶ E. & S., fig. 894 (a penny of St. Omer). But the date given for Arnold's death (986), if correct, takes some explanation. It is not a very good imitation: is it really the *prototype* of Æthelred's "Crux" type?

⁷ v. Hildebrand's Royal Swedish Museum Catalogue (*Anglosaksiska Mynt i Svenska Kgl. Myntkabinett*) (1881), then, if not still, the largest collection of Æthelred and his successors and all found in "Sweden's earth", and Holst in *Nordisk Num. Aarskrift*, xxi (1940).

⁸ v. Nordmann, *Anglo-Saxon Coins found in Finland* (1921).

⁹ In Denmark itself contemporary English types predominate until a few years after the accession of Sven Estridson (1047), who took part in sporadic raids on England until the 1070's, but his later coins are un-English in design, though still Anglian in technique.

¹⁰ The figures (from Hildebrand and Nordmann) are:

	Sweden (incl. Skaane)		Finland	
	Total	Approx. annual deposit	Total	Approx. annual deposit
Ae	4,387	122	443	12
Cn	3,904	195	292	14.5
Hi	1,050	210	7	1
Hc	216	108	..	..
Ec	800	66	12	1
(to 1053)				
Hii	5	(6)	..	..

¹¹ A.S.C., sub anno.

tion to a Danish host. From then onwards, though we hear of sporadic northern incursions for another quarter-century, the eastward face of England was one of mistrust: policy and then conquest bound her to France, and the mercantile English class, from whom the moneyers were evidently drawn, even after the Conquest,¹ were subordinated to a land-bound feudalism. So complete was revolution. But the movement of money before 1052 can only be put down to an opening up of the north to free commerce within the empire of Cnut. It is unthinkable that he should have continued after 1020² to plunder and drain his adopted country in the interest of those who stayed at home. It is, however, quite thinkable that the advantages of this converted barbarian's enlightened policy should have survived him for fifteen troubled years until forcibly withdrawn.

Furthermore, beside the Scandinavian lands themselves the whole Baltic plain became, though to a lesser degree, a penny area. I have spoken and shall speak again of the persistence of certain German issues. Anglian coins are found in north-east Germany, but frequently in late contexts, dating perhaps in part from the age of the Danish exploits in Estonia (Cnut the Saint was "martyred" there in 1087), or just representing a steady "leakage" from the Scandinavian treasure. Herr Berghaus assures me they seldom exceed 5 per cent. of the content of any hoard. But there is other evidence that conflicts with this general impression and implies that the penny enjoyed a short and early popularity in its own right. Boleslas Chobri of Poland copied the "Crux" obverse³ before his death in 1025, while Boleslas II or III of Bohemia and Queen Emma (died 1006) had taken to copying the earlier "Hand Type" pennies (Pl. I, 9)⁴ within a few years of their issue and in the very watershed of the Elbe, and these types can be traced in the later issues of Poland and Bohemia (Pl. I, 10).⁵ The question is "How did the Hand-pennies get there before the Baltic channel was properly open?"⁶ In Bohemia the Bavarian temple-type,⁷ a Carolingian derivative, akin to the Wenden-pfennig, fought the penny for popularity; a strange hybrid with the name of Æthelred and a Winchester moneyer⁸ on the rival design perhaps represents a non-partisan inscription during the fratricidal strife of Jaromir and Odalric (1012-15), but Odalric⁹ continued the Æthelred type. The penny had reached the confines of Christendom. A hundred years later a Russian hoard of uncertain provenance¹⁰ contained many

¹ v. Oman, *Coinage of England*, p. 80.

² For his protective policy against the Emperor's tolls, v. Wm. Malm. ii. 183.

³ (992-1025), v. Majkowski in *Num. Chron.*⁵ xiv (1934), pp. 168 ff. The same king copied "Otto-Adelheid" pennies of North Germany.

⁴ E. & S., figs. 1366-7.

⁵ e.g. Wratlas II (1061-92).

⁶ I will not speculate here: early Anglo-Rhenish traffic is not the whole solution.

⁷ e.g. E. & S., figs. 1230, 1233, 1234 (Bavarian), and 1365 (Bohemian).

⁸ *Num. Chron.*⁶ iii. 102.

⁹ E. & S., fig. 1371.

¹⁰ Menadier, *Deutsche Münzen*, iv. 125 ff. Cf. also the Liesborn (Westphalia) find (*Rev. Num. Fr. and Bl. f. Num.* 1905).

English coins down to Harold I and nothing later save a few of Rufus. This is in some respects a typical south Baltic deposit; positively it illustrates the persistence of good English silver, and negatively—the most conclusive result of all this evidence—that, with little doubt, from about 1053 the north and the Baltic were suddenly and completely foreclosed to English contacts. From then on until 1207 (in fact the “Norman period”) we have an economically unnatural liaison between England and northern France. Hardly a single English coin passed henceforth into the Baltic in place of tens of thousands in the age of Cnut.

The cutting off of English money from the north meant that England was temporarily out of the “Eastern Trail” by land and sea. Netherlandish coins, on the other hand, still reached east and central Europe. A miscellaneous Prague¹ find of the early twelfth century reveals the pennies of Deventer, Utrecht, and Leeuwarden creeping up the German rivers: it is this landward track that occupies our attention in the next phase of English influence. Two other processes are worth noting: the popularity in northern Germany of the so-called “Agrippina” imitations² (modelled after the Ottonian issue of Cologne), that proved more tenacious than the Holzkirche³ type, and the beginning of a later and also extensively copied Cologne penny type, that with the seated bishop and building⁴ (both in the mid- and late eleventh century). This latter type we shall meet again later; it, at least, is completely German in origin and distribution—neither Scandinavian nor Wendish—but it is the other series that reflects the positive opening-up of the steamy marshlands of north Germany from c. 1060, and the deliberate and conscious foundation of new cities⁵ from “scratch”, which were to take the trade for themselves out of the hands of Frisian and Scandinavian adventurers. From these gradually arose the most prominent section of that commercial and military grouping loosely known as the Hanseatic League. In fact it was several leagues, and divided by unilateral and single-purpose agreements, but as regards their foreign trading-stations—the London Steelyard, the medieval Shanghai of Helsingbro, and the fortified colony of Novgorod, the maritime cities were working in unison from the early thirteenth century. Then, also, they took the field against the Danish king, Waldemar II,⁶ who bestrode their passage of the Sound. But beside the later militant league of sea-ports there was an inland Hanse, principally the precociously urbanized cities of Westphalia (Münster, Brunswick, Hildesheim and the rest. The “nodal point” of this earlier aspect of the League was Cologne rather than Lübeck). It provided a ready circulation-area for the episcopal Cologne-pennies mentioned above. (We have seen the part played by

¹ Menadier, *Deutsche Münzen*, iv. pp. 237 ff. Twelve Netherlands and many Rhenish specimens.

² Mostly from Bardowiek: v. *Hamb. Beitr.* i. 14 ff.

³ “Otto-Adelheid” and variants.

⁴ Bp. Hermann (1036–56), E. & S., figs. 1089–94.

⁵ e.g. Lübeck, 1143.

⁶ Battle of Jorhøvd, 1227.

Colnish aniconic types in the expansion of the northern cities.) Likewise the predominantly landward passage of their coins¹ and kinship of design bring the still undeveloped cities of the Low Countries into the same Rhenish orbit—in contrast to the later Middle Ages, when to treat the Netherlands as part of the Empire would have been to recognize what was by then a legal fiction. Finally, it is this inland and riverine connexion that provides the scene for the next appearance of English coins on the “Eastern Trail”. It was to the men of Cologne that Henry II² and Richard I³ granted immunities as spokesmen of the fast-evolving league, in London, and with them that King John treated again, in 1213.

The renewal of interest in Germany by the Angevin kings looks gradual enough from this, but the evidence I shall bring suggests that it may have been more catastrophic. Formal acts did not make the Hansard's business always easy: they were jealously resented by the burgesses of London and there were periods when an embarrassed king professed a sudden revulsion from this profitable foreign contact. Furthermore, intercourse appears to have been restricted for half a century after 1157, and then the epoch opens which is the main subject of my discourse, every phase of which appears to be reflected in the succession of hoards and imitations of English coins.

In 1207 King John supported his nephew, Otto IV, King of the Romans, against his French-sponsored rival, with a subsidy of 6,000 marks.⁴ From 1207 until the end of the reign the surviving transactions between the king and Rhenish and Netherlandish merchants, as collected in the *Hansische Urkundbuch*, total nearly fifty;⁵ Cologne still predominates, while Bremen and Ypres are prominent (representing respectively the northern and Netherlandish extensions of the Hanse). It is at this very moment that the “sterling”, that is, now, the “short-cross penny”, appears as a money of account at Utrecht⁶ and in Rhenish finds (Ladenburg⁷). By good fortune it passed as the exact equivalent of the Cologne penny (with the seated bishop and church) mentioned above, but for the first few years its circulation seems to have been strictly Rhenish. Some time between 1209, when he was elected Emperor, and 1218, but most likely after his retreat to Cologne in 1214, Otto IV struck the first continental sterlings at Cologne (?),⁸ Dortmund (Pl. I, 11),⁹ and Duis-

¹ c.f. the Prague find.

² *Hans. Urkundb.* i, nos. 13, 14, 25 (1157, 1175).

³ *Ibid.*, no. 40 (1194); Lappenberg, *Urkund. Gesch. des Hans. Stahlhofs zu London*, ii. 7.

⁴ *Mat. Paris, His. Ang.* iii. 109; *Chron. Min.* ii. 574 (under 1209).

⁵ *Hans. Urk.* i. 81 (1209), 89-95 (1212), 100-111 (1213), 113-32 (1214-15).

⁶ 1208, Havernik, *Kolner Pfennig*, pp. 108 and 132 (more extended use in 1214).

⁷ Frankfurt, *Mzztg.* 1905, pp. 353 ff.

⁸ Havernik, *Münzen von Köln*, i. 275-6, considers these to have been struck in Westphalia (the “SANCTA COLONIA”, also found on Lippe sterlings, being a sign of equivalence with the episcopal Cologne pennies). But is Cologne impossible for these as the *prototype* of the Lippe coins? If the whole lot are relegated to the 1220's, as Herr Berghaus thinks, it certainly would be, but the name of the Emperor would then be as false as that of the mint (see below).

⁹ For the whole series, v. Chautard, *Type Esterlin*, Pl. XXI, 1-5.

burg. So did his rival Frederick II, after seizing the same Rhenish mints. The whole series is probably to be confined to a short time and a small area, but the notable thing is that they all bear the cross boutoné of Brooks type *Va*, which fits the context of the subsidy of 1207 rather than a decade later. This type is apparently rare in English finds (though I should like to collect more evidence, this way or that); but it looks relatively common in the (later) Ribe hoard¹ and perhaps other continental ones. As the known allocation of mints and moneyers is consistent with its being issued simultaneously with *Vb*, the possibility has occurred to me that *Va* may have been a special issue for the German subsidy and the only one familiar in Germany in the 1210's.

The next phase is historically the most problematic of the whole development. In a wide but circumscribed area, namely Westphalia, and for a brief period, apparently *circa* 1228-40, there is a spate of short-cross imitations. Negatively we can say that the area does not extend to the Rhine (not even at Cologne) but it might perhaps be said to reach the sea to the north, as the Bishops of Osnabrück and Münster held much of the Ems and Weser valleys and served them with Westphalian strikings. But the interchangeable "Kölnerpfennig"-type mules with the Henrican types at the western end of the area² and at Corvey.³ Logically this would seem an after-development,⁴ but a superficial comparison led me to place it early in the period; in any case, only just over a decade is involved, and here I am not concerned with details but with the whole complex. Chronologically the total evidence is most self-supporting. An unbiased analysis of the types copied suggests an overwhelming presence of group VII (*circa* 1223 to 1242), and Berghaus says the same of the English content of Westphalian hoards,⁵ which appears and disappears as suddenly as the imitations. Hoards deposited some years later only confirm this.⁶ I must add that Berghaus does not, and I think wrongly, distinguish this group of imitations from the apparently earlier Ottonian Rhine-Ruhr series previously mentioned.⁷ On the negative evidence of their absence from finds in a lower horizon, he would seemingly date them all together, but the considerations given above still incline me to separate them. In quantity those undoubtedly assignable to the period between 1228 and 1245 (to give extreme limits) are far more important.

¹ *Num. Chron.*⁴ xvi (1916), pp. 397 ff.

² Particularly Münster (Ch., Pl. xxv, 3, 4) and Mark (Ch., Pl. xxx, 6, 7 and Pl. I, 14).

³ Jesse, on the Hildesheim hoard, in *Hamb. Beitr.* ii. 16 ff., nos. 114-15.

⁴ Supported by Berghaus, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁵ e.g. Hessel (c. 1235), Lechtingen (c. 1238). Brümmerlohe, c. 1240 (refs. given in the same paper).

⁶ e.g. Hildesheim (*v.* last note but two). Of course group VII was a large issue. This vitiates the deduction somewhat.

⁷ My opinion is admittedly unorthodox, but I am letting it stand. Apart from the cross pommée, I do not think the lack of any of these rather rare coins in *dated* contexts before 1225 is conclusive evidence, still less that anything should be struck after 1218 in the name of the dead and discredited Otto (compare, however, "Charles X" of France).

Briefly the "imitating authorities" are as follows: the Archbp. of Cologne (Henry de Molemarck),¹ not in his see but at the Westphalian foundation of Herford, the Bishop of Osnabrück (Conrad) (Pl. I, 13),² the see of Münster, and the Abbots of Helmershausen (Conrad, Godfrey³) and Corvey.⁴ On these the head of the patron saint⁵ replaces that of the king, and the short-cross inner ring is easily converted into a halo. So much for the lords spiritual. The temporal are the Counts of Arnsberg,⁶ Waldeck (Adolf),⁷ Swalenberg (Volkwin),⁸ Ravensberg (Otto),⁹ the Baron of Pyrmont,¹⁰ Adolf of Mark once again,¹¹ and above all, the Lord of Lippe, Bernhard III (asc. 1229), whom we shall meet again later in his mints at Lippestadt and Lemgo. His short-cross pennies and some, equally plausible, by his neighbour of Ravensberg, are most orthodox-looking but for the Lippe rose in place of the pellets: only the reverse inscription "LEMEGO CIVIT" (Pl. I, 12)¹² or "VLOTOVE CIVIT"¹³ betrays them. Chautard quotes a "HEINRICUS" ostensibly from Cologne.¹⁴ They are not exactly forgeries; they merely show that the unlettered expected the familiar obverse inscription, while anybody who was "clerk" enough to be interested might check up on the perfectly explicit acknowledgement on the reverse—as he could for a trueborn English coin. Possibly the moneyer salved his conscience with a dim recognition of the Emperor's son Henry. The presence of these, in association with long-cross imitations in the Hildesheim find, shows their late date—probably after 1240, when the influx of English coins was slack and the offence that might be caused by near-forgery, of less political consequence (the saint-sterlings, however, Berghaus places early); we shall see later how in the fourteenth century the most deceptive sterling imitations are also the latest.

This tide of short-cross coinage may, I feel, be the pointer to an unnoticed chapter in our commercial history. It coincides with a *rapprochement* between Henry III and the Empire, known chiefly by many ecclesiastical exchanges and finally by Henry's betrothal of his sister Isabella to Frederick II in 1235.¹⁵ (He had previously in 1228 tried to wed her to Frederick's son (!): now the cynical, secular-minded widower had her with 30,000 marks of a dowry—which may account for some of the English coins.) Besides these, there are some few but very significant indications of economic concomitants.

¹ (1225-35), Ch., Pl. xxiv, 1-2.

² (1227-38), Ch., *ibid.* 12-13. (The coin illustrated on Plate I is from the Ribe hoard.)

³ (c. 1230-5), Ch., Pl. xxvi, 3-4.

⁴ Ch., *ibid.*, also v. 5 (87).

⁵ SS. Peter (Osnabrück, Helmershausen), Paul (Herford, Münster), Stephen, or Vitus (Corvey). The sterling influence remains on the "Wewelinghofer" of Münster for a century (cf. Pl. II, 17).

⁶ Ch., Pl. xxv, 10.

⁷ (1214-70), Ch., Pl. xxvi, 10.

⁸ (1214-49), Ch., Pl. xxvi, 7.

⁹ (1226-45), Ch., Pl. xxx, 2.

¹⁰ So Berghaus, *op. cit.*, p. 38: apparently of Scottish inspiration.

¹¹ (1199-1249), Ch., Pl. xxx, 8, 9 and Jesse (*Hildesheim Hoard*), nos. 117-18.

¹² Ch., Pl. xxvii, 4, 5; Jesse (*ibid.*), nos. 101-5.

¹³ Jesse (*ibid.*), nos. 112-13.

¹⁴ Ch., Pl. xxvii, 6.

¹⁵ Mat. Paris, *Chron. Mai.*, p. 318.

The more accessible English documents include a declaration of liberties to the merchants of Cologne (preserved in an *inspeximus* of 18 Edw. I¹) and a promise of protection to those of Brunswick in 1230,² but the *Hansisches Urkundbuch* reveals a new "run" of agreements between England and various corporations in the Empire, including Brabant and Flanders, beginning with 1223.³ We know that there was much misgiving about the spiritual desirability of this parleying with excommunicates, and not less about the invasion on the Londoners' liberties. In 1240 Henry "clamped down" and revoked or shelved the Easterlings' privileges,⁴ letting the papal agents collect funds for the struggle against the Emperor, while a general political reconciliation took place at home and, then, conveniently, the young Empress died. Chronologically, the fit is perfect. This is just when we want the export of sterling to cease. But we must not argue too much finality thereby; before the decade was out commerce was starting again and soon there was to be another political adventure with Germany, though both efforts seemed feebler and less hopeful than the last.

As we shall see, from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards attention was to fix itself even nearer home, on the ancient and easy passage to the Netherlands; before this date, the hardest question is not "Why the Empire?" but "Why only Westphalia?" I shall risk an answer in the light of the coming history of Anglo-Flemish relations. As I hope to show, there is a regular association of exports of wool and silver. Admittedly this is not a fair exchange, since we should expect bullion to pay for the wool, unless there was a generally adverse balance or a definite political subsidy. Endless protective enactments throughout the Middle Ages show some sense of the former danger, while we must remember that adventitious traffic in manufacture might attach itself to the officially countenanced wool trade and upset it. For the latter (subsidies) we can quote something in every period. Otto IV's was the first; apart from the dowry, there is no direct record of any in the present period (1220's and 1230's), though there was a diplomatic purpose in counterbalancing Frederick against France. Leaving these considerations, has the wool trade any relevance here? It is notable that the very towns which were concerned with these sterling issues (Lemgo, Münster, and the like) had a textile industry, chiefly linen, in the later Middle Ages, and I suggest there may have been some early but deliberate attempt to concentrate the manufacture of cloth from English wool in this little knot of Westphalian towns, hundreds of miles up the great waterways of Europe. At least it is a hopeful theme for further research.

The next stage, as I have said, is uncertain and erratic: the repercussion of the long-cross issues. The purposes of the new type perhaps

¹ *Munim. Gildhall II* (Rolls Series), Pt. I (Liber Custom.), pp. 66 ff.

² Rymer, *Foedera*, p. 317.

³ Nos. 156-73, 175-82, 185, 187-90, 196-203 et seqq., while 154 restates a grant of King John.

⁴ Powicke, *King Henry and the Lord Edward*, p. 314.

included the prevention of export, but if so, this did not succeed. In fact it rather accelerated a flow that I have shown to have relaxed. They were reaching central Germany again not long after 1250 (the Hildesheim hoard¹ contains a half a dozen as against two dozen short-cross—the longer you put it after that year, the thinner the intake of the new type appears).

Unlike the short-cross, the double long-cross was not copied by many continental princes; those that did copy come under two headings, the "honest" imitators of the old sort, and the downright forgers. A third category, whose designs were only loosely influenced by the type, is much more important, and will be treated below. Firstly, the "honest" men: these are still mostly in Westphalia, and the Hildesheim hoard confirms their early date. Bernard of Lippe, who died in 1265,² copied the earliest (star and crescent) varieties (there were, however, none from Hildesheim) as well as more mature ones and even the Irish type. Count Widikind of Swalenberg may have been even earlier with the new type, since his name, not Henry's, is bungled by the Lippish mint of Blomberg;³ later he copied the Scottish Alexandrine long cross⁴ (the ascription of another of this type⁵ to Bremen has been exploded).⁶ Rudolph of Hapsburg at Dortmund copied the Irish (Pl. II. 15),⁷ but these, and the last few from Lippe, in the name of the child Simon (from 1275)⁸ are perhaps revivals rather than survivals—the earlier all suggest a context of the 1250's. As to the forgeries, the earliest ones, as again found at Hildesheim,⁹ appear to be Westphalian: but the commonest and most notorious are those of the Lords of Cunre (Pl. I, 16)¹⁰, a lost castle in Overijssel (i.e. West Friesland) and on the Zuyder Zee (whose shape was not that of to-day). Besides these, some come from Zwolle under episcopal licence.¹¹ Their general association seems to be late, and includes some of the later efforts of Lippe (Ribnitz hoard No. 1¹² and Plaagendrup in Denmark¹³—both, notice, Baltic and in the 1280's). They are plainly meant to satisfy a demand for long-cross pennies, and later ones at that, which had already been stimulated, and perhaps they briefly reawakened the interests of Lippe. Their orbit is once more the Frisian-Baltic passage, and their date probably nearer 1280 than 1270; they provide, by themselves, a transition to the next period, but must be studied in a wider context.

¹ v. Jesse in *Ham. Beitr.* ii.

² e.g. at Blomberg (Ch., Pl. xxvii, 7, 8, 10, 11).

³ Jesse (*Hildesheim*), no. 100, reflecting nos. 120a and b (Widikind), itself in turn apparently copying a Henry of Brooke's group IIIa (1248). These are the only long-cross imitations in the hoard, dated by Jesse c. 1260 (but need it be much after 1252?).

⁴ Ch., Pl. xxvi, 8; Grote, *Waldeck*, no. 5.

⁵ Ch., Pl. xxv, 9.

⁶ v. Berghaus, *Periode des Sterlings*, n. 59.

⁷ King of Romans, 1275.

⁸ Ch., Pl. xxviii, 5-10 (on nos. 7 ff. Lippe roses replace the pellets).

⁹ Jesse, nos. 156-8 (cf. Pl. I, 15, ascribed to Bernard of Lippe).

¹⁰ Ch., Pl. xxxii (whole plate).

¹¹ One from Aarhus (*Num. Anz.* 1870, p. 11) reads "CIVITAS SVLLEN".

¹² *Z.f.N.* xv (1887), pp. 302 ff.

¹³ *Num. Chron.* xiii (1933), p. 67.

To begin with, the finds, which look—at first—rather equivocal. I quote in order, Norrby (Gothland) (c. 1250),¹ Hildesheim (1250's),² Flensburg (c. 1260),³ and Lubnice (c. 1265).⁴ The Hildesheim hoard is practically the last from central Germany; the others foreshadow a return to the Baltic; their content reveals a small but steady flow of long-cross, soon adulterated by copies (but perhaps not yet from Cunre)—some Lippish imitations and other Rhenish and Westphalian coin followed them northwards. Contrast with these the (Flemish) Slype find⁵ of c. 1260, which was purely English, and may be connected with the German expeditions of Richard of Cornwall, King of the Romans, between 1259 and 1268, but arrested on its journey. If so, it stands almost alone and his money was moving “against the crowd”. It is known that he spent much in Germany and that they wanted more. Yet little trace of it has been discovered, except this one hoard. This alone shows the danger of being too ready to explain by “direct grants” what is largely a natural mercantile process begun under an auspicious government and carried on by itself. It is easier to explain the last Lippe issues by a continuity, albeit diminishing, of normal traffic than by a swamping of the area with sterling. As I hinted above, it is safe to say that English finds in central Germany dwindle soon after 1250, and imitations, now few and local, follow suit. The new orientation is once more northern and, particularly, Frisian, illustrated by the hotbed of counterfeit at Cunre and, after 1282, by a licensed issue by the counts of Gelders at Arnhem, still after the Henrican pattern, and already pointing to the period when the wool traffic was directed towards Holland, immediately before the switch to Flanders, in our next period. For the moment we are in transition, and the diplomacy of a weakened and preoccupied English crown had little effect on the movements of trade.

The second part of this new “context” brings us already to the southern Netherlands—not Flanders, indeed, but Brabant and her Rhineland neighbours. The long-cross leaves its most enduring monument as the reverse of the scutcheon sterling—the so-called “Brabantinus” type, which proved tenacious through much of the Netherlands for over a century and kept its double long cross for longer than English fashion would warrant. In the article that I have several times referred to previously Herr Berghaus has ingeniously disentangled the phases of the “Brabantinus” and puts its commencement, at latest, in 1273, recognizing three stages: the double and single long cross and the cross fleury (of Provençal-Sicilian origin?). In no case are they close imitations, so I will not repeat his arguments in detail, save to say that the two later stages run more or less concurrently with the next two stages of stricter sterlings (before and after c. 1305). The weight at least is English, if not the type, and above all the locality is significant, seeing that the centre of com-

¹ *Gotlandskt Archiv*, xii. 29; Berghaus (op. cit.), n. 30.

³ *Berliner Münzblatt* (1927), pp. 127 ff.

⁵ *Rev. Belge*, 1914; *Num. Chron.*⁴ xiv (1914), pp. 256 ff.

² *v.s.*

⁴ *Z.f.N.* xxvi.

mercial activity was shifting from Cologne and Westphalia to Holland and Flanders. In the next period of imitation hardly any German examples are known,¹ and though there are a few hoards with sterling content on the Elbe,² Richard of Cornwall was tilling an exhausted soil for English exploits. The orbit of the Edwardian phase is completely Belgian (to use the modern name), and, for a moment, just impinges on Holland.

This, to most people, is *the* sterling period *par excellence*—in many cases the coins themselves are still extremely common, and the period not just a decade or so but seventy years or more, with intervals. The sheer weight of material makes sorting difficult, although here, too, I think I can supplement Berghaus's chronology. To simplify matters I shall make it clear that I am dealing principally with sterlings bearing a head, and that unless otherwise qualified the word means these; the shield-bearing type is only alluded to with reference to them (though I fully admit they are also of the sterling standard). The reason is that it is the former that are found mingled with Edwardian coins in England, while the latter belong in type and distribution to the difficult armorial series of their homeland, and Berghaus has already made a gallant essay towards their clarification. I am "proceeding from the known to the unknown".

The original area of the true Low-Country sterlings is small. They jostled with the Brabantine shield-sterlings, which, as I remarked above, partly, but not universally, adopted the Edwardian single-cross reverse and were certainly in the field before those with the effigy. As I surmise, nearly twenty years before. This involves the question "When and where in the Netherlands did the 'head' series begin?" Evidence is quoted and requoted that Gui de Dampierre, Count of Flanders, began issuing his distinctive sterlings (Pl. II, 1), Edwardian in all but that the head is bare,³ at Namur in 1283. The order is said to specify a Brabantine prototype, whence it is often argued that the "heads" must have begun in Brabant in the previous year, only four years after the type was introduced in England. This is not *a priori* impossible, but I think that another interpretation is more likely. Firstly, the document in question, printed in full in the first volume of the *Revue Belge*,⁴ does not in fact say anything about types, mentioning only weights and alloys "de cel taille de forz et de foible com il neuf estrelinec d'Engleterre", and, secondly, after examining associated finds and seeking a *terminus post quem* from the dates of rulers who would be expected to have issued them, were they already in fashion, I can find no evidence for a *general* issue of head-sterlings before about 1293, though I distinguish two or three issues that are patently a little earlier. I suggest, therefore, that the

¹ For exceptions (Corvey, Büren), *v.i.*

² Ipwege (1306†), Etzhoven (*c.* 1310), St. Magnus (*c.* 1330): references given by Berghaus.

³ Ch., Pl. II, 1-4, v, 1-6. Berghaus (*op. cit.*), Pl. 2, 8. There are three distinct wordings of the inscr.

⁴ *Rev. Belge*, i (1861), 40; *v. de Witte, Histoire Monétaire de . . . Brabant*, p. 68.

order refers to some phase of the Brabantine shield series, and that, wherever the heads begin, the earliest-looking of them (those of Gui at Namur, or certain Brabantine coins of similar technique, including some without stops in the lettering)¹ are only two or three years prior to the general issue. In point of probability, I think that they did begin at Namur, and that the bare-head type remained for a little while unique, until a slightly different variety, the so-called "rosarius", followed, passing concurrently with the Namur issue. On the traditional interpretation of the document of 1283, the earliest of these "rosarii" would come at the head of the whole series: these are in fact the early Brabantine head-sterlings just mentioned. Looz at least² produced its own "bare-heads" as well, technically akin to these issues of Namur and Brabant; while those ascribed to Mons³ and Maubeuge⁴ are apparently "mules", and demonstrate the simultaneity of the two varieties. The sharp and sculptural characteristics of this earliest group of head-sterlings must be seen to be appreciated: they are *not* common to all the general issue of "rosarii" which I am treating next.

While it was almost certainly Brabant that first put, by way of a "difference", the rose-garland on the head, that gave this second variety its name and distinguishes all the earlier Edwardian group except those of Namur and Looz, many other princedoms followed, with a veritable spate of "rosarii", at a date which I put little, if at all, before 1293. Their number and diversity obscures the fact that they are confined to two small contiguous orbits; one in the valleys of the Meuse and Sambre, which have their confluence at Namur, the other about the Schelde and its tributaries, extending to Cambrai where it reaches the Sambre. There are outliers at the beginning of the period: Brussels, Looz, Bastogne in Luxembourg, and Dordrecht in Holland, of which later; but in general it is the spontaneous and interchangeable coinage of the riverine crescent. The technique of the coins soon becomes uniform, and the relief somewhat lower than that of the earlier bare-heads; the design remains completely Edwardian save that these princelings all wear the garland of rosettes proper to their rank;⁵ the number of mules supports the possibility that many of the dies proceed from one source—all betokening an honest and unmistakable convention-coinage, by no means a forgery like those of Cunre and many later sterlings. The trouble began when the English took a less generous view of them.

The seigneurs that issued "rosarii" were all active in the dozen years after 1292, their successors or predecessors noticeably absent.

¹ de Witte (op. cit.), Pl. ix, 243.

² Pl. II, 2, and Ch., Pl. xii, 3-5, "*Moneta comitis*", provides a link with Namur. The peculiar arc-shaped collar on all these issues suggests "Edward", group III, as a prototype, but this hardly helps the finer points of chronology between 1283 and 1298, owing to the low mintage of the intervening years. Evidence from the early Coventry hoard (*B.N.J.* xxiii. 279) has the same weakness.

³ Ch., Pl. vii, 6.

⁴ Ibid. 5.

⁵ Often seen in manuscripts, &c., it must have been actually worn.

The temporal lords were: Gui, in his home county of Flanders¹ (he invested a son with Namur in 1297), Jean d'Avesnes of Hainault,² John of Brabant of course (Pl. II, 4),³ John, Baron of Agimont,⁴ John of Louvain at Herstal,⁵ William of Hornes,⁶ Henry of Luxembourg, later Emperor,⁷ Florence of Holland,⁸ and Adolf of Berg,⁹ just in the present bounds of Germany. The spiritual were the Bishops of Cambrai, William¹⁰ and Gui (Pl. II, 3),¹¹ with a *sede vacante* issue of the chapter between their episcopates,¹² and Hugo, Bishop of Liège, at Fosse and Lestat, a Faubourg of Huy.¹³ Of these, Adolf and Florence died in 1296, after which one can confidently say the "rosarii" were confined to the southern Netherlands.

Here at last we have some clear return for exports: they are common in Scottish finds of the early part of the War of Independence,¹⁴ and English contemporaries less common in their homeland.¹⁵ Scotland, and especially Galloway where most of the finds come from, was also an exporter of wool. The Brabantine shield-pennies came likewise over to Britain, but were more easily detected, while it is not surprising that Scotland, always more tolerant of foreign money and now in agony and anarchy, had more than her proportion of all types. But they found their way to England as well, in greater numbers than any issues struck abroad since the Roman period (and possibly in all innocence), until in 1299 or 1300¹⁶ Edward voiced the traditional policy of his crown and prohibited by royal ordinance both the Brabantine pieces ("leonines") and the "rosarii", with which are classed "Pollards and Crockards" (the former seemingly the bare-head issues and the latter the same as "rosarii"), the official reason being that they were not true silver, but plated (not altogether a fair complaint). This action may have been a discouragement to their production across the sea; otherwise the unstable fashions in coinage are sufficient to explain what is clear from the same evidence as that which dates this appearance, that the "rosarii" had certainly everywhere ceased being produced by 1304-5. The deaths of several princes fix it exactly.

¹ (Douai, Alost) Ch., Pl. II, 5, 7, 8.

² (1280-1304) (Mauberge, Mons, Valenciennes), Ch., Pl. IV, 1-9. Berghaus (op. cit.), Pl. 2, 9.

³ There were three Johns (1268-1355)—no good for numismatic chronology! (Brussels, Maastricht, and Limburg (?).) Ch., Pl. VIII, 10-11; de Witte, Pl. IX. There is some evolution in these "rosarii": both Roman and Lombardic forms of E, M, N appear—suggesting that they cover the whole Rosarian period (? c. 1290-1304). The lengthening of the serif of the L is another index.

⁴ (1280-1310), Ch., Pl. XIII, 5.

⁵ (1285-1309), Ch., Pl. XI, 4-6.

⁶ (1264-1304) (Weert, Wissem), Ch., Pl. XIII, 6, 7—look early.

⁷ (1288-1309) (Bastogne), Ch., Pl. XIV, 3—looks early.

⁸ (1266-96) (Dordrecht), Ch., Pl. XXXI, 1—certainly early.

⁹ (1259-96) Ch., Pl. XXX, 1.

¹⁰ (1292-6) Ch., Pl. XVII, 5-6. Note the peculiar round face.

¹¹ (1296-1306), *ibid.* 8.

¹² *Ibid.* 9-10.

¹³ (1295-1301), Ch., Pl. X, 2.

¹⁴ e.g. Mellendean (*Num. Chron.*⁴ xiii. 60 ff.); Galston (*Num. Chron.*⁵ iii. 60 ff.), the latter a very representative "bag" of the Rosarian period.

¹⁵ e.g. the Bruges find (*Rev. Belge*⁴, 1866, pp. 433 ff.).

¹⁶ Authorities vary: Berghaus quoted Mat. Westminst., Pembridge, and the Walsingham Chronicle.

The aged and harassed Gui died in 1305; Jean d'Avesnes in 1304. Their successors issued no "rosarii" but something more insidious, pennies with a crowned head, Edwardian in all but the inscription.

This introduces another phase which again has its chronological problems. The Boyton (Wilts.) hoard,¹ plausibly dated to 1324, shows us the position at the end of this period, containing, as it does, something of nearly everybody who had issued sterlings up to that date, both of the earlier "rosarii" and the newer crowned-head varieties. It is often assumed that Robert of Béthune, successor of Gui, was the prime mover of the new type (Pl. II, 5)—anyway, he will do as starting-point²; his domains were nearest to England. It would be far more dangerous to assume that he was in it all the time, and began the "crowned" sterlings immediately on his accession. Working southward, it was apparently at this time that one of the dukes of Brabant (all Johns!) showed a good example by substituting a charming castle of Tournois inspiration for the head, on an otherwise good sterling, and as part of a longer series (Pl. II, 9);³ however, the technique of these suggests a beginning in the 1290's. Apart from them, we see many Netherlandish lords, mostly rather small, following what may well be the bad example of puissant Flanders: Gelders,⁴ Herstal,⁵ Ligny at his appanage of Sérain-en-Cambrésis,⁶ Arleux,⁷ and the Emperor Henry and his son John the Blind as Counts of Luxembourg.⁸ At some time, certainly before 1324, the mode spread southwards into modern France, and was used by the little lords of Réthel,⁹ Porcien,¹⁰ and Sancerre¹¹ and the much greater Dukes of Lorraine¹² and Bar.¹³

There still remains the question "when"—surely not immediately after the demise of the "rosarii" (very few lordships issued both) and not necessarily all at once. Rival types generally prevailed, including the "Brabantinus" in yet another new form. Yet, I think, we can justly look for the opportune moment in quite a narrow range of years when it paid once more to do what had been given up some years earlier. Considering, firstly, that most of the above princes ascended between 1302 and 1313 (a few belonging to an older generation) and most were gone by 1330; secondly, that they preserved a fair similitude of the V-necked pennies of c. 1300-20; and thirdly, that their coins are associated in many finds, British as well as local, it is clear that these imitations had begun at latest in the 1310's. Allowing for the apparent

¹ *Num. Chron.* xvi. 36 ff.

² Ch., Pl. III, 1-4, 1.

³ E. & S., fig. 1703; Ch., Pl. IX, 9 = de Witte, Pl. XII, 307 (cf. 302).

⁴ Renaud (1272-1326), Ch., Pl. XXXI, 3-4.

⁵ Ch., Pl. XI, 7. The king has a lion's face: before 1309 very exceptional.

⁶ Valeran (1304-53), Ch., Pl. XVIII, 4-8; some but not all of his issues may be later.

⁷ John of Flanders (1313-25), Ch., Pl. XVIII, 2 (an early "deceptive title").

⁸ Henry (Imp. 1308-13), John (King of Bohemia and, titularly, of Poland (1309)), Ch., Pls. XIV and XV in general.

⁹ Louis of Flanders (1290-1322), Ch., Pl. XIX, 1.

¹⁰ Gaucher de Chatillon (1303-29), Ch., Pl. XIX, 4-6.

¹¹ Ch., Pl. XIX, 7-8.

¹² Ferri IV (1312-28), Ch., Pl. XVI, 2-3.

¹³ Edward (1302-37), *ibid.* 4; may belong to the next group.

interval between them and the "rosarii", and the erratic character of contemporary coin fashions, it seems most probable that they started more or less concurrently about 1310 or a little later—but that the move towards Lorraine may have been later still.

We must distinguish these from other princes who definitely did not begin until the 1330's—Rummen,¹ William of Namur,² and Thomas, Bishop of Toul;³ King John at Luxembourg,⁴ and Meraud,⁵ and the Emperor at Aachen seem to show both phases. John's earlier issues⁶ are those on which he is undisguisedly *Johannes dei gratia*—his late ones are reserved for treatment with these late comers, below. Notice how the Lorraine group is already showing the tendency for the field to move south again—a tendency more marked in the coming period, at Aachen and Schöneck we are once more in what is now Germany. Another foretaste is the insidious tendency towards mere forgery and deception, to which I shall return in the final phase (after 1330), which I am treating by itself. Already John of Flanders at Arleux⁷ and Robert of Béthune at Ghent⁸ had prefixed their titles with EDL or EDH (possibly standing for "Edel" but really meant to disguise the coins as Edward's). Robert produced another oddity in a Scottish-type sterling,⁹ only paralleled by a unique coin of Ferry of Lorraine.¹⁰

My summing up of the whole evolution of the Netherlandish sterling is one of an ever-widening field, radiating from Namur in several waves: (a) perhaps about 1290 (bare-heads); (b) 1293 to 1305 or earlier ("rosarii"); (c) c. 1310 to c. 1320 ("innocent" crowned heads); and (d) c. 1335 to c. 1345 (and in places later?) ("deceptive" crowned heads), which opens another chapter.

I will attempt to put this evidence into its historical perspective, before the advent of Edward III, but not to unravel here the whole long story of the political and economic intrigues of Edward I.¹¹ In brief, however, they do not really get going until about 1293—just before all English merchants were ordered to leave Dordrecht for Brabant, the Rhine for the Schelde.¹² (The Dordrecht sterlings likely date from this interval.) These *entretiens* reach a climax in the military and financial help rendered to Gui of Flanders in 1297, coupled with a deliberate encouragement of the export of wool, with which the English weavers could no longer cope. They drag out into the next reign with less dignity and success, and in 1313 we have the first sign

¹ Arnold (1331–65), Ch., Pl. XIII, 2–3 (spelt "ERNWLDVS", a "deception").

² (1337–91), Ch., Pl. VI, 2–3.

³ (1330–53), Ch., Pl. XVI, 5, 6 and Pl. II, 6.

⁴ Ch., Pl. XIV, 6–11.

⁵ Ch., Pl. XV, 2.

⁶ Principally at Meraud (a castle, apparently the same as Poilvache), but this mint was operating as late as 1342 (*v. i.*, Mary of Artois).

⁷ This is the only "deceptive" coin from Boyton, *v.s.*

⁸ *v. E. & S.*, p. 1089, "MONETA GARDES", Ch., Pl. III, 6.

⁹ *E. & S.*, fig. 1686; Ch., Pl. III, 5.

¹⁰ *v. Num. Chron.*⁵ xv, p. 208.

¹¹ A numismatic sidelight may be seen in the deliberate refounding of Kingston-upon-Hull and the almost immediate opening of a mint (1300–) in the new North Sea port. Edward's original treaty with Gui and his many sons is now on exhibition at the Public Record Office.

¹² *v. Lipson*, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

of a reaction. The Staple was then moved temporarily to St. Omer and there again in 1320 for five years (the halt of six years may be significant): finally it was moved back to England in 1326¹ and the isolation policy was complete. This fits the coins nicely. The Edwardian sterlings spread with the increasing interest in Flanders from about 1293, and stop soon after the withdrawal of 1320. Holland is in the picture for a moment and then drops out, not only because of trade desertion, but because she continued to strike on an old light standard, abolished in Brabant after the sterling "invasion". But on these the Hollanders had periodically imitated English and Scottish design since the short-cross period.² The latest examples, the so-called "Köpken" (Pl. II, 13),³ were actually themselves copied outside Holland.

Before going on to Edward III I will mention four minor regions of sterling-emission. Firstly, the now attenuated Rhenish line. The powerful Electoral Archbishops, Henry of Cologne (Pl. II, 11)⁴ and Baldwin of Trier (Pl. II, 12),⁵ took up the same standard with eccentric and unambiguous types of their own, Henry a strange hybrid of the Irish obverse and Scottish reverse; Baldwin, after a more orthodox type, adopted a cross-keys design. I do not ask the tempting question "Why Irish, except to be different?"—Irish coins reached Germany as early as the Hildesheim find. The whole business was probably a short experiment. The real contribution of Cologne is to come in the "Groat" movement—but, as in Aquitaine (*v. infra*), the twelve-pellet reverse lingers at Cologne until the end of the fourteenth century.

Deeper in Germany we have other isolated survivals: Büren⁶ and Helmershausen,⁷ still in Westphalia, showed Edwardian features early in the fourteenth century. And far away in Silesia we have the strange bare-head sterlings of Glogau,⁸ as enigmatic as the CRUX pennies of Prague, recalled above.

The third channel is the far north. This time it is not Denmark but Norway. The connexion is probably through Scotland, where a Norwegian "maid" was left heiress to Alexander's throne, but the copying is more after the English type. There is something Edwardian about the sterlings of Magnus,⁹ and certainly about his successor's, Eric the Priest-hater (Pl. II, 14).¹⁰ That is to say, the connexion dates from the prosperous Alexandrine days before 1285. Eric's brother, Haakon, strikes a Scottish profile type as "dux".¹¹ H. Holst, in his catalogue of Norwegian hoards,¹² quotes only three from the period, but one (Harnoj) is significant. It reads like a native English one—

¹ *v. Lipson, op. cit.*, p. 556.

² E. & S., figs. 1123, 1124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 631. Julich is the chief imitator.

⁴ (1306-32), Ch., Pl. xxiv, 3-4; E. & S., fig. 1804.

⁵ (1307-54), Ch., Pl. xxiii, 1-3; E. & S., figs. 1108-9.

⁶ E. & S., fig. 1143.

⁷ E. & S., fig. 1144.

⁸ E. & S., fig. 1363.

⁹ (1263-80), Ch., Pl. xxxiii, 2-3.

¹⁰ (1280-99), Ch., Pl. xxxiii, 4-5; E. & S., fig. 1345.

¹¹ E. & S., fig. 1346.

¹² *Nordisk. Num. Aarskrift*, xxi (1940).

145 Edwards, with a few Henrys, two Scots, a Porcien, and a John the Blind. These are relics of a brief, bright interlude in the dark history of the north, but they have a strange succession. The old Edwardian type remained in Sweden on many of the ortugs (Pl. II, 16, "St. Eric")¹ throughout the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the secondary prototype being apparently the Norwegian pieces; witness a politically non-committal issue in the name of "St. Eric" dating from the civil strife of the later fifteenth century.

The last is merely mentioned *honoris causa*—it belongs properly to the "Westerlings"—Edward II's three-quarter-face sterlings of Aquitaine and the coinage of the Black Prince illustrate the persistency of the sterling type in that area. Geographically it almost links up with the most remote of the Eastern series, the strange "Julius Caesar" sterlings of Sancerre,² outliers of the southward movement in the 1310's or 1320's (at least there was one at Boyton). The "perpetual dictator" wears his "kingly crown", but the sterling-head has denied him the beard usually given him by medieval artists.

I can now pick up the Netherlandish thread, with Edward III. First of all, the last wave of sterlings, which begins in the 1330's and clearly takes us beyond 1334 or if not 1351 (Berghaus seems to stop the series too early). Some of them are plain forgeries, others have the real inscription masked by the first few letters of "Edward" as a prefix. The offenders lie largely in the enemies' camp. John the Blind is the chief. His most curious production is the **EIWANES** penny (Pl. II, 7),³ of which there are many varieties—all apparently from Luxembourg itself. The **W** has been explained as an Omega (we have also "**E-BWEMIE**")⁴ or a Slavonic spelling (? Ivan), but merely copies that of *Edwardus*: there are other schemes for disguising the inscription, but all of them seem to be roughly contemporary with the pleasing varieties struck by the Emperor with the imperial eagle in one quarter (Pl. II, 8),⁵ and to date from the last decade or so of their reigns. John's issues are the perfidious "Lushbournes" (i.e. Luxemburgers) that were the subject of legislation around 1350.⁶ To import them to England was a hanging offence. Other nuisances were William of Namur,⁷ whose enmities we shall meet again—all his issues date from 1337 or later, and some look very late and again have the "masking-letters" (Pl. II, 10): the lady Mary of Artois (1342-53)⁸ and Thomas of Toul⁹ (1330-53) both come well within this late orbit, while Charles IV apparently struck as Emperor, after 1355, at Aachen.¹⁰ Except at Namur, where I would place the beginning and ending of the whole pseudo-Edwardian series, we are outside the

¹ Ch., Pl. xxxiii, 9; *v. Copenhagen Guide*, p. 9.

² *v.s.*

³ Ch., Pl. xiv, 6-11, xv, 4-5.

⁴ Ch., Pl. xv, 7.

⁵ Ch., Pl. xxii, 6. Notice also the anonymous Aachen series with the inscription from the sequence *Urbs Aquensis, Urbs regalis, Regni sedes principalis*. (Quoted in Pertz's *Eginhard*.)—Ch., Pl. xxii, 7, 8.

⁶ *v. Brooke*, op. cit., p. 126.

⁷ Ch., Pl. vi, 2, 3.

⁸ Ch., Pl. vi, 1, at Meraud (Poilvache).

⁹ *v.s.*; Pl. ii, 6.

¹⁰ If Chautard is right: I have never seen the coin. Ch., Pl. xxii, 6.

Netherlands and in the Moselle area. This is the painful end of the sterlings' tale. They are instruments of the enemies of England, to possess which is death!

The story might end here; silver is now ceasing to be the international medium, but there is a postscript which broaches the difficult problem of the beginning of the new English "stater"—the Edwardian groat. The old Edwardian sterling had passed at three to the gros tournois. The petit-gros of the lower Netherlands was worth two. The last and finest of the Tournois variations was the magnificent and still plentiful groat of Waleran, Archbishop of Cologne (1332-49) (Pl. II, 18). The reverse is Tournois, the cross is confined to the innermost circle, the head is of sterling derivation, and the cusping or tressure is the sign-manual of a new series. In spite of its multiplicity, we know that the issue began as late as September 1342.¹

Mr. D. F. Allen has recently elucidated the next stages.² He has demonstrated the logical sequence of the two disputed petit-gros issues³ in which the Edwardian bust replaces the archbishop and the cross reaches the second circle—I mean the anonymous groats of Antwerp and Brussels, and the league-coinage of John the Blind, Adolf de la Marck, Bishop of Liège, and William of Namur, reading **MONETA RO STRA NAMVRCIENSIS**, and now shown to be the earlier. The possible termini of this alliance-groat are 1337 and 1345—while the anonymous coins are definitely and chronologically demonstrated *not* to be coinage of Edward III as Vicar of the Empire between 1338 and 1340—an explanation that had unfortunately become "traditional". Already Victor Tourneur had said as much, when he discussed the question in the *Transactions* of the International Numismatic Congress, 1936,⁴ and such a coinage, according to Froissart, was expressly in the Emperor's name. In any case typologically these groats offer a continuation of the Colnish frame and the English head and seem an obvious prototype for the revised English quadruple-sterling groat of 1351, which differs widely from that of Edward I and takes the cross a circle farther to the edge. The successive issues are now all brought into quite a short period of time (1342, c. 1343-5, 1351). The relevant point for our subject is that the English groat is by descent a Rhenish and Flemish coin of true Easterling stock.

Once established, the new groat played little further part in the eastward procession. Suffice it to say that after the Staple was moved to Calais in 1361, to remain there throughout the fifteenth century, a mint was established there on two occasions and maintained the old association of silver and wool, which leads one to suggest that the silver gained by the sale of wool was always open to the possibilities of fraudulent manipulation at the place of Staple. The Flemish lords

¹ Jesse, *Quellenbuch*, no. 201.

² *B.N.J.* xxv. 125.

³ Both illustrated with Tourneur's article (*v.i.*), *T.I.N.C.*, Pl. xxi, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 = Ch., Pl. vi, 7.

⁴ *T.I.N.C.*, pp. 334 ff. "Prétendu Monnayage d'Edouard III en Brabant."

said they would see the English were paid in sterling, but in fact in their own deficient sterling. For a year or two after the transfer of the Staple, following the Treaty of Brétigny, there were hopes of re-establishing the peaceful Anglo-Flemish traffic of the early fourteenth century. In fact, that is why the Staple was concentrated in Calais. At the latter date the Staple entered on a new lease of life: the Treaty of Troyes had been facilitated by the succession of the Anglophile Philip to the Flanders-Burgundian throne and was followed by a vigorous resumption of the wool trade.

At its first opening the Calais mint had principally devoted itself to gold. It seems that payments for raw exports were largely expected in gold after about 1350 (thenceforward English coins in foreign hoards are generally gold¹) and it was in the previous decade that English, Flemish, and German princes began to coin gold in quantity,² having previously relied on French or Italian issues.

The final incident is that the gold noble suffered the same disease that the silver had previously undergone. Popularity led to fraudulent and debased imitations and also to illegal export.³ Another Waleran of Ligny is already striking official imitations before 1415.⁴ In fact the English reduction of 1412 was partly to counteract the desire to export the heavier genuine nobles. I will not attempt to unravel all the vicissitudes of the noble type in the Netherlands throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (until the English troops in the struggle of the Dutch Republic in the 1590's found the pseudo-Edwardian rose-noble still the standard currency there after 100 years of exile), but will return again later to one more phase of it, its use by the Emperor Maximilian. Here it will suffice to show that it followed geographically the same eastern trail of its predecessors. Beside the field countermarks of the Dutch wars,⁵ it carried commercial countermarks at about the same period, from the Hanseatic counters of Danzig and Riga.⁶ It even passed into Russia. This distribution, immobilization of type, and long currency are more reminiscent of the fate of the Æthelred pennies than of any other species we have noticed. In fact, the spurious and genuine rose-nobles still passed in the eastward passage until well into the seventeenth century. The occasional issue of official ryals seems to cater for this demand rather than a home one, though we know them chiefly by their Dutch usage. The Elizabethan issues stop in 1592. A policy of economic self-sufficiency came to its climax with the closing of the Hanseatic Steelyard in 1598⁷

¹ e.g. Eeckeren (nr. Antwerp, *Rev. Belge*, 1923, pp. 99 ff.; 1924, pp. 236 ff.), c. 1380. Holst (op. cit.) quotes two such from Norway.

² We have recently heard a minute examination of this practice—the Golden Age of imitation—by Prof. H. Van Werveke.

³ Mr. A. Thompson's various studies (*Num. Chron.* ⁶ i. 138 ff. and *B.N.J.* xxv. 183 ff.) have shown how high the proportion of copies is among the existing nobles and ryals.

⁴ E. & S., fig. 1667.

⁵ A. Thompson, *B.N.J.* xxv (v.s.), Pl. B, fig. 4.

⁶ Ibid., figs. 1 and 2.

⁷ The order came on 13 Jan. 1597-8; the evacuation was to be complete by 25 July 1598. See Philip Norman, "Notes on the Later History of the Steelyard in London", in *Archæologia*, lxi, pp. 389 ff.

and the reopening under James I in 1606 coincided with the brief reappearance of the ryal for a decade or so. These are the last signs of an economic complex now thoroughly obsolete. The bullion distribution of Europe was completely altered after the discovery of the New World. Flanders and the Rhineland permanently, and Holland temporarily, were losing their manufacturing monopoly and sinking into chaos and tutelage. England was beginning to make for herself the things that she had almost invariably imported hitherto, and to take the remains of another trade, that of the Russia Company, into her own hands. The trail became a backwater after nearly a thousand years.

To end, I shall quote a few tokens of a trend contrary to my main theme: the typological influence of Flanders on Britain rather than vice versa. Scotland was always more ready to accept foreign coinage than England, which explains what a cursory comparison will show—the thoroughly Flemish design of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Scottish “placks”—while to return to the question of the nobles, it is in the Netherlands that we find the prototype of the Henrican sovereign, the “Grand Ryal” of the Emperor Maximilian, who married “Burgundy” and all her appurtenances (Pl. II, 19). This was first issued in 1487.¹ Henry VII issued his in 1489.² King Hans of Denmark followed with a similar piece in 1496.³ Like the English piece, the Maximilian sovereign was a double noble (or lesser ryal) and had a half-denomination depicting the Emperor in a ship. From 1489, with the disastrous interlude of the Warbeck incident, Henry VII undertook a vigorous commercial policy, culminating in the “Magnus Intercursus” (subject: Wool) with the Duke of Burgundy in 1496, but not concerned with the Burgundian Netherlands alone. Denmark was to be brought into the same orbit by a treaty of 1489, and even Riga had preferential treatment to wean her merchants from the Hansard sway. This was the vindication of a policy in which England was to call the tune, in contrast to the rather servile concessions of Edward IV to his Burgundian and Hanseatic partisans.⁴ It is the last phase in the 1,000-year cycle, and marking, as it does, the effective beginning of the rose-noble domination of the north, presents the same symptoms as those of the Æthelred pennies and the sterlings. In each of these periods England is bound up in an orbit that bestrides the North Sea and the Baltic, and is at once the loser in bullion and the gainer in manufacturing power and complexity of culture.

What are the permanent factors of this cycle? I think I can justly tabulate the following:

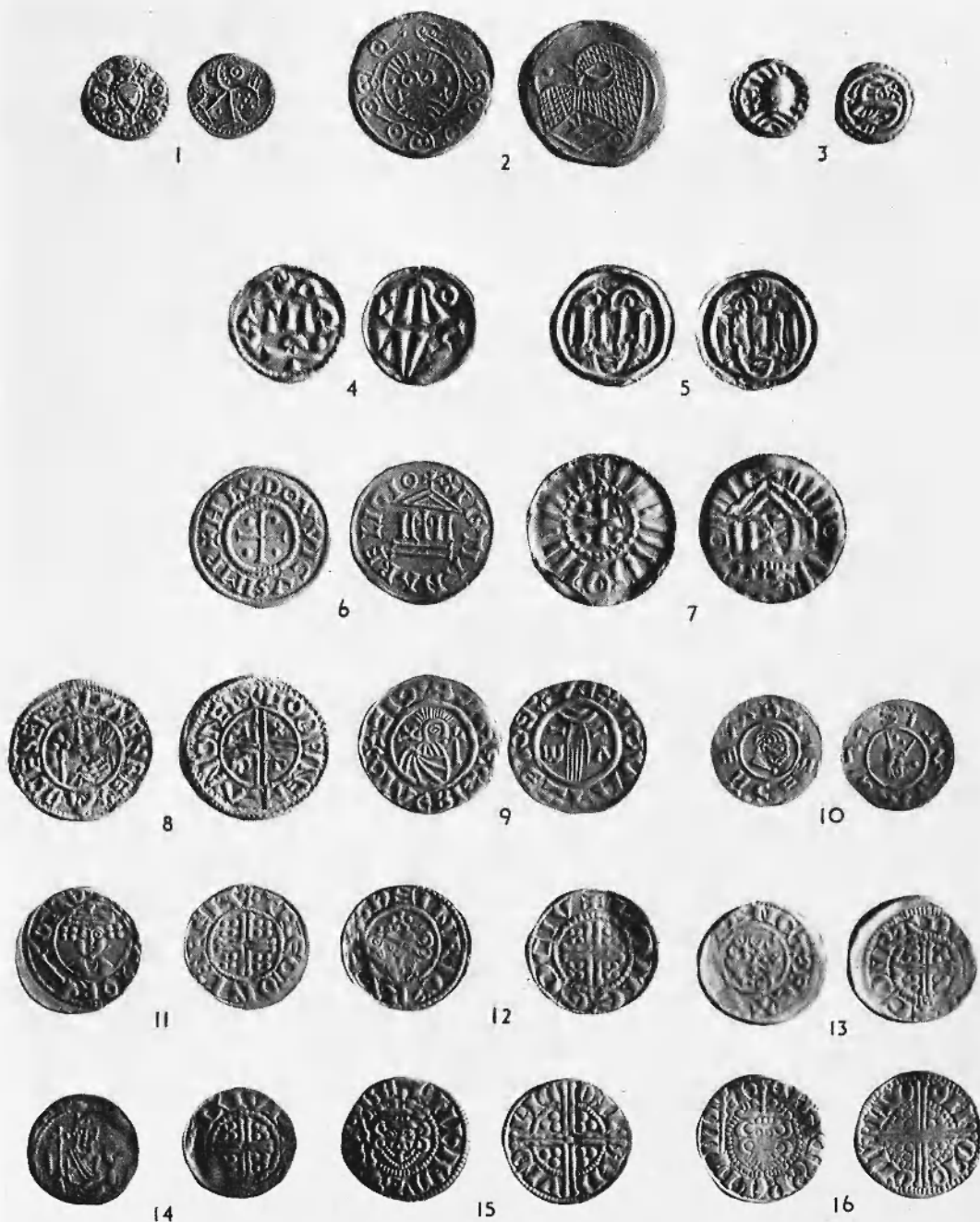
1. The perennial association of English coin and English wool.

¹ E. & S., fig. 1777.

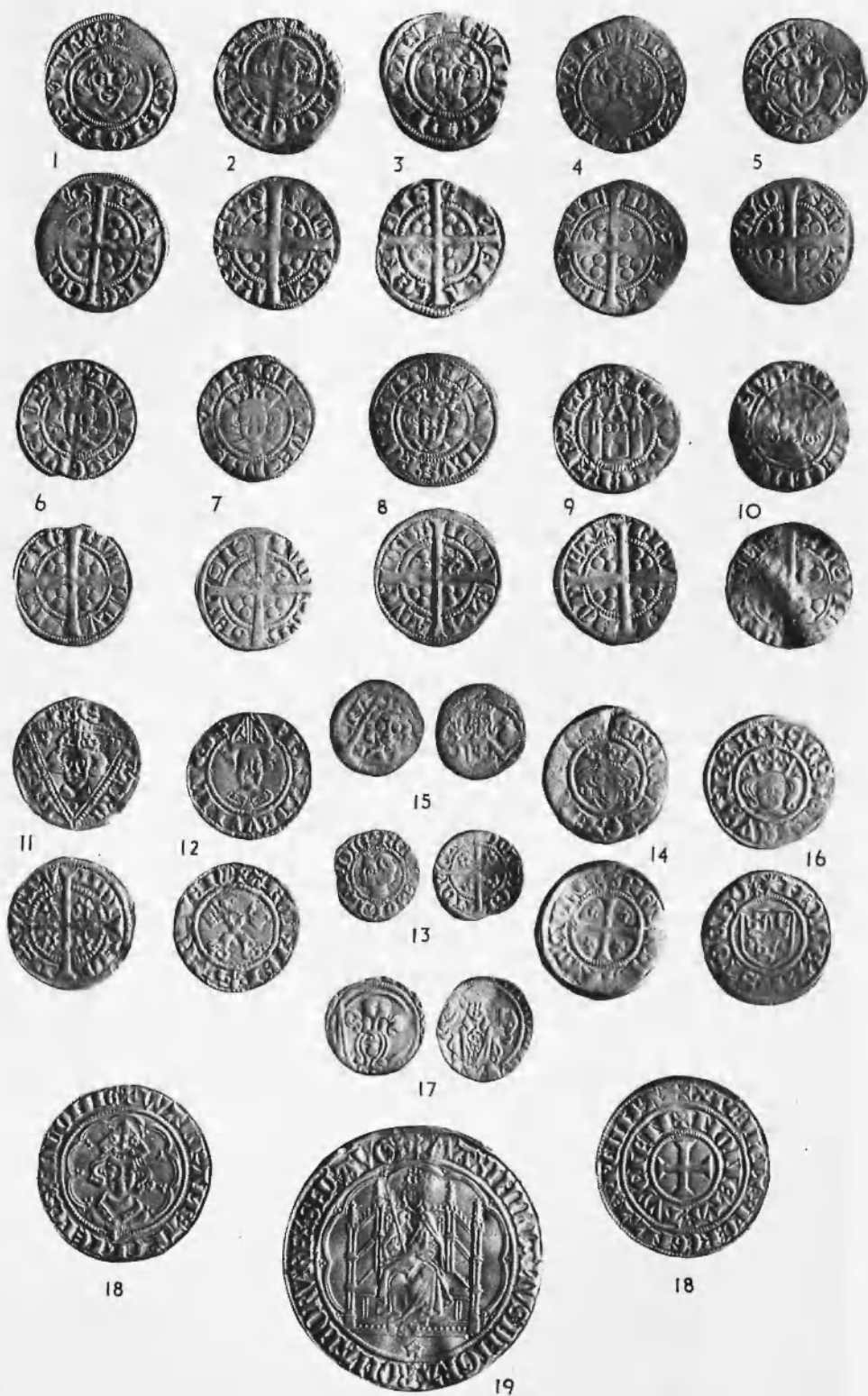
² Brooke, *op. cit.*, Pl. xxxvi, 1.

³ E. & S., fig. 1870.

⁴ For the English content of Netherlandish gold-hoards, cf. the following: Eecloo (*R.B.* 1892, p. 474), *c.* 1431–50; Tilburg (*R.B.* 1894, p. 547), *c.* 1455–61; Zandvoorde (*R.B.* 1908, p. 254), *c.* 1482; Nederheim (*R.B.* 1865, pp. 361 ff.), *c.* 1480; Ath. (*Gaz. Num.*, Oct. 1900, p. 36), *c.* 1490; Hainault (*R.B.* 1923), *c.* 1515–20; Amersfoort (*Tijdschr.* iv. 193), 1530; Termonde (*R.B.* 1927, pp. 148 ff.), *c.* 1562–3 (all chiefly Edwardian and Henrican nobles).



INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH COIN TYPES IN EUROPE



INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH COIN TYPES IN EUROPE

2. The perpetual connexion of English coin with the Netherlands and/or the Baltic and Lower Saxony except during two periods when preoccupation with France and German assertiveness partially closed the channel, viz. 1053 to 1207 and c. 1365 to 1400.
 3. The immense importance of the river systems and the Schleswig isthmus.
 4. The surprising parallelism between the behaviour of the coins and the documentary evidence of political and economic activity. The following is a summary:
- | | | | |
|------------------|--|--------------|---|
| c. 980-1052 | Warlike and peaceful penetration of north | c. 980-1052 | A.-S. coins in N. Europe. |
| 1207-16 | John supports Otto IV | ? c. 1215 | First Westphalian sterlings. |
| 1223-40 | Henry III's German policy | { c. 1223-45 | Westphalian short-cross sterlings. |
| | | { c. 1223-40 | English coins in Westphalia. |
| 1257-72 | Richard King of Romans | c. 1250-60 | Westphalian long-cross sterlings. |
| | | c. 1270 | Frisian long-cross imitations. |
| | | 1282-3 | ? First "rosarii" in Brabant and "bare heads" at Namur. |
| 1293 ff. | English pressure on Flanders | c. 1293 ff. | Large issue of "rosarii". |
| | | c. 1310 | Issue of "crowned" sterlings. |
| 1320 | Staple at St. Omer | c. 1320-5 | Cessation of crowned sterlings. |
| 1326 | Staple in England | | |
| 1335-8 | English pressure on Flanders resumed, leading to 100 Years War | c. 1335 | Resumption of crowned sterlings. |
| 1360 | Treaty of Brétigny } | 1363 | Mint at Calais opened. |
| 1361 | Staple at Calais } | | |
| 1420 | Treaty of Troyes | 1422 | Mint at Calais reopened. |
| c. 1496-1506 ff. | Commercial treaties of Henry VII | 1487 | Sovereign coinage. |
| 1598 | Closing of Steelyard | { 1592 | Cessation of ryal coinage. |
| | | { 1595-6 | Cessation of sovereign coinage. |
| 1606 | Reopening of Steelyard | 1605-6 | Resumption of ryal and sovereign coinage. |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the Ashmolean Museum for casts of coins, Pl. I, 1, 3, 14; Pl. II, 2, 3, 6, 7, 16.

To Herr P. Berghaus, for many suggestions, private as well as published.

To C. Blunt, Esq., for Pl. I, 9.

To the British Museum for Pl. I, 4, 11, 12, 15, 16; Pl. II, 11, 14, 15, 17.

To P. Grierson, Esq., for Pl. I, 5.

To the National Danish Museum for Pl. I, 2, 8, 13; Pl. II, 14.

To A. Thompson, Esq., for much help and free access to his hoard-lore.

THE COINAGES OF HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI IN HENRY'S NAME

By C. A. WHITTON

PART I. INTRODUCTION

THE ensuing papers are intended to supplement Brooke's account of the coins of this period, leaving the divisions of them save for some necessary changes in the practical form which he devised. The general plan is to show, after a brief historical survey, each metal in each denomination at the several mints as a complete series, except in the case of the Bristol mint which it seemed desirable to treat separately. Thus the papers will consist of four sections:

1. This introduction, mainly historical, together with a synoptic chart of the various mints and mint accounts.
2. Gold of London including Southwark: (*a*) Sovereigns of each coinage; (*b*) Half-sovereigns, and the Sovereign and Half-sovereigns of Edward VI's coinage in Henry's name; (*c*) Crowns and Half-crowns of the Double Rose, including those of Edward in Henry's name; (*d*) Angels of all three coinages of Henry and George Nobles, and their fractions.
3. Silver: (*a*) First and Second Coinages of London; (*b*) Ecclesiastical Coinage; (*c*) Base Coinage including that of Edward in Henry's name, including coins of the Tower, Southwark, Durham House, Canterbury, and York.
4. Gold and silver of Bristol.

In both gold and silver some incidental mention will be made of the early coinages in Edward's name also.

The dates of the coinages are: First Coinage, 1509-26; Second Coinage, 1526-44; Base Coinage, 1544-7; Edward's so-called First Coinage, chiefly in Henry's name, 1547-51. Henry's Base Coinage includes the Third Coinage (1542-4, withdrawn probably save for some coins struck under the indenture of 1526), the Fourth Coinage (1544), the Fifth Coinage (1545), and the Sixth Coinage (1546). Where it seemed useful I have retained these terms, but for general descriptive purposes I have treated the Base Coinage as one continuous series from 1544 to 1551 approximately.

The long reign of Henry VIII figures in English history as a link marking a transition between two ages. This aspect of the reign is reflected in the large and varied coinage it produced. New coins of a new standard were struck, old ones were discarded; new traditions were established and old ones broken; in particular, circumstances and the impetuous character of the king precipitated two remarkable changes in the currency, namely, the abolition of the bishops' privilege of striking money and the debasement of the coinage. These two events are of especial interest to the numismatist, and to understand

them it will be useful to consider some of the circumstances of Henry's reign.

During the early years of his reign Henry had, through his affinity with Ferdinand the Catholic, the father of his first wife Katherine of Aragon, inevitably been drawn into the intricacies of European politics. The influence of Wolsey, too, was turning the king's mind in the same direction. Within a few years of his accession, by 1513, he had fought the campaigns of Tournay and Flodden, for, as ever, war in Europe was prone to bring trouble also in Scotland. These early successes seem to have gone to Henry's head. The complacency they induced in him found expression in such extravagances as the conference of the Field of Cloth of Gold, and in the triumphant issue of his Tournay groats, the outcome perhaps of youthful dreams, inspired by memories of Agincourt, of a new Anglo-Gallic empire.

But disillusionment was soon to come. By 1520 Henry himself was prepared to admit that his title of King of France was "good for nothing". As his activities increased he became more and more closely involved in the quarrels of the real King of France, as well as in those of the Holy Roman Emperor and of the Pope himself. All these undertakings were exhaustingly expensive, for the soldiery must be paid in hard cash and at a rate much higher than the reward of civil labour. Indeed, more than once in his continental wars Henry suffered the humiliation of seeing his soldiers "come out on strike" for lack of pay, and even give up the campaign and make their way home to England. His own campaigns, however, were not the only expeditions on which Henry's money was lavished. It is to be feared that in his youthful enthusiasm he was sometimes exploited by the older and more experienced rulers on the Continent and induced by specious pleading to contribute to the cost of their private quarrels. When in 1519 the young and formidable Emperor Charles V succeeded Maximilian the cost of such subsidies became an even greater drain on Henry. The danger to England became more real and it was partly through such payments that Wolsey was able to preserve the balance of power between the king's chief rivals, the Emperor Charles and Francis I of France.

With the Pope, Henry was destined to find himself in controversy for another reason. After some twenty years of marriage to Katherine of Aragon, Henry, and the country not less urgently, still lacked the all-important male heir. Katherine's only surviving child was the future Queen Mary, and there was no precedent, save in the doubtful case of Matilda, for the rule of a woman in England. For a medieval monarch a daughter, when an only child, could be doubly embarrassing; not only was her succession likely to be disputed, but if she married a foreigner the very kingdom might be involved with her. On the other hand, the king who had both sons and daughters was doubly blessed; the succession was more secure and his daughters thus became an asset in the marriage market by enabling the king to bargain, however recklessly on a long view, for the alliance of foreign potentates. It was thus indeed that Henry himself had become,

through the schemes of his father, involved in the affairs of Aragon and Castile. And so, alive to his precarious plight and now, moreover, predisposed towards Anne Boleyn, Henry was readily induced to regard the deaths of all Katherine's sons—she had four in all—as the just punishment of an illegally contracted marriage, illegal at least in the eyes of the Church, since Katherine had first been married to Henry's elder brother Arthur who had died young.

Any divorce or annulment, however, was not easy and was indeed contrary to the very laws of the Church of Rome. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to follow Henry into the labyrinth of intrigue he traversed during a number of years in pursuit of this purpose. The attitude of Rome remained unyielding, and at last the exasperated king determined to take matters into his own hands. He created himself Head of the Church in his own realm and eventually found in Cranmer the man who was ready to pronounce the divorce. This accomplished (1533), Henry at once married Anne Boleyn, though a secret marriage to her had perhaps already taken place.

The divorce, though unpopular in the country at first, was gradually forgotten if not condoned as the hostility to Rome grew. With the appointment of Thomas Cromwell as the King's Secretary in May 1534 this hostility took a more active form. The date is important for numismatists because it was probably the prelude to the end of the ecclesiastical coinage in England. The coins too bear out this assumption. There can be little doubt that the bishops' privilege of coinage ceased in November 1534 with the passing of Cromwell's famous Act of Supremacy. This instrument, frequently quoted by historians,¹ formally recognized Henry as Supreme Head of the Church, a title, as we have seen already, conceded to him by Convocation in 1531. Its wording is instructive; it annexed to the Crown "all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said Dignity of Supreme Head . . . belonging". It is difficult to imagine that even the privilege of the bishops can have escaped such an all-embracing claim.

This curtailment of the bishops' privilege was the beginning of further attacks on the power and wealth of the Church. Such a policy had already been tentatively explored in the dissolution of some of the smaller monasteries. It was soon to be more fully implemented in the suppression of all the religious houses and the confiscation of Church property, the material portion of which was used to serve the king's immediate needs. Much Church plate was sent to the mint and melted down for recoinage, and much of the money struck after 1536 probably came from such plate. We are told that when anyone lost a coin men said it must have been made from a chalice.² For it was not only the power of the Church and the monasteries that the king coveted, it was also their wealth.

¹ e.g. A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII*, pp. 324-5; also Cranmer, p. 82; J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, p. 337.

² Maynard Smith, *Henry VIII and the Reformation*, p. 122 (Macmillan, 1948).

The fact is that for some years Henry's financial affairs, as may readily be inferred, had been steadily deteriorating. If in accordance with a promise of Cromwell's Henry became the "richest prince in Christendom" it was for the second time in his life. For there is no doubt that he had inherited from his father a very large sum of hoarded wealth which he speedily contrived to squander. But if he has been censured, and rightly censured, for this extravagance, it is only fair to recall that he was to some extent the victim of circumstances. Although it was not until the reign of Elizabeth that the luxury and beauty of Renaissance work made any wide appeal to the gentry in England, yet even in Henry's time expensive novelties had begun to creep in to tempt the gallantry of one who was essentially the "First Gentleman" of England. Fine clothes and their appurtenances, from jewels, now for the first time skilfully cut to show off their beauty, to trifles like fans and walking-sticks—all these were to Henry and his ladies irresistible and indispensable. And as it happened there was for the king the added lure of seeing himself and his finery immortalized in the attractive paintings of Hans Holbein and his school. The dour and thrifty Henry VII had not been exposed to such temptations as these.

And in addition to the difficulties arising from his own extravagance or from ambitious or unavoidable expenditure abroad, Henry had to contend with the normal troubles of currency. In 1526 there had supervened one of the recurrent crises inevitable in a monetary system where the currency has an intrinsic value; it was a problem which was only solved in modern times when gold was brought under constant scrutiny in the scales of the banks, so that it was never allowed to circulate in a worn condition. In former times the difficulty was temporarily relieved by fixing the weight of the standard coin at the average of that in circulation. Thus in 1526 Wolsey reduced the groat from 48 to 42 $\frac{2}{3}$ grs., which agrees with the average weight of many surviving groats of Edward IV, Richard III, and Henry VII, which as well as the First Coinage of Henry VIII no doubt still figured largely in the national currency.

At the same time Wolsey began to issue crown gold of 22 ct., a step forced on the king's advisers by the competition of foreign gold here. Its immediate effect was doubtless to drive "underground" much of the existing fine gold. A remarkable instance of this is seen in the St. Albans find of 1886, when there were found hidden within the timber from a dismantled building some 250 gold coins, from ryals of Edward IV to angels and half-angels of Henry VIII's First Coinage, but nothing later and of course no crown gold.¹ There can be little doubt that this was a monastic hoard and had been buried to frustrate one of the visitations of Thomas Cromwell in the 1530's. There was then plenty of crown gold available, but it had been circulated, while the fine gold only was hoarded and hidden. The ryals of Edward IV struck at 10s. were now worth 11s. 3d. in the scales; in twenty-five

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 173.

years they were to be worth 15s. each. To those rich enough to save, the passage of time brought an assured bonus on their money. Such hoarding was doubtless widespread and inevitably accentuated the shortage of bullion. The king alone among "rich" men was, by his commitments, debarred from enjoying this bonus. In 1529, we read,¹ he was reduced to searching the country for gold-mines. In 1546 gold was further reduced to 20 ct.

But the mass of the people was concerned not so much with the gold coinage as with the silver. The story of the debasement, first revealed in 1544, needs in the main no historical restatement. It is, perhaps, for the numismatist, best unfolded, with the metal declining gradually to a fineness of 4 oz. in the pound, by the coins themselves. These leave little doubt as to the main facts, but there is some confusion as to the initial stages of the debasement and in particular it seems desirable to re-examine in the light of new evidence Brooke's account of them.

Brooke states² that the first base silver coins, authorized in May 1542 to be of 10 oz. fine, and the corresponding gold coins of 23 ct. were never issued but went back to the melting-pot as their issue awaited proclamation, "which presumably Parliament refused to sanction. As the result of the withdrawal of the coinage the mint was again engaged in coinage of the Wolsey standards [i.e. 11 oz. 2 dwt. silver] between Michaelmas 1543 and March 1544, and to this issue may be assigned the rare groat with Pheon mark on which the Irish title [proclaimed in 1542] is inserted."

Brooke's reasons both for the coinage of the fine groats with i.m. Pheon and for the remelting of the 10-oz. coinage seem open to criticism. To take the latter point first, the view that the 10-oz. coinage was never issued is based on the fact that no 10-oz. coins are known. What are almost certainly the earliest pieces of base silver have proved on assay to be 9 oz. fine, so that it is justifiable to assume, and indeed there is documentary evidence,³ that the first base coins were issued for circulation by the proclamation of May 1544 (not 1542).

There seems reason to doubt, however, whether Parliament's presumed refusal to sanction the proclamation of 1542 was the cause of the remelting of the 10-oz. coinage. By 1542 Parliament had long been accustomed to respect the king's wishes. An Elizabethan writer, Sir H. Spelman, records that as early as 1536 when the Commons showed some reluctance to pass Henry's Bill for the suppression of the monasteries the king appeared before them in person. "I hear", he said, "that my Bill will not pass, but I will have it pass or I will have some of your heads."⁴ Now, six years later, Henry's tyrannical rule had become even harsher, and it is evident from the mint records and Mr. Henry Symonds's comments on them⁵ that public affairs whether at the mint or elsewhere were not always conducted on orthodox or con-

¹ Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1923, pp. 265-6.

⁵ *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 161.

² *English Coins*, p. 177.

⁴ Maynard Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

stitutional lines. Henry in fact in contemplating a base coinage was doing so, as Mr. Symonds has suggested, not in order to relieve the shortage of currency among his subjects but to enrich himself, and it may be assumed that if the 10-oz. coinage was remelted it was because the king was now advised that such a standard was an unnecessarily generous one.

New light is brought to bear on the question by a student of economics, Mr. A. E. Feavearyear.¹ His account of the coinage of 1542, citing chiefly the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, differs in several respects from Brooke's.

In the first place Mr. Feavearyear points out that the terms of the indenture of 16 May 1542, authorizing gold of 23 ct. and silver of 10 oz. fine, and the new price of bullion, were not announced to all and sundry for the good reason that Henry intended, as he ultimately did, to raise the price of bullion still higher and himself take advantage of the rising market before "letting in the general public".² Meanwhile money was coined from time to time under this secret indenture and stored in the Jewel Tower in the Palace of Westminster.

Secondly, Mr. Feavearyear states that the silver was not coined according to the strict terms of the indenture but that actually, to make the 22,053 lb. of silver struck in 1542-4, 5,513 lb. of alloy were used, so that the real fineness of the silver was not 10 oz. but only 8.3 oz. in the pound.

It would seem that there is here some confusion in the writer's interpretation of his sources. The figure of 22,053 lb. is certainly that given by the mint accounts for silver struck between July 1542 and March 1543 (10 oz.), but the admixture of alloy seems to suggest that Mr. Feavearyear is considering, whether consciously or not, the bullion after it had been melted down and was being recoined for the 9-oz. standard (or 8.3 oz., a figure to which students need not of course feel tied down).

Thirdly, says Mr. Feavearyear, "so far as the public was concerned, the old indenture still held good, and small quantities of gold and silver were brought in and minted according to the regulations of 1526". This is confirmed (as Brooke was of course aware) by existing mint accounts, and thus the proper explanation of the issue of the Pheon-marked profile groats with the Irish title and the corresponding gold crowns is possibly that they were struck as a token observance of the law simultaneously with the base "whole face" groats, which, as already stated, were not being issued but secretly stored until, as Mr. Feavearyear puts it, "the mine" was ready to be sprung. The "mine" was sprung on 16 May 1544 and the base money brought out and issued to coincide with the proclamation announcing the new and higher prices of bullion.

An important feature of Mr. Feavearyear's account is his emphasis of the element of secrecy in Henry's procedure. Neither Brooke nor

¹ *The Pound Sterling*, Oxford, 1932 (2nd edn.).

² See also *Num. Chron.*, 1923, pp. 265-6.

Mr. Parsons¹ in any way allude to this, yet it is obvious that secrecy was a prerequisite of the king's schemes. That the truth was bound to be discovered mattered little to the king for the moment. In 1544 he was at war in both France and Scotland and must have money to pay his troops; indeed some of the first base coins were used to pay the soldiers in Scotland.² Actually the truth was revealed almost immediately, for in July 1544, only two months after their issue, the merchants of the Low Countries had discovered the baseness of the new groats and were offering a lower price for them. Later, such discovery was even more certain, for the baser coins were often merely plated with silver, traces of which on many of them can still be seen.

The debasement, it may be supposed, caused widespread distress in the country. Even if the volume of trade was less seriously affected individuals must have suffered considerably, and Latimer in 1548 was doubtless justified in lamenting that "the evilness of money hath made all things dearer".³ Yet though it was an unaccustomed evil in England a debased currency had long been general, for instance, throughout France and was indeed an inheritance from more ancient times. "Reprobate silver shall men call them" (the wicked), says the prophet Jeremiah.⁴ Somewhat ironically, however, and in obedience to a familiar economic law, an even more notable rise in prices took place later in Elizabeth's reign when silver of the old standard became, thanks to the influx of new metal from America, once more plentiful in the land. By 1572 the world's production of silver was six times as great as it had been in 1496.⁵ But there seems reason to doubt if even all Elizabeth's new silver was immediately able to cope with the problem of rising prices. A noticeable feature of the base coins of Henry VIII and Edward VI is their well-worn appearance. It is evident that for some time after Elizabeth's accession the need for currency was so vital that the base groats remained in circulation, to pass for the official three-halfpence at which they were then rated or indeed for what they would fetch. And within limits, the less their value the greater their circulation.

But Henry's base coins were destined, even after their disappearance, to have a profound and far-reaching effect on the currency. It was evidently now being realized that base money had a useful part to play. Both Edward VI and Mary tacitly recognized this when, even after the restoration of fine silver, they struck base pennies of their own. And as far back as the reign of Edward III the mint authorities had had a brief if transient glimpse of the practical utility of a base coinage when they struck the farthings of 10-oz. silver in 1335. For one very practical advantage of a base coin is that it is less likely to be clipped, and the evil of clipping can hardly be over-stressed. It was the pence and smaller coins which suffered through wear and tear and by clipping the heaviest percentage of reduction in weight,

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxv. 63.

³ Ruding, i. 314.

⁵ G. N. Clark, *The Wealth of England* (Oxford, 1946), p. 58.

² Feavearyear, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴ Jeremiah vi. 30.

and so in worth, and it is clear from the condition of the mass of surviving pence of all reigns from Edward III to Henry VIII that many thousands of pence can only have had the purchasing power of half-pence. But it was only when the accident of Henry's greed forced the base coins into circulation in large quantities that immunity from clipping was properly appreciated. However valueless intrinsically, such coins could serve a useful purpose; the shortage of small change was at last being met. The lead tokens of Elizabeth, the copper farthings of James I and Charles I, the Commonwealth tokens, and finally the royal copper coinage itself were all perhaps hastened in their coming by the economic truth brought home by Henry's base money.

In one other respect did the base groat and the 20-ct. gold contribute to the evolution of English currency. The one brought the fourpenny piece into disuse and so prepared the way for the sixpence and shilling which higher prices were calling for, and the new gold virtually ensured the replacement of the old coin of 6s. 8d. by the more convenient pieces of 10s. and 20s. It was thus a beginning in the beneficial process of identifying the currency with the moneys of account.

MINT RECORDS AND ACCOUNTS

The principal documentary evidence for the coinages of Henry and his son have been set forth in the papers of Henry Symonds.¹ A synoptic summary of it (see folder) showing the several coinages of Henry VIII and the first three coinages of Edward VI was found among Brooke's papers and is here presented, save for some additions and corrections, as it was compiled by Brooke himself. The figures for the various coinages have been taken from the mint accounts published by Miss Ethel Stokes² together with sundry items from Mr. Symonds's papers quoted above.

The accounts on the whole reflect fairly accurately the comparative frequency of the coins, although there must inevitably be some doubt whether they are complete. In some cases the accounts are entirely missing. The two outstanding examples in the chart concern the Southwark mint and that department at the Tower in charge of Stephen Vaughan, appointed a joint Under-Treasurer in 1544. Research into the affairs of the Southwark mint has been unproductive and the identification of coins struck there must be to some extent conjectural. But one thing is certain: the only series that can convincingly be attributed to Southwark is that which includes the privy marks S, A, and E. Moreover, these are the only coins, other than assured Tower pieces, which are coextensive with the "life" of the Southwark mint, 1545-50. H. Symonds's objection to this attribution, first made by Evans,³ that such coins read *Civitas London* and that Southwark was not within the City boundary may be set aside since, although some of the larger silver coins read *Posvi*, &c., all the relevant

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 134; xi. 136.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1929, p. 27.

³ *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 134.

pence and halfpence read *Civitas London* and some of these must have been struck at Southwark. Brooke's attribution of Martlet coins to the Southwark mint is, since it covers only a short period, quite inadequate and probably wrong. If coins marked S, æ, or E were not struck at Southwark, then it seems certain that there are no recognizable Southwark coins. This could only have happened if by some more than usually irregular procedure Southwark had been treated not as an ordinary mint but as a branch of the Tower and received as occasion arose dies bearing several different marks, so that there would be no exclusive Southwark mint mark. This is hardly likely.

The work at the mint of Stephen Vaughan must also be a matter for speculation, but of fairly legitimate speculation. From the evidence of the other activities of Vaughan's career it seems possible that he was appointed at the mint in a supernumerary capacity and that his post was virtually a sinecure. Such an appointment was not unparalleled. Henry Symonds has suggested that Henry VIII was not above appointing among his officials one who should be a sort of watchdog on his colleagues—albeit that the watchdog apparently "sometimes slept".¹ No student of the reign of Henry VIII will be surprised at such a suggestion. Throughout Henry's life few men enjoyed his full confidence. His spies ranged over every field of official life. Stephen Vaughan had in fact been one of them and had been in close association with the king since the death of Wolsey. He was a London Merchant Adventurer who had a useful knowledge of continental affairs. He became head of the English House at Antwerp² and had been employed by Henry to explore the possibility of an alliance with the Elector of Saxony. He was also employed in the early 1530's to trace the whereabouts of the "heretic" Tyndale, busy abroad with his translation of the New Testament which was being smuggled into England.³ In 1536 we hear of his being occupied in spying on the behaviour of the divorced Katherine of Aragon.⁴ She died, it will be recalled, in that year under circumstances which suggest that she was poisoned; her body was, by Cromwell's orders, hastily sealed.

In view of these activities it seems not impossible that Vaughan's appointment at the mint was not a normal one. The absence of the accounts may now suggest more strongly that it was a sinecure, that from 1544 to his death in 1549 his connexion with the mint was purely nominal, and that he took no active part in the production of coins.

There is, moreover, evidence that the state of affairs just indicated was by no means a novel feature in the personal policy of Henry VIII. It does not need much imagination to suppose, and indeed it can be proved, that the young King in 1509 was not thought to be seriously interested in government either by the astute and experienced courtier or by the more professed politician such as Wolsey himself. Henry's immediate entourage would consist entirely of agreeable flatterers, and even the comparatively minor department of government which

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xi. 141.

³ Maynard Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

² *D.N.B.*

⁴ *D.N.B.*

		TOWER MINT			SOUTHWARK <i>John Yorke</i>	CANTERBURY <i>W. Tillesworth</i>	YORK <i>George Gale</i>	BRISTOL <i>W. Sharington</i>	DURHAM HOUSE <i>John Bowes</i>
		<i>Martin Bowes</i>	<i>S. Vaughan</i> <i>(Joint Under-treasurers)</i>	<i>Thomas Knight</i>					
IV. 28 May 1544 Gold of 23 ct. (angel 8s., 80 gr.) Silver of 9 oz. (penny of 10 gr.)	Sov., $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov., angel, $\frac{1}{2}$ -angel, $\frac{1}{4}$ -angel Testoon to $\frac{1}{4}d.$	5,761 lb. 62,203 lb.	Party to indenture, but no accounts ..	.. ..	.. .. OPENED (19 June 1545)	.. .. OPENED (June 1545)	.. .. OPENED (1 May 1545)	.. .. ..	.. .. ..
V. 27 March 1545 Gold of 22 ct. (sov. 20s., 192 gr.) Silver of 6 oz. (penny of 10 gr.)	Sov., $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov., crown, $\frac{1}{2}$ -crown Groat to $\frac{1}{4}d.$	6,869 lb. 73,398 lb.	Party to indenture, but no accounts ..	2,310 lb. 27,572 lb.	No gold Silver coinage, but no accounts	No gold 21,309 lb. (June to Oct. groat only)	No gold 20,290 lb. (June to Oct. groat only)	.. .. OPENED (Apr. 1546)	.. .. ..
VI. 1 April 1546 Gold of 20 ct. Silver of 4 oz.	Denominations not stated	3,586 lb. 50,100 lb.	Party to indenture, but no accounts	1,249 lb. 30,731 lb.	Gold doubtful Silver coined, but no accounts	No gold 17,944 lb.	No gold 28,736 lb.	213 lb. 16,833 lb.	.. ..
EDWARD VI (acceded 28 Jan. 1547) I. 5 April 1547 Gold of 20 ct. (sov. 20s., 192 gr.)	Sov., $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov., crown, $\frac{1}{2}$ -crown	7,984 lb. } May 1547 to Dec. 1548	.. ..	625 lb.	{ Indenture for gold and silver (no ac- counts) }	No gold	No gold	204 lb.	..
Silver of 4 oz. (penny of 10 gr.)	Testoon to $\frac{1}{4}d.$	53,859 lb. }	.. ..	8,086 lb.		5,688 lb. ($\frac{1}{2}$ groat to $\frac{1}{4}d.$)	10,440 lb. (denominations not known)	6,838 lb. { Commission appointed Feb. 1549. T. Cham- berlain, amount not known (groat to $\frac{1}{2}d.$)	..
II. 16 Feb. 1548 (as preceding)	..	..	.. ..	CLOSED	Gold and silver (no testoon or $\frac{1}{4}d.$)	52,037 lb. ¹ (groat to $\frac{1}{2}d.$) to Mar. 1549	37,576 lb. ² (groat to $\frac{1}{2}d.$) 1547 and 1548	19,554 lb. ¹ None 844 lb. ¹ .. CLOSED (Oct. 1549; moneyers employed at London)	OPENED (2 Dec. 1548)
III. 24 Jan. 1549 Jan. to Mar. 1549: Silver of 4 oz.	Groat to penny	15,560 lb. ²	CLOSED	..	{ Gold (20 ct.) and sil- ver (4 oz.) pre- sumed to run to Dec. 1549 Shilling of 6 oz. also presumed 22 ct. gold perhaps coined CLOSED (Dec. 1550) }	Amount not known	{ Probably continued 4 oz. silver as be- fore to end of 1551 }		
Feb. 1549: Silver of 8 oz.	Shilling (60 gr.), 6d.	1,949 lb. ²	..	..		3,420 lb. ¹			
Apr. 1549 to Oct. 1550: Silver of 6 oz.	Shilling (80 gr.)	63,459 lb. ¹ 27,360 lb. ³	..	..		20,550 lb. ¹			
Oct. 1549 to Oct. 1550: Gold of 22 ct. (sov. 20s. 169 $\frac{7}{17}$ gr.)	{ Sov., $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov., crown, $\frac{1}{2}$ -crown	1,287 lb. } 131 lb. ³	..	..		.. CLOSED (Feb. 1550)			.. CLOSED (Feb. 1550)

¹ Partly conversion of testoons.

² Conversion of testoons.

³ *B.N.J.* xi, p. 139; omitted by Brooke.

interests numismatists affords proof of the manner in which official appointments were apt to be made. For instance we know that the post of die-engraver at the mint was repeatedly filled not by persons with any artistic qualifications but by Henry's friends, mere courtiers and careerists. True, on Henry's accession in April 1509 the post of engraver was still held by the distinguished Alexander of Bruchsal. But in the following September Alexander was relieved of his office and paid off.¹ He was replaced by one John Sharp, later knighted by Henry. Nothing is known to the discredit of Sharp, but he was presumably a friend of Henry's placed by him in a lucrative sinecure.² Sharp died in 1519 and was succeeded by Henry Norris, who was also subsequently knighted. Norris retained his post until 1536, when he was executed for his alleged complicity in the infidelities of which Anne Boleyn was accused. Norris was a courtier who clearly owed his appointment entirely to Henry's friendship and it was not the only one he held.³ After his death the post of engraver was given by Henry to yet another courtier, Thomas Wriothesley, who held it until 1543, when he shortly received yet further advancement, becoming Lord Chancellor in 1544. The character of Wriothesley in so far as it is revealed by his activities at the mint could have had little to recommend it.⁴ As the king grew older his scruples became even fewer. One of his last and most notorious appointments at the mint was, in 1546, that of Sharington at Bristol, whose malpractices eventually brought him within reach of the law.

MEMORANDA AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Notable dates in the life of Henry VIII are as follows:

Born, 28 June 1491.

Acceded, 22 April 1509.

Died, 28 January 1547.

Married:

1. Katherine of Aragon, 11 June 1509; her trial begun 1529; marriage declared null and void 23 May 1533. She died 8 January 1536; her sole surviving child Mary (later Queen Mary) born 18 February 1516.
2. Anne Boleyn, 25 January 1533; marriage declared valid 28 May 1533, and invalid 17 May 1536 (the antedating of the marriage by some authorities to 14 November 1532 was probably due to a desire to shield Anne's character). Anne was executed 19 May 1536, leaving a daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth, born 7 September 1533.
3. Jane Seymour, 30 May 1536. She died 24 October 1537, leaving a son Edward (VI) born 12 October 1537.
4. Anne of Cleves, 6 January 1540; marriage declared null and void 9 July 1540; no issue.
5. Katherine Howard, 8 July 1540; she was executed 13 February 1542; no issue.
6. Katherine Parr, 12 July 1543, who survived Henry; no issue by him.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1915, p. 134.

² *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 353.

³ *D.N.B.*

⁴ *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 161.

Bibliography

- BROOKE, G. C., *English Coins*, ch. xiv.
 OMAN, Sir C., *The Coinage of England*, chs. xxiv, xxv.
 EVANS, J., "The Debased Coinage bearing the Name of Henry VIII", *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 114.
 LAWRENCE, L. A., "A Find of Silver Coins of Edward IV-Henry VIII", *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 34.
 SYMONDS, H., "The Bristol Mint of Henry VIII and Edward VI", *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 331.
 — "English Mint Engravers of the Tudor and Stuart Periods, 1485-1688", *Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 349.
 — "Edward VI and Durham House", *Num. Chron.*, 1914, p. 138.
 — "The Irish Coinages of Henry VIII and Edward VI", *Num. Chron.*, 1915, p. 192.
 BROOKE, G. C., "The English and Irish Coinages of 1542-1544", *Num. Chron.*, 1923, p. 260.
 STOKES, ETHEL, "Tables of Bullion Coined, 1377-1550", *Num. Chron.*, 1929, p. 27.
 SYMONDS, H., "Documentary Evidence for the English Royal Coinages of Henry VII and Henry VIII", *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 127.
 — "The English Coinages of Edward VI", *Brit. Num. Journ.* xi. 123.
 MORRIESON, H. W., "The Silver Coins of Edward VI", *Brit. Num. Journ.* xii. 137.
 LAWRENCE, L. A., "English and Irish Coins of Henry VIII bearing initials of his Queens", *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi. 89.
 PARSONS, H. A., "Notes on the 'Wolsey' Coinage of Henry VIII", *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxv. 60.
 FORRER, L., *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists*, s.v. "Sharington".
 SHARPE, *Num. Circ.*, April 1911.
 CARLYON-BRITTON, R., "The First Silver Coinage of Edward VI", *Num. Circ.*, July 1949.
 FEAVEAREY, A. E., *The Pound Sterling*, Oxford, 1931, ch. iii.

Details of Henry's first three coinages are as follows; the later coinages are shown on the chart:

Henry VIII, acceded 22 April 1509.

I. 6 Aug. 1509. Tower Mint only.

Gold of 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gr. Sovereign¹ (20s., 240 gr.), Ryal (10s.), Half-ryal, Quarter-ryal, Angel (6s. 8d.), Angelet.

Silver of 11 oz. 2 dwt. Groat (48 gr.) to Farthing.

Approximate amounts coined: gold, 23,500 lb.; silver, 44,400 lb.; a gap in both accounts, 1523-6.

22 Aug. 1526. Tower Mint only.

Gold of 23 ct. Crown of the Rose (4s. 6d., $53\frac{99}{127}$ gr. of 23 ct. gold).

II. 30 Oct. 1526. Tower Mint only.

Gold of 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gr. Sovereign (22s. 6d., 240 gr.), Ryal (11s. 3d.), Half-ryal, Quarter-ryal, Angel (7s. 6d.), Half-angel, George Noble (6s. 8d., $71\frac{1}{8}$ gr.), Half-George Noble.

Gold of 22 ct. Crown of the Double Rose (5s., $57\frac{21}{87}$ gr.), Half-crown.

Silver of 11 oz. 2 dwt. Groat ($42\frac{2}{3}$ gr.) to Farthing.

Approximate amounts coined: gold, 12,600 lb. (fine and crown gold not distinguished); silver, 206,600 lb.; a gap in both accounts, 1530-6.

III. May 1542. Tower Mint only (not issued save gold of 22 ct. (and (?) 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gr.) and silver of 11 oz. 2 dwt., 1543-4).

Gold of 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gr. Denominations unknown.

¹ Not in indenture, presumably struck under a special commission.

Gold of 23 ct. Sovereign (20s., 200 gr.), Half-sovereign, Angel (8s., 80 gr.), Half-angel, Quarter-angel.

Gold of 22 ct. Crown (5s., 57 $\frac{21}{8}$ gr.), Half-crown.

Silver of 11 oz. 2 dwt. Groat (42 $\frac{2}{3}$ gr.), Half-groat.

Silver of 10 oz. Testoon (120 gr.), Groat (40 gr.) to Farthing.

Approximate amounts coined: gold of 23 ct. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ gr., 31 lb.; gold of 23 ct., 541 lb.; gold of 22 ct., 181 lb.; silver of 11 oz. 2 dwt., 2,408 lb.; silver of 10 oz., 22,053 lb. plus 72,741 oz. of church plate.¹

PART 2. THE LONDON GOLD OF HENRY VIII

(a) THE SOVEREIGNS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND COINAGES

It is unusual perhaps to include two consecutive coinages in one discussion. As my paper proceeds, however, I think it will be evident that the continuity of this series is an element of some importance. In itself the First Coinage of sovereigns was small and unremarkable. It began comparatively late, rather as an afterthought, towards the end of the Portcullis period and was soon discontinued. Then after an interval of several years the dies were brought into use once more, to reappear as the Second Coinage. In their new guise they enjoyed a much more considerable vogue, in circumstances which, as it happens, not only help to indicate the sequence of mint marks for this Second Coinage but also throw light on a subject of general numismatic interest, namely, the work and practices of the medieval die-cutter. It will appear that quite unprecedented alterations were made on some of the dies, perhaps because they were the first very large dies from which an extensive coinage was made or contemplated; probably their costliness caused them to be singled out for special attention.

Another reason for considering the First and Second Coinage sovereigns together is that they form a collective and detached whole; they have no fractions or other connexions, and the letter-punches were not used for any contemporary denomination. The falseness of the royal or half-sovereign illustrated (Pl. I, 2) becomes more apparent in this light; if it were genuine one might have looked for the same letters as on the sovereigns or at least as on some other denomination.

The design on both obverse and reverse of the sovereigns is a continuation of that of the last sovereign of Henry VII, with obverse i.m. Lis, reverse Pheon or Crosslet, and certain puncheons for these dies were used also by Henry VIII throughout this series. Thus the king's face has the same formal appearance and is recognizable on all dies by a defect in the left eye. Presumably these puncheons had been designed by Alexander of Bruchsal, but of subsequent work we know nothing but the names of the officials through whose agency the dies were cut. These men were not craftsmen.

On Henry VIII's own coinage the artist, whoever he was, introduced a new lettering and a new design for the reverse. Instead of the single tressure of Henry VII he now made a double one, decorated

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 154.

with alternate lions and lis and saltires in the spandrels. Later, however, on an Arrow reverse he reverted to the single tressure of Henry VII; in fact it has been claimed that the i.m. Arrow is in one case struck over a Pheon on a die of Henry VII, and though there is a slight excrescence from the Arrow on this die (**Pl. II, R7**) which might lend colour to this view, I do not think it is correct. The lettering on Henry VII's Pheon die is the same as that on the Crosslet die (**Pl. I, 1**), and quite different from that on either of Henry VIII's Arrow dies (**Pl. II, R7, R8**).

It will be seen that the Lis/Crosslet (or Lis/Pheon) sovereign of Henry VII introduced a minor change in the design of the king's crown. The decoration along the base of the crown is now an ornamental leaf flanked by two points, contrasting with the former cross patty and two fleurs-de-lis. On Henry VIII's sovereigns this decoration becomes three more elaborate leaves, although in his Third Coinage the design alters materially. The form of the crown in fact on both gold and silver shows much, and sometimes significant, variety throughout the period under review.

I have based my conclusions on these early sovereigns on an examination of seventeen coins, taken from the collections in the British Museum, the Fitzwilliam Museum, and that of Mr. R. C. Lockett, and one coin illustrated in the Heath sale catalogue, lot 12. I think I have taken into consideration every die that has been published. All are here illustrated; the obverses on Plate I, the reverses on Plate II.

The coins were struck from two obverse dies, but one of them is used in four different stages of alteration, making virtually five dies in all. On Plate I I have numbered these as follows:

1st Coinage	O1a (i.m. Portcullis).
2nd Coinage	O1b (i.m. Sunburst over Portcullis).
"	O1c (i.m. Lis over Sunburst (i)).
"	O2 (i.m. Lis; a new die used while O1c was being repaired).
"	O1d (i.m. Lis over Sunburst (ii), i.e. O1c after being repaired).
"	Also O1e which is perhaps O1d altered by tooling.

The reverse dies are eight in number, but as one shows three stages of alteration there are in reality ten different dies in all, numbered on Plate II:

1st Coinage	R1 (i.m. Portcullis).
"	R2 (i.m. Portcullis, another die).
"	R3a (i.m. Portcullis, a third die).
2nd Coinage	R3b (i.m. Sunburst over Portcullis on die R3a).
"	R3c (i.m. Lis over Sunburst on R3b).
"	R4 (i.m. Lis, new die A).
"	R5 (i.m. Lis, a second new die B).
"	R6 (i.m. Lis, a third new die C).
"	R7 (i.m. Arrow A).
"	R8 (i.m. Arrow, another die B).

I append a brief description of these seventeen coins below; there are three pairs of duplicates (5 and 6, 10 and 11, 15 and 16) and one set of triplicates (12, 13, 14):

1. I.m. Portcullis both sides, rev. *Transiens*; wt. 236.1 gr.; O1a × R1 (B.M.).
2. " " " " " " " " 238.3 gr.; O1a × R2 (B.M.).
3. " " " " " " *Transiens* " 235 gr.; O1a × R3a (R.C.L.).
4. " Sunburst " " " " " " 238.1 gr.; O1b × R3b (B.M.).
5. " Lis over Sunburst (i) both sides, rev. *Transiens*; wt. 237.9 gr.; O1c × R3c (Fitzwilliam).
6. Another coin from the same two dies; wt. 236.8 gr. (B.M.).
7. *Obv.* i.m. Lis over Sunburst (i), rev. New Lis die (B), *Transiens* now invariable; wt. 237 gr.; O1c × R5 (B.M., ex Cassal sale 237).
8. *Obv.* i.m. Lis over Sunburst (ii), rev. New Lis die (A); wt. 236 gr.; O1d × R4 (B.M.).
9. *Obv.* i.m. Lis over Sunburst (ii, but crown has been tooled), rev. New Lis die (C); wt. 237 gr.; O1d × R6 (B.M.).
10. *Obv.* New Lis die (*Frane*), rev. New Lis die (C); wt. 233.5 gr.; O2 × R6 (B.M.).
11. Another coin from the same two dies; wt. 233.8 gr. (B.M.).
12. *Obv.* Lis over Sunburst (ii), rev. Arrow (A, double tressure); wt. 236.2 gr.; O1d × R7 (B.M.).
- 13 and 14. Two coins from the same two dies as 12; wt. 235.8 and 236.3 gr. (both Fitzwilliam Museum).
15. *Obv.* i.m. Lis over Sunburst (ii), rev. Arrow (B, single tressure); wt. 238.5 gr.; O1d × R8 (B.M.).
16. Another coin from the same two dies as 15; wt. 237.7 gr. (Fitzwilliam Museum).
17. *Obv.* New Lis die, rev. Arrow (A, double tressure); wt. 237.5 gr.; O2 × R7 (Heath 12, ex Bruun 549).

The following coins are all illustrated in well-known works of reference; all are believed to be different coins:

Portcullis both sides; O1a × R1; Bliss 253.

" " " O1a × R2; *English Coins*, Pl. xxxviii, 1.

" " " O1a × R3a; Ready 508; Thellusson 31 (Pl. I, 33).

Obv. Lis over Sunburst (i), rev. New Lis die B; O1c × R5; Cassal 237, now B.M.

Obv. Lis over Sunburst (ii), rev. New Lis die A; O1d × R4; Huth 34; Vaughan Morgan 2; Fletcher 49.

New Lis both sides (reverse Lis A); O2 × R4; Dudman 50.

Obv. New Lis die, rev. Arrow A; O2 × R7; Heath 12.

Obv. Lis over Sunburst (ii), rev. Arrow A; O1d × R7; Montagu v. 234; Thellusson 33 (Pl. II, 35); Packe 81; Fletcher 50 (ex Corbally Browne).

Obv. Lis over Sunburst (ii), rev. Arrow B; O1d × R8; Thellusson 32 (Pl. II, 34); Roth i. 244; Clarke Thornhill 47; Wills 35; Wertheimer 108.

The known combinations of dies therefore are as follows:

O1a × R1	O1b × R3b	O1c × R3c	O2 × R4	O1d × R4
O1a × R2		O1c × R5	O2 × R6	O1d × R6
O1a × R3a			O2 × R7	O1d × R7
				O1d × R8

Possible but unknown combinations of dies are:

O1c × R4	O2 × R5	O1d × R5
O1c × R6	O2 × R8	

The unusual feature of the series is the alteration which some dies underwent. The coins show that not only was the same die used during successive periods with the initial mark changed, but that at least in one instance work undertaken presumably to repair worn portions of the die ended in extensive changes in the detail of the design.

Some of the alterations are already familiar. Brooke has shown that

one obverse die reveals three distinct initial marks, the Portcullis (O1a), the Sunburst struck over the Portcullis (O1b), and the Lis struck over the Sunburst (O1c and O1d). He did not, however, add that the same treatment was applied to one reverse die, which shows the same three initial marks in turn, Portcullis (R3a), Sunburst (R3b), and Lis over Sunburst (R3c). Each successive change of initial mark involved some minor alteration on both obverse and reverse, usually in portions of the die, chiefly letters, adjacent to the initial mark. But it will be noticed that the obverse Lis over Sunburst shows two stages, O1c and O1d; the repairs which effected this transformation were much more considerable.

The more notable features of the five successive stages of the obverse dies all shown on Plate I follows:

O1a; i.m. Portcullis; the original die, showing all *e*'s broken. A reverse, but not an obverse die, is known with the *e*'s unbroken.

O1b; i.m. Sunburst over Portcullis (traces of which are visible); the broken *e*'s have been repaired, save in the word *Rex*; a portion of the inner circle has been redrawn, partly obliterating the top-most of the vertical row of saltires forming the right-hand border of the back of the throne. Only one coin is known from this die.

O1c; i.m. Lis over Sunburst (i). The *H* of *Henricus* has been restruck from a new puncheon. This is the only additional alteration; the die was little used in this stage and was evidently soon put aside for repair, for coins with this obverse are very rare.

O2; i.m. Lis, the new Lis die, i.e. not struck over Sunburst, and used probably while O1c was being repaired. The design of the king's crown is new, the base being now adorned with three more elaborate leaves and the arch above decorated with small crosses instead of the plain bosses on the old die. The left-hand chain of the portcullis at the king's feet is differently arranged and the ornamental border shows fleurs, contrasted with the previous pellets, below each chain; below the portcullis are three saltires; the legend shows the error *Frane* for *Franc*.

O1d; i.m. Lis over Sunburst (ii). This is the old die O1c transformed. No change has been made in the initial mark, but elsewhere the die has undergone such extensive repairs as virtually to constitute a new die. The repairs may be summarized under the following four headings: 1. Legend; 2. The fretted back of the throne; 3. Ornamental border of the inner circle; 4. The king's face and crown.

1. *Legend*. This has been almost entirely, if not entirely, removed and replaced from chiefly new puncheons. The letters have in general been replaced with a quite remarkable precision. In some cases the saltire stops have been left *in situ*, in others they have been put back in slightly different positions. These changes are revealed from the composite evidence of all the coins available; naturally no coin shows every letter or stop perfectly struck.

In general the new letter-punches closely resemble the old, but certain key letters, for instance C, T, and I, show unmistakable changes, and there is a new *e* in *Rex* previously left unrepaired. In the saltire stops changes were made before or after *Dei Gracia, Anglie, and Et*, but otherwise they seem to have been left unaltered.

2. *Back of the throne.* The fretted detail has been entirely reconstructed and a new design of the pellet and lozenge pattern superimposed on the old. This part of the work is not so successful, and the right-hand border of the back of the throne is not quite straight.

3. *Ornamental border.* The fleurs have been recut or elaborated here and there. The general design has now been extended also to the space between the chains of the portcullis at the king's feet and the inner circle.

4. *The king's face and crown.* Some hair has been removed to emphasize the outline of the king's face. The design of the crown is quite new and incorporates the new features already noted in O2, showing a more pronounced picotee edging to the leaves at its base, and on the arch small crosses instead of the plain bosses of O1c. The cross and orb surmounting the crown have been reimpressed, but the work has been bungled on the die and all coins struck from it, save one, show this cross with a double-struck appearance. The exception is a coin at the British Museum which shows the faulty cross at the apex of the arch entirely redesigned in the form of a tiny square. As this specimen appears to be unique I think this may have been done by tooling on the coin itself. If not, it constitutes a new stage of the die O1e (Pl. I) which is otherwise identical with O1d.

The ten reverse dies, all shown on Plate II, are as follows:

R1 and R2; i.m. Portcullis, both reading *Tranciens*. The earlier is presumably R1 since it shows the *e* unbroken; on R2 all *e*'s are broken as on the corresponding obverse. Neither R1 or R2 was used again later.

R3a; i.m. Portcullis, reading *Transiens*. This die, which in this stage is absent from the British Museum collection, was to be used again by overstriking with first Sunburst and later Lis.

R3b; i.m. Sunburst over Portcullis (traces of which are visible). No repairs have been made, even to the broken *e*'s. Only one striking is known.

R3c; i.m. Lis over Sunburst. The letters adjacent to the initial mark, the *t* of *Ibat*, and the *Ih* of *Ihesus* have been restruck from new punches. Coins from this die are very rare.

R4, R5, R6; i.m. Lis. All three are new Lis dies, i.e. not overstruck. They differ in minor respects. The general design is unaltered, but R4 (New Lis A) is perhaps the earliest since the saltires in the spandrels are of normal size; on R5 (New Lis B) they are very much smaller and on R6 (New Lis C) they appear to have been erased from the die. In fact it may be that R6 is an altered form of R5, which is moreover known from one coin only, almost the

only noticeable difference being in the position of the small lions and lis in the tressures. The die R₄ differs conspicuously from R₅ and R₆ in having two saltires after *Ibat*.

R₇; i.m. Arrow (A); this die has a double tressure with lions and lis, but no saltires in the spandrels.

R₈; i.m. Arrow (B); this die has a single tressure and no lions nor lis, and again no saltires, in the spandrels. The stops about the Arrow are a conspicuous feature.

Reviewing these dies an obvious comment is that during the Second Coinage no sovereign was apparently struck until the period of the Sunburst, for which the old Portcullis dies were brought into use once more. But two marks, the Rose and the Lis, it is generally agreed, were in force before the Sunburst, and though it is easy to believe that no Rose-marked sovereigns were struck, since none are known, some doubt must at first sight appear in the case of the Lis, since Lis-marked sovereigns, not struck over Sunburst, exist. In enumerating the obverse dies above I have placed these new Lis coins (O₂) between the two stages (O_{1c} and O_{1d}) of the old Lis coins. This is because existing combinations of obverse and reverse dies render this order highly probable, and the letter-punches confirm it. The alternative possibility is that the new Lis dies, and even the Arrow dies, were used before the old Portcullis die was re-employed. For economic reasons this is very unlikely, and in the case of the Arrow coins it can be shown to be almost impossible. Moreover, if they or the new Lis dies had been used before the Portcullis dies, one or other of them would probably be found to-day muled with the Portcullis, but they are not. More particular evidence is as follows:

1. The obverse die Lis over Sunburst, stage i (O_{1c}), is found combined with two reverse dies: first, its fellow reverse Lis over Sunburst, a very rarely used die and presumably soon scrapped; secondly, with one of the new Lis reverse dies. Thus it is clear that the new Lis dies were in operation before O_{1c} was transformed into O_{1d}, i.e. into stage ii of obverse Lis over Sunburst. We have already seen that the detail in the new Lis obverse die (O₂) was probably the source of inspiration for some of the changes made in the course of this transformation.
2. The obverse die Lis over Sunburst, stage i (O_{1c}), is never found combined with reverse i.m. Arrow. This is almost certainly because, by the time Arrow came into use, O_{1c} had disappeared, transformed into O_{1d}.

Two more facts emerge, viz. that the new Lis obverse die (O₂) did not prove so serviceable as the rejuvenated Lis over Sunburst die (O_{1d}), for coins with the latter mark are much commoner than with the former; and also that the repairs on the rejuvenated die were so effective that, throughout the Arrow period, no Arrow *obverse* dies were apparently thought necessary for none are known, most of the not uncommon Lis/Arrow coins being struck from this reconstructed die.

Prima facie, therefore, the possibility that any Lis or Arrow dies were made before the Sunburst period is remote, and in point of fact a complete catena of letter-punches exists which confirms that the order of the dies was as follows:

Obverse: Sunburst (O1b)

Lis over Sunburst (i) (O1c)

New Lis (O2)

Lis over Sunburst (ii) (O1d)

Reverse: Sunburst (R3b)

Lis over Sunburst (R3c)

New Lis (R4, R5, R6)

Arrow (R7, R8)

Thus though Brooke lists the order of these sovereigns correctly, viz. Sunburst; Lis; *obv.* Lis, *rev.* Arrow, he is inconsistent elsewhere (*English Coins*, p. 176) in placing Arrow before Sunburst. This question will receive further consideration when the silver is discussed.

The letter-punches in question show different forms of A, E, and V forming links as follows:

1. Between the old Lis dies in their altered form (A1, E1, and V1) and the new Lis dies (A1, E1, V1, and V2).
2. Between the new Lis dies (A1, E1, V2) and the Arrow dies (A1 and A2, E1 and E2, V2 and V3).
3. Most conclusively, between the latest Arrow die and the earliest die (i.m. Lis) of the next coinage of 1544 (A2, E2, V3 on both).

I have made below drawings of these letters. The chief difference between the A's lies in the lower serifs. Both show one half of the top serif absent, a space-saving device to enable the letter following to be placed closer to it. The dotted line in A2 shows the completed A found on the obverse of the first sovereign of the Third Coinage (Pl. III, A and a) where the graver experimented by adding a serif to the original puncheon; on the reverse, however, he reverted to the original form of the letter. E2 is a broken letter. V2 is conspicuous by the nick at the base; V3 has different serifs from V1 and V2 and is slightly smaller.



The Arrow is the last mark found on a fine sovereign of Henry VIII. Indeed a surviving pyx trial record¹ shows that between March 1533 and October 1534 no fine gold was coined at all. Nor does fine gold appear in any later trial. This may perhaps imply that the coinage of fine gold and therefore of Second Coinage sovereigns had ceased before March 1533, when, moreover, the Arrow period was not very old. Yet the mint accounts show that a very small amount of fine gold, less than 60 lb. in all, was coined in 1536-7 (still the Arrow period, as witness the crowns with Jane Seymour's initial which have i.m. Arrow) and in 1540-1 (perhaps the Pheon period). This gold was presumably struck into either sovereigns or angels, though no angel is known with Arrow, and neither denomination with Pheon of this time.

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 147.

There was one other piece of fine gold which in the indenture is closely linked with the sovereign, namely, the ryal. The sole existing specimen, accepted and illustrated by Grueber (*Handbook*, 394), was rightly, I think, condemned by Brooke. I illustrate it again (**Pl. I, 2**) for general convenience, and because of its persistent occurrence in the indentures. The piece shown may have been copied from a genuine coin. Though plausible in its ensemble and weight, its detail is unconvincing. It shows, for instance, the king wearing the now obsolete open crown, and both the lettering and the form of the i.m. Portcullis differ materially from those seen on any other piece of Henry VIII. Yet there is some evidence that ryals were actually struck. At the Record Office exists an undated fragment of a pyx trial¹ which mentions together ryals and George nobles. From this we may conjecture that a ryal may turn up, but of the Second Coinage, and that as a contemporary of the George noble it might bear the i.m. Rose.

The indenture of the First Coinage mentions half-ryals and quarter-ryals also,² but none are known to exist. Both they and the ryals were repeated in the indenture of 1526,³ but a pyx trial record of 1527 includes no ryals.⁴ This indenture also mentions a "demi-sovereign" of the same value (11s. 3d.) as the "royall". The coin is unknown. In the indenture of 1533 the half- and quarter-ryals were omitted, and though the ryal is still mentioned,⁵ the mint accounts render it unlikely that any were struck.

London Sovereigns, Base Coinage 1544-7

I have followed Brooke in placing the commencing date of this coinage in 1544, but strictly speaking, as I have already explained, the Base Coinage began to be struck in 1542, and in particular the sovereigns and half-sovereigns of 23 ct. were perhaps struck from an amount of gold known to have been coined between July 1542 and March 1543 but not issued until the winter of 1543-4.

Brooke's description of the sovereigns is not quite accurate. He divides them (*English Coins*, pp. 185-6) into: I. Coins of 200 gr. and 23 ct. (Fourth Coinage), large module; II. Coins of 192 gr. and 22 ct. (Fifth Coinage) or 20 ct. (Sixth Coinage), small module. He overlooks the fact that some sovereigns of small module, with i.m. Lis, also weigh 200 gr. and are presumably also of 23 ct. He also disregards the possibility of Southwark coins. I therefore propose to recast his classification as follows:

TOWER I. Coins of large module: 200 gr., 23 ct.; straight-sided throne; i.m. Lis (large).

„ II (a). Coins of small module; wt. 200 gr., 23 ct.; curved-sided throne; i.m. Lis (Small).

„ II (b). Coins of small module; wt. 192 gr., 22 or 20 ct.; curved-sided throne; i.m.s Lis, Annulet-with-pellet (*rev.* Lis).

SOUTHWARK II (b). Similar to Tower coins; i.m.s S; *obv.* S, *rev.* Ⓐ (Ⓐ below shield); *obv.* Ⓐ, *rev.* S.

¹ Exchequer Account, 303/2, *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 148.

² *Ibid.*, 134-5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

The last coin was unknown to Brooke. The Southwark gold was perhaps all of 20 ct., for none was authorized under the indenture of 1545. Tower coins of II (a) and II (b) with i.m. Lis can only be distinguished by their weight.

Brooke cited also other sovereigns with i.m. Lis. The Lis on these coins is peculiar in having two stamens projecting from the central petal of the lily, and has been called "Lis with feelers". These coins (there are two in the British Museum) have Roman letters and rosette stops, and I propose to transfer them to where Brooke himself placed the similarly marked Bristol sovereigns, namely, in the First Coinage of Edward VI. They will be described later (Pl. VI, 1-3).

The following is a list of fourteen London sovereigns of types I and II, all from the British Museum save nos. 2, 8, and 14. No. 2 is in the collection of Dr. E. C. Carter, no. 8 is in the Ashmolean Museum, both showing reverse dies absent from the National Collection, while no. 14, a recent discovery with obverse i.m. A, reverse S (also two new dies), formed lot 77 in the Shand sale (Glendining, March 1949), where it was misdescribed in the catalogue. The obverse dies are described by capital letters A, B, C, D, E, and F, and the reverse dies by small letters a, aa, b, c, d, e, ee, f, ff, and g. All the dies in the British Museum are illustrated on Plate III; reverse ee and obverse F are shown below; reverses aa and ff are not illustrated.



Rev. ee



Obv. F

1. Large module (I); wt. 196.4 gr.; i.m. Lis; saltire stops; *Tranciens, Illorv'* (Pl. III, A × a).
2. Large module (I); wt. unknown; same obverse die as no. 1, reverse similar but reads *Illorum* (A × aa; E. C. Carter).
3. Small module (II (a)); wt. 199 gr.; i.m. Lis; trefoil stops; *Trnsiens* [sic] (Pl. III, B × b).
4. Small module (II (b)); wt. 188.4 gr.; i.m. Lis; trefoil stop; same obverse die as no. 3 (Pl. III, B × c).
5. Small module (II (b)); wt. 189.2 gr.; i.m. Lis; stops, *obv.* sleeves, *rev.* trefoils; same reverse die as no. 4 (Pl. III, C × c).
6. Small module (II (b)); wt. 188.9 gr.; i.m. Lis; stops, *obv.* sleeves, *rev.* trefoils; same obverse die as no. 5; *Tranciens* (Pl. III, C × d).
7. Small module (II (b)); wt. 190.6 gr.; i.m. Lis; stops, sleeves both sides; same obverse die as nos. 5 and 6 (Pl. III, C × e).

8. Small module (II (b)); wt. 189.8 gr.; i.m. Lis; stops, sleeves both sides; same obverse die as nos. 5, 6, and 7; reverse has two stops after *Ibat* (C×ee; Ashmolean Museum).
9. Small module (II (b)); wt. 189.8 gr.; i.m. *obv.* Annulet-with-pellet, *rev.* Lis; stops, trefoils both sides; *Tranciens*; same reverse die as no. 6 (Pl. III, D×d).
- 10, 11, and 12. Small module (II (b)); three coins from the same two dies; wts. 189.8, 193.7, and 190.5 gr.; i.m. S; trefoil stops (Pl. III, E×f).
13. Small module (II (b)); wt. 187 gr.; i.m. *obv.* S, *rev.* Θ (Θ below shield); stops, *obs.* trefoils, *rev.* sleeves; same obverse die as nos. 10, 11, and 12 (Pl. III, E×g).
14. Small module (II (b)); wt. 188.5 gr.; i.m. *obv.* Θ, *rev.* S; stops, *obv.* sleeves, *rev.* trefoils; two new dies (F×ff, Shand 77).

The dies are, in detail, as follows, the lettering being normally Lombardic:

- Obv.* A: i.m. Lis, saltire stops (*Anglie*).
 B: i.m. Lis, similar letters to the A, but trefoil stops (*Angl*).
 C: i.m. Lis, new Lombardic letters (Roman R), sleeve stops.
 D: i.m. Annulet-with-pellet, similar letters to die B but Roman E and R, trefoil stops (*Agl*).
 E: i.m. S, similar letters and stops to die D (*Agl*).
 F: i.m. Θ, similar letters to die C (*Agl*).
- Rev.* a: i.m. Lis, Lombardic letters (Roman M), saltire stops.
 aa: i.m. Lis; as die a but *Illorom*.
 b: i.m. Lis, similar letters to die a but trefoil stops (*Trnsiens*).
 c: i.m. Lis, similar to die b in all respects but reads *Transiens* (the trefoil stops have stems and resemble saltires).
 d: i.m. Lis, Roman M, E, and R, trefoil stops (*Tranciens*); similar letters, &c., to obverse D.
 e: i.m. Lis, new Lombardic letters (Roman R); sleeve stops, similar letters, &c., to obverse C.
 ee: i.m. Lis, similar to die e but reads *Illorv* and has two stops after *Ibat*.
 f: i.m. S, Roman M, E, and R, trefoil stops (*Transiens*, no stop after *Per*); similar letters, &c., to obverses E or D.
 ff: i.m. S, similar to f but with trefoil stops after the i.m. and *Per*.
 g: i.m. Θ, new Lombardic lettering (Roman R), sleeve stops (*Transiens*); similar letters, &c., to reverses e and ee or obverse C.

I.m.s. Lis and Annulet-with-pellet. Reviewing these coins, no. 1, of large module (i.m. Large Lis), is a well-known rarity and the few specimens extant were apparently struck from one obverse and two reverse dies. Others known to me are in the Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam Museums and four more are in private collections. The dies show the workmanship of the earlier sovereigns and were perhaps cut by the same artist now attempting a portrait. The unflattering result (Pl. III, a) may account for the coin's rarity and the artist was presumably superseded by the designer of the small module. I have alluded elsewhere to the different A's on obverse and reverse. The reverse shows the original puncheon used previously on the last Arrow die of the Second Coinage; the obverse shows a new serif added at the right-hand side of the apex. This patchwork experiment was not repeated.

The new portrait on the coins of small module was certainly more successful (it was even better on the half-sovereigns), but the standard of workmanship gradually deteriorated and the low relief of the detail makes a poor coin seem even worse in illustration. As the letter-

punches became worn they were replaced by less artistic ones, often clumsily inserted on the die. Thus a very crude Roman M replaces its predecessor and a Roman E or R intrudes on the original Lombardic fount (PI. III, D and d). With the change from trefoil to sleeve stops during the run of i.m. Lis a new and rather rough Lombardic fount (save for Roman R) was devised (PI. III, C and e). This fount alone seems to have been used with sleeve stops, for the two appear together also on the reverse of the sovereigns with i.m. \mathfrak{A} (PI. III, g) and on other coins. Another peculiarity is that the abbreviation mark after the king's name changes with these stops from the query-shaped object to a comma (PI. III, C).

As regards nos. 3 and 4 in my list of sovereigns, struck from the same obverse die (PI. III, B), both are equally fine but differ by some 10 grains in weight (199 and 188.4 gr.). The reduction in weight, therefore, from 200 to 192 grains evidently took place during the period of their privy mark, Lis. Other specimens are recorded of the heavier weight, e.g. Bruun 552 (198½ gr.) and Montagu v. 235 (197½ gr.). The coin with obverse i.m. Annulet-with-pellet, reverse Lis (PI. III, D and d) is rare; some two or three other specimens are known, e.g. Bruun 553.

I.m. S. The coins with i.m. S are a little more abundant, but all the coins or illustrations I have seen show the same pair of dies, and all have trefoil stops (PI. III, E and f). The reverse dies show no letter below the shield, whereas the majority of the corresponding half-sovereigns with i.m. S have Lombardic \mathfrak{A} below the shield. A sovereign reverse die, therefore, with i.m. S and \mathfrak{A} in that position may yet turn up.

I.m. \mathfrak{A} . The coin with the same obverse die (i.m. S) as those just mentioned and reverse i.m. \mathfrak{A} may be unique (PI. III, E and g). It was presented to the British Museum through the National Art Collections Fund (*ex* H. Oppenheimer sale and Murdoch i. 412). The complementary mule with obverse \mathfrak{A} , reverse S is also perhaps unique. Various speculative views, none quite convincing, have been advanced of the significance of the letters S and \mathfrak{A} (e.g. Southwark, Edward Seymour, Egerton, Eglonby, &c.).

The deterioration in the later sovereigns and the simplicity of the series are in notable contrast with the careful and complex treatment accorded to the dies of the first two coinages. The early dies were cut in high relief with the meticulous care traditionally lavished on gold from 1344 onwards when dies were made to last. But the economy practised in 1544 was on different lines; the dies were cut in low relief and soon became flattened; they were not repaired and few coins show the detail of the design in clear relief. It is evident that quantity of output was of more importance than quality.

Judging by the lettering and stops it becomes apparent that i.m. Lis was struck in greater variety than any other mark. A possible inference is that this mark persisted throughout the coinage, and that at a certain stage it was accompanied or succeeded, in one department,

by i.m. Annulet-with-pellet and also, perhaps in another department, probably the Southwark mint, by i.m. S, which in turn was succeeded by i.m. \mathfrak{A} . As regards the Tower mint, we know that during this period it was reorganized and divided into at first two and later three departments.¹ However, neither in silver nor gold does it seem easy to identify any departmental characteristics and it seems simpler to classify the Tower coins as one series.

The dies of the two mints show the following characteristics (Lombardic letters save Roman as shown):

	TOWER		SOUTHWARK	
	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Fount 1	I.m. Lis, saltire stops.	I.m. Lis, saltire stops.	—	—
Fount 1	I.m. Lis, trefoil stops.	I.m. Lis, trefoil stops.	—	—
Fount 2	I.m. Annulet-with-pellet, trefoil stops (Roman E, R).	I.m. Lis, trefoil stops (Roman E, R, M).	I.m. S, trefoil stops (Roman E, R).	I.m. S, trefoil stops (Roman E, R, M).
Fount 3	I.m. Lis, sleeve stops (Roman R).	I.m. Lis, sleeve stops (Roman R).	I.m. \mathfrak{A} , sleeve stops (Roman R).	I.m. \mathfrak{A} , sleeve stops (Roman R).

The apparent interruption of i.m. Lis by Annulet-with-pellet is curious but does not perhaps imply that the use of Lis was suspended. The affinity between these two marks is noticeable in all denominations, and on the half-sovereigns, for instance, it is the Annulet-with-pellet, not the Lis, which persists throughout the coinage, while on the crowns and half-crowns the Annulet-with-pellet seems to replace the Lis, which does not occur.

The Bristol sovereigns, described later, show a similar portrait and type to the London coins of small module; one type has the lettering of fount 2 in the above table, but Lombardic M; the other, perhaps struck under Edward VI, shows all Roman letters. The earlier Bristol sovereign with the lettering of fount 2 throws an interesting and important light on the London and in particular the Southwark sovereigns from the same fount. Since the Bristol mint opened with the Sixth Coinage in 1546 when gold was reduced to 20 ct., it is likely that the Southwark gold is also of 20 ct. This accords with the terms of the indenture of 1545 (with gold of 22 ct.), which as I have said did not authorize gold to be struck at Southwark. Actually the first written authority for gold at Southwark dates from April 1547, but gold was clearly struck there in Henry's lifetime, and, as Henry Symonds points out, the necessary authority may well have been included in the missing indenture of 1546 for Henry's last coinage.²

LISTS

FIRST COINAGE (1509-26). Wt. 240 gr.; 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ gr.; value 20s.

Obv. King seated on a straight-sided Gothic throne with diapered back, a portcullis at his feet; a candlestick on each pillar; a tressure of alternate leaves and pellets.

¹ Brooke, *English Coins*, p. 179. ² *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 161.

Rev. Shield on a large Tudor rose, double tressure enclosing alternate lions and lis, saltires in the spandrels.

Obv. Henricus Dei Gracia Rex Anglie et Franc Dns Hib.

Rev. Ihesus Autem Tranciens (Transiens) Per Medium Illorum Ibat.

Lombardic lettering save Roman M.

I.m. Portcullis (1 obverse, 3 reverse dies); saltire stops (**Pl. I, O1a**; **Pl. II, R1, R2**, and (Mr. R. C. Lockett) **R3a**).

SECOND COINAGE (1526-44)

Similar to First Coinage, but value 22s. (August 1526), later (October 1526) 22s. 6d.

1. I.m. Sunburst (over Portcullis both sides, **Pl. I, O1b**; **Pl. II, R3b**).

2. I.m. Lis (over Sunburst, stage (i), both sides (**Pl. I, O1c**; **Pl. II, R3c**) or rev. of new Lis die (**Pl. II, R5**)).

3. I.m. Lis (new dies, 1 obv. (**Pl. I, O2**), 2 rev. dies (**Pl. II, R4, R6**)). N.B. The combination of this obv. die O2 with rev. R5 (new Lis B) is not recorded.

4. I.m. Lis (over Sunburst, stage (ii), obv. only (**Pl. I, O1d**), rev. new Lis die (**Pl. II, R4** or **R6**)).

5. I.m. *obv.* Lis (over Sunburst, stage (ii), *rev.* Arrow (2 dies, double or single tressure, **Pl. II, R7, R8**)).

6. I.m. *obv.* Lis (new die), *rev.* Arrow (R7, double tressure, e.g. Heath 12). N.B. The combination of this obv. die O2 with rev. i.m. Arrow (R8, single tressure) is not recorded.

BASE COINAGE (1544-7)

Sovereigns (all valued at 20s.); Lombardic letters except as shown.

TOWER I. Large module; wt. 200 gr.; 23 ct.

Obv. Elderly, bearded, rather vacant portrait of the king on a straight-sided throne, a candlestick on each pillar, a rose at the king's feet.

Henric 8 Di Gra Anglie Francie Et Hiber(n) Rex.

Ihesus Autem Tranciens Per Medium Illorum Ibat.

Rev. Crowned shield with supporters (lion and dragon), HR monogram below.

I.m. Lis (large); saltire stops; Roman M (**Pl. III, Aa**).

TOWER II (a). Small module; wt. 200 gr.; 23 ct.

Obv. Elderly, bearded, more dignified portrait of the king on a curved-sided throne, a bird with wings outspread on each pillar, a rose at the King's feet.

Henric 8 Di Gra A(n)gl Francie Z Hiber(n) Rex.

Ihs Autem Transiens (Tranciens) Per Medium Illorv(m) (Illor) Ibat.

Rev. Crowned shield with supporters (lion and dragon), HR monogram below.

I.m. Lis (small); trefoil stops; Roman M; one reverse die reads *Trnsiens* (**Pl. III, Bb**).

TOWER II (b). Small module; wt. 192 gr.; 22 or 20 ct.; similar to II (a).

1. I.m. Lis, from the same dies as class II (a); trefoil stops; also with Roman E, R, and M on reverse (**Pl. III, Bb, Bd**).

2. I.m. Lis; sleeve stops, new Lombardic letters (Roman R) on both sides; sometimes muled with reverse dies with trefoil stops and varied lettering (**Pl. III, Ce**).

3. *Mule*; i.m. *obv.* Annulet-with-pellet, *rev.* Lis; trefoil stops both sides, Roman E, R, and M (**Pl. III, Dd**).

SOUTHWARK. As Tower II (b). 20 ct.

1. I.m. S; trefoil stops both sides, Roman E, R, and M; on true coins one pair of dies only (**Pl. III, Ef**).

2. *Mule*; i.m. *obv.* S, *rev.* A, with A below shield; *obv.* trefoil stops (same die as true coins with i.m. S), *rev.* sleeve stops and new Lombardic lettering (Roman R), same fount as coins with i.m. Lis with sleeve stops (**Pl. III, Eg**).

3. *Mule*; i.m. *obv.* A, *rev.* S; stops, *obv.* sleeves, *rev.* trefoils, converse lettering to last (a new rev. die, Mr. H. Hird, *ex Shand* sale 77).

The following sale catalogues illustrate some of the above:

Group I. I.m. Lis, large module; Murdoch, i. 409; Roth, i. 245.

„ II (a). I.m. Lis, small module (198 gr.); Bruun 552.

„ II (b). I.m. *obv.* Annulet-with-pellet, *rev.* Lis; Bruun 553.

I.m. S; Rashleigh 781; Huth 36; Hamilton Smith (1927) 4; Clarke-Thornhill 49; Heath 13; Fletcher 51.

(b) HENRY VIII, HALF-SOVEREIGNS; EDWARD VI, FIRST SOVEREIGN
AND HALF-SOVEREIGNS

The coins here to be considered are:

The half-sovereigns struck in Henry's reign with Henry's name and portrait.

The half-sovereigns struck in Edward's reign with Henry's name but Edward's portrait, and a sovereign with Henry's name and portrait probably contemporary with these half-sovereigns.

These coins will involve some consideration also of two series of coins in Edward's name which were contemporary with them.

The half-sovereigns, a new denomination, are abundant and usually of poor execution. If there was need for haste in striking the sovereigns, much greater haste was used in coining the halves. Possibly the practical usefulness of the denomination became more apparent as the coinage progressed, and as the demand increased so the workmanship deteriorated. The coins remained current for many years side by side even with gold of better quality. Of the 218 gold coins in the Bisham Abbey hoard, buried probably soon after Elizabeth's accession,¹ 134 were half-sovereigns in the name of Henry VIII (81 with the young portrait), as against 38 profile half-sovereigns, 28 of which were of Edward VI and 10 of Elizabeth.

Half-sovereigns struck in the reign of Henry VIII
(Pl. IV; Pl. V, 1-9)

Not all Henry's half-sovereigns are contemptible. Like most new issues they began well. All coins show an admirable portrait and the earliest are often well struck. A noticeable feature of these early pieces is their neat Roman lettering, particularly H with its ornamental bar, a detail occasionally echoed on contemporary wood-carving. Equally remarkable are the very small saltire stops. But this high standard was not maintained; the small neat initial mark (©) becomes ill-shaped and larger, the stops become normal saltires or trefoils, and the neat letters are gradually replaced by coarser ones, now Roman, now Lombardic; on some coins the lettering is entirely Lombardic. Before the end of the reign it becomes Roman once more, and so remains on this series in Edward's reign.

Brooke omits an important coin which necessarily modifies his classification and brings it, in fact, into line with the sovereigns. The coin has i.m. Lis and shows the same design as the sovereigns of small

¹ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., xviii (1878), p. 304.

module. It weighs $99\frac{1}{4}$ gr. and is doubtless the half of a sovereign of small module of 200 gr. It is presumably of 23 ct. and belongs to class II (a); it shows the small, neat Roman lettering. The coin here illustrated, which is extremely rare, came from the Montagu sale (ii. 710),¹ and is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Pl. IV, 1).

The half-sovereigns of Henry's lifetime, therefore, may be reclassified showing also the Southwark coins, on the same lines as the sovereigns, except that no half-sovereign is known of large module, i.e. of class I:

TOWER II (a). Coins of small module; wt. 100 gr.; 23 ct.; curved-sided throne; i.m. Lis.

„ II (b). Coins of small module; wt. 96 gr.; 22 or 20 ct.; curved-sided throne; i.m. Annulet-with-pellet.

SOUTHWARK II (b) as Tower II (b); i.m.s S with, save on early coins, A below shield; obv. S, rev. A; obv. A, rev. S; A with A below shield.

It is noticeable that i.m. E is not recorded on half-sovereigns of Henry's lifetime though it occurs on crowns. But some with i.m. A are Edward's.

The following table shows the parallel changes at the two mints of the Tower and Southwark in lettering and stops. Some Southwark dies were presumably used first at the Tower since they show i.m. S struck occasionally over Annulet-with-pellet. The Southwark half-

TOWER		SOUTHWARK	
<i>I.m. Lis</i>	<i>I.m. Annulet-with-pellet</i>	<i>I.m. S</i>	<i>I.m. A</i>
Small Roman, small saltire stops ² (Pl. IV, 1)	Small Roman, small saltire stops (Pl. IV, 3)	—	—
—	Small Roman, trefoil stops (Pl. IV, 5, rev.)	Small Roman, trefoil stops (Pl. V, 1)	—
—	Large Roman, trefoil stops (Pl. IV, 2, rev.)	Large Roman, trefoil stops (Pl. V, 2)	—
—	Large Roman, saltire stops (Pl. IV, 7)	Large Roman, saltire stops (Pl. V, 5, obv.)	—
—	Mixed letters, trefoil stops (Pl. IV, 8)	Mixed letters, trefoil stops (Pl. V, 5, rev.)	—
—	Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. IV, 9, 10)	Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. V, 6)	Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. V, 10, obv.)
—	Lombardic letters, sleeve stops (Pl. IV, 11)	—	Lombardic letters, sleeve stops (Pl. V, 8)
—	—	—	Roman letters, lozenge stops (Pl. V, 9, obv. Edw. VI)

¹ Another is recorded in the Durrant sale, lot 5 (Sotheby, 1 May 1919).

² These very small stops when worn resemble square pellets.

sovereign with i.m. ϵ and lozenge stops was probably struck under Edward VI.

The large Roman fount often includes one or two Lombardic letters.

The abbreviation mark after the king's name varies considerably; it is sometimes a comma, sometimes the query-shaped symbol, and sometimes omitted.

The Bristol half-sovereigns, discussed elsewhere, show Lombardic letters of London style with trefoil stops. The distinctive Bristol lettering is not known on a half-sovereign.

I.m. Lis. The weight of the only fully recorded specimen (99½ gr. for 100) show it to be the earliest coin. It seems likely, however, that some coins with i.m. Lis were struck at 96 gr. as halves of the sovereigns of 192 gr. with i.m. Lis. A noticeable feature of the legend is the reading *Et* in full.

I.m. Annulet-with-pellet. The earliest coins are, save for the weight which is always 96 gr. or nearly, identical with those with i.m. Lis and read *Et* (Pl. IV, 2). The copula soon became denoted, however, by the letter Z. The changes in lettering and stops have been noticed. On some late coins an Annulet is placed on the inner circle, no doubt an adaptation of the "point secret" so common on contemporary French coins (Pl. IV, 9 obv.). A mule occurs with obverse i.m. Arrow and the young portrait of Edward VI (Pl. VI, 4).

I.m. S. The coins reveal, as I have shown, approximately the same sequence of lettering and stops as those with i.m. Annulet-with-pellet. The earliest pieces resemble the sovereigns in showing no mark below the shield (Pl. V, 1-3); the later association with ϵ is indicated by ϵ placed below the shield. If we may anticipate for a moment, the coins with S alone probably correspond to the groats with S in the forks, and those with the additional ϵ to groats with ϵ and S in the forks.

One obverse die with i.m. S omits the king's sceptre as, perhaps oddly, do also some half-sovereigns of Edward's reign. A mule occurs having reverse i.m. S and on obverse the young portrait of Edward and no i.m. but which by deduction must belong to the series with i.m. E.

I.m. ϵ . These pieces are muled both ways as in other denominations with i.m. S. Reverse dies always have ϵ below the shield like the sovereign. The sequence of lettering and stops has been noted. The coin with Roman letters and lozenge stops was most likely struck early in Edward's reign. A mule occurs with a reverse of Edward VI showing i.m. E (over Arrow, Pl. V, 10).

Coins struck in the reign of Edward VI

Sovereign (Pl. VI, 1-3). Brooke lists no London sovereign of Edward struck in Henry's name, though he refers to one both in the text of *English Coins* (p. 177, inadvertently in his first edition, giving its weight as 120 instead of 192 gr.) and in the chart shown facing p. 64. This gap may appropriately be filled by the sovereigns with i.m. "Lis with feelers", Roman letters, and rosette stops.¹ The por-

¹ The attribution is not new; it has appeared in trade journals.

trait, however, is anomalous; it still shows the elderly face of King Henry when the half-sovereigns show the features of his son. The two specimens of this sovereign in the British Museum are from the same obverse die and weigh respectively 187.9 and 188 gr., and so were obviously struck at 192 gr. (Pl. VI, 1-3). Both read on the reverse *Tranciens* (possibly a privy mark since on one die the C is struck over S). An additional reason for placing the coins here is their similarity to the Bristol sovereigns with Roman letters with which they are clearly contemporary and which Brooke himself apparently assigns to this coinage; indeed he thought from the similarity of fabric that these Lis-marked sovereigns too might be of Bristol, and even perhaps counterfeit pieces such as Sharington is known to have struck.¹ However, I feel no doubt not only of their genuineness but that this is their proper position in the series. The student may notice the similarity between certain letters on these coins and some Arrow-marked half-sovereigns of the period (e.g. T, M, and I, see Pl. VI, 2 and 5). These sovereigns should probably not be associated with the young portrait half-sovereigns with i.m. Lis which are late coins and come right at the end of the series.

There is moreover on these sovereigns with Roman letters, both of London and Bristol, another mark, small but distinctive, which in my opinion suggests that they were not struck by Henry VIII. It is the lis puncheon in the coat of arms on the reverse. This is the new puncheon without a band round the stem which did not appear until the reign of Edward VI. All fleurs-de-lis used in Henry's lifetime whether as initial mark or in the coat of arms have a band round the stem.

Half-sovereigns with the portrait and mint-marks of Edward VI (Pl. V, 10-12; Pls. VI and VII). If we consider them solely in their relation to the reign of Henry VIII, the half-sovereigns bearing Henry's name but the young face of Edward are important chiefly as providing the clue, as Evans pointed out, to the distinction between Henry's initial marks and Edward's. They thus enable the silver coins to be classified which bear the same marks but Henry's portrait. But the half-sovereigns with Edward's portrait have a wider significance. These coins of 20 ct. include two marks, Arrow and E, one of the Tower and the other of Southwark which are much commoner than the others, and it seems likely that by the variety of their stops these two marks were continued for some time side by side with other marks (K, Grapple, Martlet, Lis). Indeed, Arrow (also Grapple and Martlet) persisted on the new profile portrait half-sovereigns of 22 ct. and shillings in Edward's name coined after January 1549.

Moreover, among the 20-ct. half-sovereigns with i.m. Arrow and E

¹ *English Coins*, p. 181. The weight and appearance of the coins are satisfactory; their quality must remain uncertain. One of the Bristol sovereigns is illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook* (431) and another in *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxiv. 116, Pl. II, 22. The coin will also be illustrated later.

are a few rare coins which bear Edward's own name as well as the youthful seated portrait. These coins deserve special consideration here since they are made from the same reverse dies as coins with Arrow and E bearing Henry's name. Indeed, die links are known between the two kings (Pl. V, 11, 12 ; Pl. VII, 1, 2). From their detail, too, the coins in Edward's name (including the corresponding rare crowns and half-crowns of the Double Rose and profile groats and lesser coins) seems to have been struck early in the period of these marks, Arrow and E, for all bear the lozenge stops which are early. I think this issue was probably limited to a few months in 1547-8. Brooke, it will be remembered, extended the date until January 1549.¹

We do not know the reason for this synchronized dual issue in each king's name, nor why the coinage in Edward's name suddenly ceased, but it is apparent that the mints now concentrated exclusively on the issue of coins in Henry's name. It was perhaps to legalize the obvious anomaly of this practice that Edward issued the proclamation of February 1550 ordering old testoons to be melted down and struck into groats and lesser coins bearing the "hole face and inscripcion of our most dear late father".² This extraordinary command, though primarily concerning the silver, affects also the half-sovereigns in Henry's name. Since the groats struck under it must include some of the later of those bearing the well-known marks Arrow, K, Grapple, Martlet, Lis, and E, it is legitimate to infer that gold coins of 20 ct. bearing the same marks and Henry's name were also struck after February 1550 (the date of the proclamation), i.e. simultaneously with the coinage of 22-ct. gold profile pieces in Edward's name, begun in January 1549, which, as I have said, included three of the same marks, viz. Arrow, Grapple, and Martlet. We do not know how long this coinage of groats and 20-ct. gold lasted, but it was probably until 1551, a date found on shillings with i.m. Lis which is probably the latest mark on groats and half-sovereigns. But groats were presumably not struck after July 1551 when they were devalued, at first to threepence, and in the next month to twopence each.³

It will perhaps help to visualize the several contemporary series of coins if they are seen in tabular form. I have shown both the coins in Henry's name and those in Edward's. In Edward's profile shillings—the term testoon is here used only for the full-face coins with Henry's name and portrait—I have made one change from Brooke who seems to me inconsistent in listing the Durham House Shilling of 1548 as a different issue from the Durham House Half-sovereign of 1548. I have therefore placed them together under the coinage of 1549-50, marking the date 1548 as "old style", for they were both struck between December 1548 and March 1549, when 1548 "old style" ended.

¹ *English Coins*, p. 188. They seem to have remained in circulation until demonetized by Elizabeth in 1561.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.* xi. 140. This directive was addressed primarily to Southwark, but doubtless applied to all mints.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 847.

	GOLD		SILVER	
	Name of Henry	Name of Edward	Name of Henry	Name of Edward
April 1547 to Jan. 1549	20-ct. sovereign, <i>Tower</i> (i.m. "Lis with feelers"), $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov. (Edward's portrait), crown, $\frac{1}{2}$ -crown, <i>Tower, Southwark, Bristol</i> (sovereign with Roman letters).	20-ct. $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov. (HR on rev.), crown, $\frac{1}{2}$ -crown (ER in field).	Groat to half-penny, <i>Tower, Southwark, York, Canterbury, Bristol</i> (WS).	Profile groat ¹ to halfpenny, <i>Tower, Canterbury</i> ($\frac{1}{2}$ -groat), <i>Bristol</i> (<i>id.</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ d.).
Jan. 1549 to April 1550 (1551?)	The above coinage continued, but no sovereigns.	22-ct. profile $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov., crown ($\frac{1}{2}$ -sov.), $\frac{1}{2}$ -crown (half- $\frac{1}{2}$ -sov.) crowned or uncrowned bust, <i>Tower, Southwark, Durham House</i> ($\frac{1}{2}$ -sov. 1548 O.S. or undated).	The above coinage continued with also groat to penny, <i>Durham House</i> (<i>redde cuique</i> , &c.) and groat and $\frac{1}{2}$ -groat, <i>Bristol</i> (TC, May to Oct. 1549).	Perhaps the above coinage continued, with shilling, <i>Tower</i> , 1549, 1550; <i>Southwark</i> , 1549, 1550; <i>Canterbury</i> , 1549; <i>Bristol</i> , 1549; <i>Durham House</i> , 1548 O.S. or undated.

Reverting to the half-sovereigns, the coins, including those in Edward's name, may be divided into two classes:

I. Coins with i.m. Arrow, K, Grapple, Martlet, and Lis.

II. Coins with i.m. E.

The parallels between the two series become more obvious if their principal features are tabulated:

TOWER	SOUTHWARK
I.m. Arrow, lozenge stops, some with Edward's name.	I.m. E, lozenge stops, some with Edward's name.
I.m. Arrow, pierced cross stops, <i>Angl</i> , E monogram for Z.	I.m. E, pierced cross stops, <i>Angl</i> , E monogram for Z.
I.m. K, lozenge stops, <i>Dei Gra</i> .	I.m. E, lozenge stops, some with <i>Dei Gra</i> .
I.m. Grapple, pellet stops, <i>Dei Gra</i> .	I.m. E, pellet stops.
I.m. Martlet, saltire or pellet stops, some read <i>Dei Gra</i> .	" " "
I.m. Lis, pellet stops.	" " "

I have not seen an Arrow-marked half-sovereign with pellet stops, although pellets occur on Arrow-marked crowns, half-crowns, and groats. The issue of Arrow-marked half-sovereigns may have been interrupted during the run of K, Grapple, Lis, and Martlet, but we have seen that it was resumed in January 1549 on the 22-ct. profile gold.

TOWER

I.m. Arrow. The initial mark is normally on both sides, but occasionally on obverse only. There is neither mark nor letter below the shield. The stops are usually lozenges or pierced crosses ("incurved mascles") sometimes combined with saltires. Those with pierced

¹ Brooke says that some of these groats with i.m. E have S in the forks, but the only profile groats with S in the forks which I have seen either in the British Museum or elsewhere have no i.m., not E. (*Brit. Num. Journ.* xii, Pl. v, 6.)

crosses read *Angl* and have the E monogram for Z (PI. VI, 6, 7). One puncheon for the letter E is minus the centre bar so that it resembles a square C. Three mules are known, the one already mentioned with reverse i.m. Annulet-with-pellet of Henry VIII (PI. VI, 4), one with reverse i.m. Lis, and another with obverse i.m. Lis.

The coins with Edward's name are rare and are probably early. They have lozenge stops. The reverses do not differ from those of coins struck in Henry's name and die links between the two have been established (PI. V, 11 and 12).

I.m. K. The initial mark, a rare one, is found on the reverse only or is omitted altogether, but since K is also placed below the shield (PI. VI, 7, 8) the attribution is never in doubt. The coins read *Dei Gra* instead of the usual *D G*. The stops are lozenges, but saltires are found on a reverse die showing Grapple over K. The coins with i.m. K show improved workmanship. The practice of omitting the initial mark on one side or the other was probably part of a deliberate policy, for such a die would obviously serve for more than one period, and in point of fact at least one unmarked obverse die was combined with a reverse showing first K and later Grapple below the shield (PI. VI, 8 and 9). It is likely that such die links could be multiplied, especially among the groats where the initial mark is often omitted on one side.

A mule is recorded (Bruun 588) with obverse i.m. E, reverse no i.m. but K below shield. If K is the mark of Thomas Knight it is useful to remember that this name appears in the indenture of April 1547 but is missing from that of February 1548, in which year he died.¹

I.m. Grapple. The initial mark, quite scarce, appears on both sides or on either or is omitted altogether, but a Grapple is always placed below the shield. The stops are round pellets, and the coin shown on PI. VI, 9 since it has lozenge stops on obverse may be regarded as a mule K/Grapple. One reverse die shows saltire stops but has i.m. Grapple struck over K and also over K below shield. Although saltire stops are not found on a half-sovereign with i.m. K,² they are not impossible. The affinity of Grapple with i.m. K is further denoted by the legend which again reads *Dei Gra*.

I.m. Martlet. The initial mark, again a scarce one, is placed on both sides (PI. VI, 11) and there is no mark or letter below the shield. The stops are round pellets, or rarely saltires. The mule with i.m. Lis (PI. VI, 12) is the only one recorded. Some dies read *Dei Gra* as on the two preceding marks.

I.m. Lis. This scarce mark is found on both sides (PI. VI, 13); there is again no mark or letter below the shield, and the stops are round pellets. The mules have already been mentioned and have either reverse Arrow or obverse Martlet.

SOUTHWARK

I.m. E. This is rather a large class, somewhat naturally so if it was

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.*, x. 167; xi. 131.

² The overstriking makes the letter sometimes difficult to read.

issued throughout the period of the five Tower marks (Pl. VII). The initial mark is placed sometimes on both sides but usually on the reverse only, where it is sometimes struck over the Arrow. A Roman E rarely a Lombardic \mathfrak{E} (Pl. VII, 3) is placed below the shield, except on some of the dies showing an overstruck initial mark when it may be omitted, as it had been on the original Arrow dies. The Roman E below the shield is sometimes reversed, perhaps intentionally, since it so appears on different dies (Pl. VII, 6); sometimes it appears as a broken letter, with the centre bar missing, when it may also form the initial mark (Pl. VII, 5). The three mules have already been mentioned: one with obverse i.m. \mathfrak{E} of Henry VIII; one, omitting an obverse i.m., with reverse i.m. S of Henry VIII; and the other with a reverse showing K below the shield. The stops in this series range from lozenges, saltires, and pierced crosses to pellets.

Like the Tower coins with i.m. Arrow the rare coins with Edward's name have lozenge stops and are probably early. All show i.m. E over Arrow on obverse and once more they use reverse dies of coins struck in Henry's name (Pl. VII, 1 and 2). All have the monogram HR below the shield, but this is often illegible.

LISTS

HALF-SOVEREIGNS. Wt., II (a), 100 gr.; 23 ct.: the remainder, 96 gr.; 22 or 20 ct.

Henry VIII. Bearded portrait of king upon a throne with diapered back, extending to the inner circle; reverse, shield with supporters, HR below. The legends in Roman, Lombardic, or mixed letters vary widely, but show substantially: *Henric 8 D G Agl Franci Z Hib Rex* and *Ihc Avtem Transiens Per Medivm Illorum Ibat*, the larger Roman letters in particular involving much abbreviation. The early coins read *Et* for *Z*.

TOWER, *Henry VIII.* II (a). I.m. Lis; small Roman letters (*Di Gra, Et Hiber*) with ornamental H; small saltire stops (Pl. IV, 1; 99½ gr.; Fitzwilliam Museum).

TOWER, *Henry VIII.* II (b). I.m. Annulet-with-pellet; variants:

1. Small Roman letters (*Et* or *Z*); small saltire stops (Pl. IV, 2-4).
2. Similar letters to no. 1; *Z* from now on; trefoil stops (Pl. IV, 5 rev., 6).
3. Large Roman or mixed letters; trefoil or saltire stops (Pl. IV, 2 rev., 7, 8 obv.).
4. Similar to no. 3, but with Annulet on inner circle.
5. Lombardic letters; trefoil stops; some dies show i.m. Annulet-with-pellet struck over S.
6. Lombardic letters; trefoil stops; Annulet on inner circle (Pl. IV, 9, 10).
7. Lombardic letters; sleeve (hook) stops (Pl. IV, 11).

SOVEREIGNS. Wt. 192 gr.; 20 ct.

Edward VI. Coins of the same size and design as the small module, class II of Henry VIII, the portrait, throne, and reverse on both are the same, but with Roman letters, rosette stops (Pl. VI, 1-3).

I.m. Lis with curved stalks from the centre petal ("Lis with feelers").

Henric 8 D Gra Agl Franc Z Hiber Rex.

Ihs Avte Tranciens Per Mediv Illorv Ibat.

HALF-SOVEREIGNS, *Edward VI*, 1547-51

Wt. 96 gr.; 20 ct.; legends as on Henry's coins, rarely with Edward's name; youthful portrait of king upon throne with plain, rounded back; reverse, shield with supporters, HR below. The legends, always in large Roman letters, are similar to but usually more abbreviated than those on Henry's coins.

TOWER

Mule: *Obv.* Arrow, *rev.* Annulet-with-pellet; *obv.* Roman letters, lozenge stops, sceptre omitted; *rev.* (Henry VIII) Lombardic letters, sleeve stops (PI. VI, 4).

I.m. Arrow (both sides, rarely on obverse only); no mark below shield; stops, lozenges or pierced crosses, sometimes combined with saltires; some have broken E. Variants:

1. Coins in Edward's name, lozenge stops; reverse dies are those of coins in Henry's name (PI. V, 11 and 12; same rev. die).
2. Lozenge stops (PI. VI, 4, 5 with broken E, cf. i.m. E, variant 7).
3. Saltire stops (PI. VI, 6, rev., combined with pierced crosses).
4. *Angl.* with E monogram and pierced cross stops (PI. VI, 6).
5. Sceptre omitted (PI. VI, 4, cf. i.m. E, variant 13). For Mules see i.m. Lis.
I.m. K (on reverse only or absent); K below shield, *Dei Gra*; lozenge stops (PI. VI, 7, 8).

Saltire stops are also possible.

Mule: (K/Grapple); *Obv.* no i.m., but of K period, *Dei Gra*, lozenge stops; *rev.* no i.m., Grapple below shield, pellet stops (PI. VI, 9 same *obv.* die as PI. VI, 8).

For mule with *obv.* i.m. E and K below shield, see Southwark.

I.m. Grapple (both sides or either or absent); Grapple below shield, *Dei Gra*; stops, round pellets (PI. VI, 10) or saltires, on a reverse die showing Grapple over i.m. K and over K below shield. I.m. Martlet both sides; no mark below shield, *Dei Gra* or *D G*; pellet stops or, on reverse, saltires (PI. VI, 11, *His* for *Ihs*, a reading found also with i.m. E).

Mules: 1. *Obv.* Arrow, *rev.* Lis; no mark below shield (Spink, *Num. Circ.*, July 1935).

2. *Obv.* Lis, *rev.* Arrow; no mark below shield; stops, *obv.* pellets, *rev.* pierced crosses.

3. *Obv.* Martlet, *rev.* Lis; pellet stops (PI. VI, 12, Fitzwilliam Museum).

(I.m. Lis both sides; no mark below shield, pellet stops (PI. VI, 13).

SOUTHWARK

Henry VIII. II (b). I.m. S. (a) No mark below shield; variants:

1. Small Roman letters, trefoil stops (PI. V, 1).
2. Large Roman or mixed letters, trefoil stops (PI. V, 2, 3).
3. Lombardic letters, trefoil stops.

(b) A below shield; variants:

1. Large Roman or mixed letters, trefoil or saltire stops (PI. V, 4, 5 *obv.*).
2. Sceptre omitted (PI. V, 4).
3. Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (PI. V, 6).

Mule; *Obv.* S, *rev.* A, with A below shield; Lombardic letters; stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* sleeves (PI. V, 7).

Mule; *Obv.* A, *rev.* S, with A below shield, Lombardic letters, trefoil stops.

I.m. A, with A below shield; variants:

1. Lombardic letters, trefoil or sleeve stops (PI. V, 8).
2. (Edward VI) Roman letters, large lozenge stops (PI. V, 9 *obv.*).

SOUTHWARK, Edward VI

Mules: 1. *Obv.* A (Henry VIII), *rev.* E (over Arrow) (PI. V, 10).

2. *Obv.* no i.m., *rev.* S (Henry VIII); see Messrs. Seaby's list, March 1938, ex P. Carlyon-Britton collection; the legend, *D G*, &c., with lozenge stops shows the obverse to be of this period, though i.m. absent.

3. *Obv.* E, *rev.* no i.m., K below shield (Tower die, Bruun 588).

I.m. E (both sides or on reverse only), E usually below shield; stops, lozenges, pierced crosses, sometimes combined with saltires, or round pellets; variants:

1. Coins in Edward's name; i.m. E over Arrow on *obv.* and sometimes on *rev.*; lozenge stops with either E, broken E, E reversed, A, or no mark below shield;



1



1



O1a



O1c



O1b



O1d



O2



O1e



2



2

SOVEREIGNS OF HENRY VII; OF HENRY VIII (EARLY OBVERSES)
FALSE RYAL OF HENRY VIII



R1



R2



R3a



R3b



R3c



R4



R5



R6



R7



R8

EARLY SOVEREIGNS OF HENRY VIII (REVERSES)



B



C



A



D



E



a



b



c



f



d

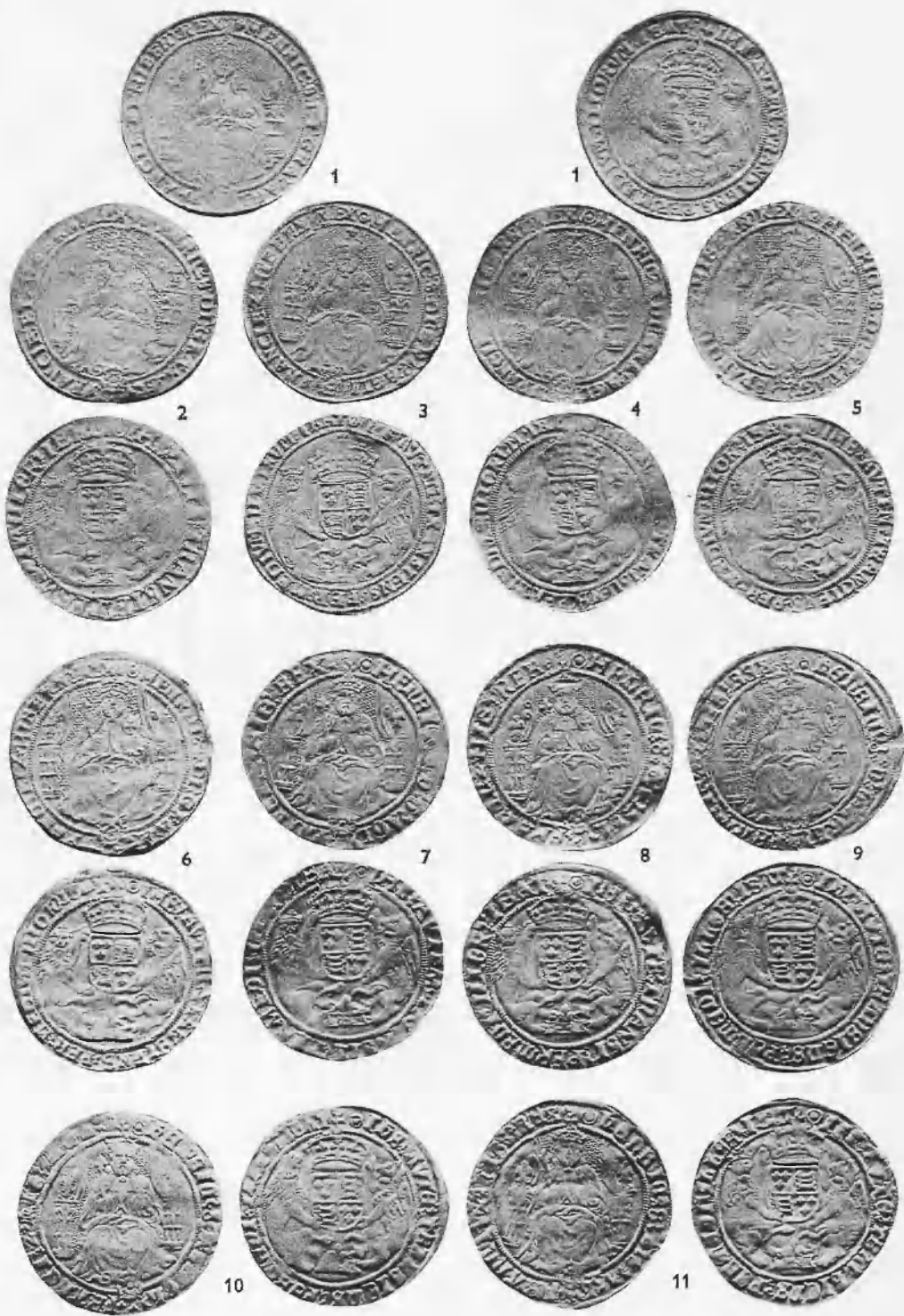


e



g

LATER SOVEREIGNS OF HENRY VIII, 1544-7



HALF-SOVEREIGNS OF HENRY VIII, 1544-7
 (i) I.M. Lis and Annulet-with-pellet



HALF-SOVEREIGNS (ii), HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI



SOVEREIGN, HALF-SOVEREIGNS (iii), EDWARD VI



HALF-SOVEREIGNS (iv), EDWARD VI

reverse dies are those of coins in Henry's name (**Pl. VII, 1** and **2**, same rev. die).

2. I.m. E on rev. only, lozenge stops (e.g. **Pl. VII, 3, 4, 7, and 10**).
3. I.m. E on both sides (**Pl. VII, 6, 8, and 9**).
4. I.m. E over Arrow (**Pl. V, 10, rev. ; Pl. VII, 1, 2, 7, and 8**).
5. Normal E below shield (e.g. **Pl. VII, 10**).
6. E reversed below shield (**Pl. VII, 6**).
7. Broken E for i.m. E and below shield (**Pl. VII, 5**).
8. Lombardic **Æ** below shield (**Pl. VII, 3**).
9. No E below shield (**Pl. VII, 1, 2, and 8**).
10. *Angl.* and monogram E with pierced cross stops (**Pl. VII, 7**).
11. *Dei Gra*, lozenge stops (**Pl. VII, 6**).
12. Pellet stops (**Pl. VII, 9 ; obv. 9 and 10**).
13. Sceptre omitted (**Pl. VII, 10**).

(To be continued)

MISCELLANEA

(TREASURE TROVE)

AN IRISH FIND OF FORGED SCOTTISH COINS

THE National Museum of Ireland contains a hoard of Scottish coins found at Pettigoe, Co. Fermanagh, in April 1852, the majority of which are forgeries. They reached the National Museum from the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, which is on deposit. The hoard is fully published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. v, 1850-3, pp. 324-30, by Aquilla Smith.

The following is a summary list of the coins:

A. *Genuine coins*

- | | |
|---|---|
| (i) David II: Edinburgh Groats | 2 |
| (Burns 301 and 302; weights 47 and 57 gr.) | |
| (ii) Robert II: Perth Half-groats | 2 |
| (Burns 320 and 330A; weights 30 and 25 gr.) | |

B. *Forgeries*

- | | |
|--|---|
| (i) David II: Edinburgh Groat | 1 |
| (Burns 286; weight 35 gr.) | |
| (ii) Robert II: Edinburgh Groats | 9 |
| (Burns 309 (5 specimens), weights $33\frac{1}{2}$, $37\frac{1}{2}$, $47\frac{1}{2}$, $32\frac{1}{2}$, 48 gr.; 327 (1 specimen) weight 34 gr.; 328 (1 specimen) weight $37\frac{1}{2}$ gr.; as Burns 309, but with X behind head (2 specimens), weights $31\frac{1}{2}$ and 31 gr.) | |

Total	<u>14</u>
-----------------	-----------

There were also found at the same time, but not in the hoard, a genuine Robert II groat of Edinburgh weighing 58 gr. and a David II penny of Aberdeen weighing 16 gr.

The object of drawing the attention of this Society to an already published hoard is that the forgeries it contains are of unusual interest. They can be classified in detail because they are all reproduced from actual coins by the cliché method. Aquilla Smith did not realize how they were produced, but knew they were forgeries. Thin sheets of silver pressed over actual coins and reproducing their designs have been joined together with lead to form almost perfect reproductions of original coins. This method of forgery has often been noticed in finds of Long and Short Cross and of Edward pennies, but I have not previously met it with coins so large as groats nor at so late a date. Although the method of manufacture has been fairly obvious, this hoard is the only proof I know that such cliché forgeries were made from actual coins. The five reproductions of Burns 309 have all been made from the same coin, not merely a similar coin but the same actual specimen, and reproduce the particular cuts and scratches of the original. The forger aimed, however, at making these reproductions look a little different one from another by "centring" his thin disk of silver differently each time on the coin being reproduced.

Scottish coins were in common use in Ireland in the late fourteenth century, at which time, of course, there was no local Irish coinage. It does not follow for certain that these forgeries were made in Ireland, but the finding of so many similar forgeries together makes this a possibility. When we recall that there was a long history of bracteate coinage in Ireland during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it seems possible that the cliché forgeries are the descendants of the bracteate traditions. It might one day be worth pursuing the possibility that all cliché forgeries of the Middle Ages were made in Ireland. So far as I am aware the method was only used to reproduce British coins.

D. F. ALLEN

Edward IV-Henry VII

EDWARD IV: Rose nobles; m.m. Crown on rev.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2
HENRY VII: Angels; m.m. Pheon	.	.	.	.	.	.	<u>2</u>
Total	.	.	.	.	.	.	4

D. F. ALLEN

Mary-Elizabeth

List of Coins

Philip and Mary shilling, 1554. Lys	.	.	.	.	.	.	I
Philip and Mary groat. Rex and Regina	.	.	.	.	.	.	I
Elizabeth shillings, m.m. Cross-Crosslet	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
Elizabeth shillings, martlet	.	.	.	.	.	.	II

Elizabeth sixpences, Pheon 1561 (1); Pheon 1569 (2); Portcullis 1566 (4); Lions (2), Crowns (5) 1567 (7 in all); Crown 1568 (6); Castle ? 1570 (1); Castle 1571 (3); Ermine 1572 (2); Ermine [15]73 (1) (15 omitted from date); Leopard, but without date (1)	28
Elizabeth groat, Cross-Crosslet (1); Martlet (1)	2
Total	48

D. F. ALLEN

WELLINGTON, SHROPSHIRE, 1938

Philip and Mary—Charles I, buried c. 1643

Found on 22 March 1938 in the garden adjoining no. 18 Wellington Road, Donnington, in the parish of Lilleshall. The coins were contained in two earthenware pots, which were not submitted for inspection. A selection was retained by the British Museum.

PHILIP AND MARY

Shilling: no date, Spanish titles (1)	1
---------------------------------------	---

ELIZABETH

Shillings: Lis (4), Crosslet (19), Martlet (27), Bell (8), $\mathbf{\Lambda}$ (13), Escallop (6), Crescent (4), Tun (13), Woolpack (11), Key (7), Anchor (1), 1: (3), 2 (6)	122
Sixpences: Pheon 1561 (6), 1562 (4), 1563 (2), 1564 (5), 1565 (1); Uncertain (4); Rose 1565 (3); Portcullis 1566 (7); Lion 1566 (1), 1567 (3); Coronet 1567 (2), 1568 (10), 1569 (7), 1570 (2); Castle 1570 (2), 1571 (7); Ermine 1572 (12), 1573 (5); Acorn 1573 (7), 1574 (2); Eglantine 1574 (10), 1575 (5); Cross 1578 (5), 1579 (3), 1580 (6), 1581 (2); Sword 1582 (4); Bell 1582 (2), 1583 (2), $\mathbf{\Lambda}$ 1583 (3); Escallop 1584? (1), 1585 (6), 1586 (1); Crescent 1587 (5), 1589 (2); Hand 1590 (2), 1591 (1); Ton 1592 (8), 1593 (4), 1594 (4), 1597 (1); Anchor 1599 (1), 1: 1601 (5), 2 1602 (1)	176
Groat: Crosslet (1)	1

JAMES I

Shillings: <i>Ang.-Sco., &c.</i> , Thistle, early bust (3), later bust (20), Lis (17); <i>Mag. Brit., &c.</i> , Lis (11), Rose, early bust (10), later bust (17), Escallop (10), Grapes (3), Coronet early bust (4), later bust (4), Key (2), Bell (1), Trefoil (1), Cinquefoil (1), Ton (1); <i>Laurel issue</i> , Thistle (2), Lis (2), Trefoil without plumes (6), with plumes (1)	127
Sixpences: <i>Ang.-Sco., &c.</i> , Lis 1604 (2); <i>Mag. Brit., &c.</i> , Lis 1604 (2), 1605 (2), Rose 1605 (4), Escallop 1606 (1), Grapes 1607 (1), Coronet 1609 (1); <i>Laurel issue</i> , Lis 1623 (2)	15

CHARLES I

Shillings: Lis (6), Cross on steps (1), Castle with plumes (1), Heart with plumes (2), Harp (7), Portcullis (7), Bell (3), Coronet without plumes (9), with plumes (1), Tun, early bust (7), later bust and type (4), Anchor (4), Triangle, early bust (2), later bust (3), Star (6), Triangle in circle, early bust (15), later bust (2)	80
Total	522

Note. The majority of the shillings of Elizabeth have lines, symbols, or initials scratched on the field of the obverse. A few coins of James I have been similarly treated. The hoard contains one coin of James I and four of Charles I with plumes on the reverse.

D. F. ALLEN

THORPE HALL, YORKS., 1939

Edward VI—Charles I, buried c. 1642

Found at Thorpe Hall, Thorpe Willoughby, Selby, Yorks., on 10 May 1939 by a farm labourer. The coins were found in a vessel, which was acquired by Hull Museum. Ninety coins were purchased by the British Museum. Other sets of coins from the hoard were acquired by the York, Hull, Keighley, Wakefield, and Doncaster Museums. The balance was returned to the finder.

List

EDWARD VI

Shillings: m.m. Tun (8)	8
Sixpences: m.m. Y (1), Tun (3)	4

PHILIP AND MARY

Shillings: n.d., Span. titles (4); 1554, Span. (2), Eng. (1); 1555, Eng. (2)	9
Sixpences: 1554, Span. (1); 1555, Eng. (2); 1557, Eng. (4); Uncertain Span. (3)	10

ELIZABETH

Shillings: m.m. Lis (14), Cross-Crosslet (70), Martlet (61), Bell (20), Λ (26), Escallop (22), Crescent (16), Hand (12), Tun (34), Woolpack (40), Key (18), Anchor (4), 0 (2), 1 (16), 2 (14), Uncertain (4)	373
Sixpences: m.m. Pheon 1561 (71), 1562 (20), 1563 (5), 1564 (19), 1565 (13); Rose 1565 (21); Portcullis 1566 (44); Lion 1566 (9), 1567 (8); Coronet 1567 (41), 1568 (52), 1569 (67), 1570 (4); Castle 1569 (1), 1570 (6), 1571 (33); Ermine 1572 (74), 1573 (29); Acorn 1573 (14), 1574 (5); Eglantine 1573 (4), 1574 (29), 1575 (52), 1576 (9), 1577 (3); Cross 1578 (49), 1579 (23), 1580 (50), 1581 (21); Sword 1582 (35); Bell 1582 (12), 1583 (14); Λ 1583 (6), 1584 (17); Escallop 1584 (10), 1585 (18), 1586 (5); Crescent 1587 (11), 1588 (1), 1589 (8); Hand 1590 (10), 1591 (11), 1592 (3); Tun 1592 (18), 1593 (30), 1594 (2); Woolpack 1594 (17), 1595 (16); Key 1595 (7), 1596 (9), 1598 (1); Anchor 1598 (1), 1600 (1); 0 1600 (2); 1 1601 (10), 1602 (2); 2 1602 (16); Uncertain (22)	1091
Milled: ¹ Star 1562 (3); Lis 1568 (1)	4
Groat: m.m. Cross-Crosslet (1)	1

JAMES I

Unite (Laurel): 3rd Coinage, m.m. Trefoil (1)	1
Halfcrowns: 2nd Coinage, m.m. Rose (1); ² 3rd Coinage, m.m. Thistle (1), ditto with plumes (1), Trefoil (1)	4
Shillings: 1st Coinage, m.m. Thistle (43), Lis (32); 2nd Coinage, m.m. Lis (23), Rose (47), Escallop (28), Grapes (12), Coronet (30), Key (3), Bell (4), Mullet (3), Trefoil (2), Tun (1); 3rd Coinage, Rose (1), Thistle (7), Lis (10), Trefoil (12), ditto with plumes (1), Uncertain (8)	267
Sixpences: 1st Coinage, m.m. Thistle 1603 (30), 1604 (9); Lis 1604 (22); 2nd Coinage, Lys 1604 (12), 1605 (6); Rose 1605 (23), 1606 (4), Escallop 1606 (13), 1607 (2); Grapes 1607 (8); Coronet 1607 (5), 1608 (4); Key 1609 (3), 1610 (1); Bell 1610 (3), 1611 (1); Mullet 1611 (1); Cinquefoil 1613 (1); 3rd Coinage, Rose 1621 (5); Thistle 1621 (3), 1622 (1), 1623 (2); Lis 1623 (5), 1624 (4); Trefoil 1624 (6)	174
<i>Scottish:</i>	
Halfcrowns: 1st Issue (1); 2nd Issue (2)	3
Shillings: 2nd Issue (4)	4

¹ All these coins appear to have been mutilated by hammering in order to make them look like hammered coins, and thus avoid the discount attached to milled coins.

² A new mint-mark for this denomination.

CHARLES I

Halfcrowns: Lis (1), Cross on steps (2), Anchor with plumes (1), Feathers (2), Rose (4), Harp (4), Portcullis (4), Bell (8), Coronet (13), ditto with plumes (3), Tun (19), Anchor (10), Triangle (21), Star (5)	97
Shillings: Lis (9), Cross on steps (2), ditto with plumes, early bust (1), Castle (1), Feathers (7), Rose (5), ditto with plumes (1), Harp (19), Portcullis (27), Bell (43), ditto with plumes (1), Coronet (74), ditto with plumes (2), Tun, early type (87), ditto with plumes (1), late type (31), Anchor (45), Triangle (68), Star (38), Triangle in circle (2), Uncertain (2)	471
Forgery of m.m. Triangle (1)	1
Aberystwyth (no beaded circles) (1)	1
Sixpences: Lis 1625 (2); Cross on steps, 1st bust, 1625 (1), 2nd bust 1626 (2); Negro's head 1626 (1); Castle 1627 (1); Plumes n.d. (1); Rose (2); Harp (5); Portcullis (12); Bell (12); Crown (21); Tun, early type (20), late type (15); Anchor (21); Triangle (24); Star (3); Uncertain (3)	146

Scottish:

Halfcrowns: Thistle (large) (2), (small) (1)	3
Shillings: Thistle (4), Briot's issue (Burns 1007) (2)	6
Sixpence: Thistle 1631 (1)	1
Total	2679

D. F. ALLEN

ANCIENT BRITISH TIN COIN FROM CANTERBURY

MR. L. R. A. GROVE, B.A., F.R.E.S., of the Museum and Art Gallery, Maidstone, has forwarded the following note:

"An ancient British tin coin of Evans's type H 8 (examined and confirmed by the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum) was turned up on the site of No. 1 Watling Street, Canterbury, during excavations there in the summer of 1948. It was found incorporated in the clay bank behind the Roman Town Wall, a few yards north-east of the Riding Gate, and was thus brought from elsewhere, probably from the ditch. It was associated with an uninscribed coin probably of Eppillus, and a denarius of Trajan. The British Museum state that it is the first they have seen from this area, and that previously they have turned up at Mildenhall, Braughing, and Great Chesterford. The obverse bears a crude representation of the head of Apollo, and on the reverse there is an equally highly-stylized figure of a bull. The designs are evidently derived from the coins of Massilia and were probably minted in Britain c. 85-75 B.C. They were probably cast in wooden moulds in strips, and separated by means of a chisel, hence the roughly cast edge. The Canterbury coin is at present in possession of the excavator, Mr. Frank Jenkins, of 24 Tudor Road, Canterbury, but will eventually go to the Canterbury Museum."

Since the above was written a hoard of some one hundred and thirty of these coins has been found (in 1948) at Snettisham, Norfolk (*vide Num. Chron.* 1948, p. 233).

OBITUARIES

L. A. LAWRENCE

It is with deep regret that we record the death on 5 July 1949 of Laurie Asher Lawrence, F.R.C.S., in his ninety-second year.

The undisputed doyen of British numismatists, on account not only of his great age but also of his vast and varied knowledge, Mr. Lawrence had been appointed Director of the British Numismatic Society at the inaugural meeting held in 1903. That office he retained for five years, after which he was Vice-President for nine years and, later, a member of the Council on many occasions and a Medallist. His services to the Society as Director, Editor, and contributor were inestimable.

Lawrence's first numismatic publication was in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1890, when he wrote on "A Baronial Coin of Eustace Fitz-John" in his own collection, and the next few years saw a steady flow of papers from his pen on a variety of medieval subjects. Already his interest in the coinage of Edward III was appearing; three of his papers in the next decade dealt with that series. In the following years the greater part of his output went to the *British Numismatic Journal* which he was then editing, and his contributions included a significant paper on "Forgery in relation to Numismatics" and his "Long-cross Coinage of Henry III and Edward I" which, like his "Short-cross Coinage 1180-1247" which appeared concurrently, are still the standard authorities on these series. A valuable paper on Henry VII, records of hoards and sundry other pieces, appeared in the Fourth Series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and variety creeps in in the form of papers on silver counters exhibiting London criers and their cries and on early English brass or latten counters.

It was in 1926 that the first part of Lawrence's monumental "Coinage of Edward III from 1351" was published. A second part came three years later, a third in 1932, and a final part in 1933. This was without prejudice to a number of lesser papers among which Roman coins are first found at this period. *The Coinage of Edward III* was later published in book form with an appendix and index.

Of Lawrence it may fairly be said that to him more than to any other scholar is due the position that British numismatics have now attained. That position can best be summarized by saying that to-day it is generally possible to date to within a year or two any coin struck after the Conquest. The importance to the archaeologist of such accurate dating requires no emphasis.

The results achieved derive in the main from Lawrence's realization that the privy-mark system ordered in the indentures under which the mint operated should produce evidence on the coins which if studied in great detail would build up a series from which accurate dating would become possible. His application of this theory to the coins of the reign of Edward III in particular has given us a chrono-

logy of remarkable completeness and, it would seem, accuracy. In the earlier series, before the privy-mark system operated so elaborately, equally detailed study and the combined use of numismatic and documentary evidence likewise produced important results.

In the course of his studies Lawrence, who was a born collector, acquired an ever-increasing number of coins. A sale as long ago as 1903 showed what he had managed to amass at the age of 45. What was then sold has more than been recovered since, and at his death he possessed a collection of medieval English coins unrivalled in size and in the number and variety of significant pieces besides a large range of Roman cabinets. While he had an eye for a fine specimen, Lawrence never discarded a fragment or a pierced coin if it was of interest: one of his proudest possessions was a piece of which no less than a quarter was missing. Under his will his interesting collection of forgeries passes to the British Museum where he considered such deceptive pieces would best be housed—and at the same time be available for study and the protection of numismatists. He also directed that the British Museum should be allowed to buy such of his coins as they might select, and it is gratifying to know that full use has been made of this unique opportunity. His collection of Edward III gold has been disposed of intact, which one feels would have been his wish, but the remainder of the collection will be dispersed under the hammer and the occasion will be a rare one, especially for those interested in the coinage of the twelfth to sixteenth centuries.

A word must be said of Lawrence as a man. The affliction of deafness, a burden throughout his life, debarred him from the highest office in the Society which he would otherwise undoubtedly have filled. But it may have helped to lead him to the quiet study of numismatics and made that study doubly happy for him. In a world ever moving faster and more noisily here was work he could do and do undisturbed in a way impossible to most of us. At his house in Hampstead he delighted to receive numismatists old and young and he gave help and encouragement without stint. He was a beloved and deeply respected member of this Society and one whose place it will be hard indeed to fill.

C. E. B.

C. A. WHITTON

IF a man's services are to be measured by the degree in which they are personal, then the British Numismatic Society has suffered a grievous loss by the death of Mr. C. A. Whitton which occurred on 19 January 1950. The thirteen years of Mr. Whitton's membership were marked by a devoted service to the work of the Society. He was twice Director and edited the *Journal* over a long period. He did much other useful though inconspicuous work. His interest in the Society finds its last expression—characteristically enough—in a

generous bequest. The esteem and affection in which he was held by all members was shown by his election by a unanimous vote, last November, to honorary membership.

Mr. Whitton did valuable and original research and his death is a heavy loss also for numismatic science. He had studied deeply the English coinage from Edward III to Edward VI, and published in this *Journal* in 1939 his first paper—on the heavy coinage of Henry VI. In it are evident that regard for sober truth as opposed to fanciful theorizing and that deeply ingrained historical sense that mark all Mr. Whitton's work. It is perhaps permissible to regret that in this paper as in his work on the coinage of Henry VIII he disciplined himself to such brevity of exposition. There are pages where a more expansive development of his text would have been welcome. For his paper on Henry VI Mr. Whitton was awarded in 1941 the Sanford Saltus gold medal of the Society. It seems likely that his paper on the coinage of Henry VIII, publication of which begins in this number of the *Journal*, will prove to be his finest achievement, and his most characteristic one. No record of Mr. Whitton's numismatic work should fail to mention his joint authorship with Mr. C. E. Blunt of the paper on the coinages of Edward IV and Henry VI restored, recently published, of his papers on the die links between Richard III and Edward V, and on "Some Aspects of English Currency in the Late Middle Ages", all of which appeared in this *Journal*. He contributed short papers and notes to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, notably revisions in the light of his own research, of Brooke's paper on the privy-marks of Henry V and of Lawrence's papers on Edward III. In 1948 Mr. Whitton was asked to undertake the editing of the "Addenda and Corrigenda" to Brooke's *English Coins* that the Society was preparing for a new edition. It was the last work that he was able to complete, and he lived to see it published.

In spite of chronic ill health and so much numismatic work, Mr. Whitton kept up an extensive correspondence with friends and students. He had a gift for letter-writing and for imparting to his correspondents the glowing enthusiasm with which he charged his letters. The cutting off of the flow of these remarkable letters is not the least part of the cruel loss that his death has inflicted on his friends. They are left with the record of his fine scholarship and the memory of a much-prized friendship.

E. J. W.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1949

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS— <i>till 22 June</i>
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS— <i>from 28 June</i>
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.— <i>till 20 February</i>
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.— <i>from 22 February</i>
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946-9	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
1932	CHARLES WINTER
1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON

- 1938 WILLIAM C. WELLS
 1941 CUTHBERT A. WHITTON, B.A.
 1944 *Not awarded.*
 1947 R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL 1949

President: CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL; E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.; MISS HELEN FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.; H. H. KING, M.A.; R. C. LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.; H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Director: C. A. WHITTON, B.A.

Treasurer: F. ELMORE JONES.

Librarian: D. MANGAKIS.

Secretary: E. J. WINSTANLEY.

Council: F. O. ARNOLD, M.A., M.D.; ALBERT H. F. BALDWIN; G. V. DOUBLEDAY; COL. M. H. GRANT; SIR JOHN HANHAM, BT.; W. HURLEY; L. A. LAWRENCE; H. A. PARSONS; E. WILSON PECK; H. A. SEABY; P. H. SELLWOOD; C. B. SMITH; J. CLIFFORD THOMPSON; L. V. W. WRIGHT.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 JANUARY 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership:

Douglas Ralph William Barber, 341 Banbury Road (Flat 3), Oxford.

Major A. Clark, 44 High Street, Penistone, Sheffield.

Arthur Philip Gray, M.A., 100 Clarence Gate Gardens, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.

A. D. Passmore, Callas House, Wanborough, Swindon, Wilts.

Stuart Eborall Rigold, Dept. of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works, Lambeth Bridge House, S.E. 1.

J. C. Smith, 75 Nelson's Row, Clapham, S.W. 4.

Lt.-Col. E. N. Trevor and Mr. David Harkness were elected members of the Society.

Library: two volumes were added: (1) *Primitive Money*, by Paul Einzig; (2) *Findings of Greek Coins in the British Isles*, by Dr. J. G. Milne.

Exhibitions

By MR. L. S. FORRER:

A cast of an unpublished penny of Eadmund, Brooke 1; *obv.* EDMVND REX, *rev.* MOND GNM, in 2 lines, with crosses between and rosettes above and below. Probably the moneyer Montheagn who coined at Wareham for Æthelstan (Brooke 5/6).

By MR. R. CARLYON-BRITTON, six coins of Charles I:

- 1, 2. Half-crowns of Briot's Tower type, (a) i.m. Triangle over Anchor both sides; (b) as (a) but Triangle alone on reverse.
- 3, 4. Two corresponding shillings; (a) i.m. Triangle over Anchor both sides; (b) i.m. Triangle both sides.
5. Pattern or proof shilling, i.m. Rose (? one other known).
6. Piedfort 6d., the weight of a shilling; i.m. Triangle (*ex* Montagu 1896); supposed to be unique.

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN:

1. Pattern $\frac{1}{2}$ florin in gold, apparently by Moore and Wiener, probably unique in any metal.
2. Four pattern florins by Wyon.

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES:

Two Henry II Tealby pennies of Class A; (1) +C(OL)BRA(N):ON:(ST)AF (Stafford), (2) +GO(DEF)RE:ON:(L)VN: (London). The coins have the same obverse die; neither coin is in the British Museum, and the die link is unpublished. The Pipe Roll for 1159/60 records the payment of a fine to the Treasury by the Stafford moneyer Colbrand. Was this fine connected with the delivery of a die already used in London?

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY:

Two pennies of Edward the Confessor of Colchester; (1) *B.M.C.* ii, PVLFPINE ON COL, (2) *B.M.C.* iii, BRIHTRIC ON COLA. Both coins show an unpublished type for the moneyer.

By MR. J. C. THOMPSON:

Nine coins of the Netherlands, medieval and modern.

Papers

MR. H. W. A. LINECAR read a short paper entitled "The Centenary of the Florin", and MR. ANTHONY THOMPSON read one entitled "Documents illustrating the Export of Counterfeit Currency to the West Indies".

ORDINARY MEETING

23 FEBRUARY 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for election:

William Dubois Ferguson, Linda, 39 North Terrace, Kelburn, Wellington, W. 1, New Zealand.

A. W. Lainchbury, Trigmoor, Kingham, Oxon.

The following were elected Members of the Society: Major A. Clark and Messrs. S. E. Rigold, A. D. Passmore, A. P. Gray, D. R. W. Barber, and J. C. Smith.

Exhibitions

By DR. E. BURSTALL:

A hammered gold half-crown of Elizabeth, i.m. Lis.

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES:

Two Edward the Confessor "Sovereign" type pennies (*B.M.C.* ix) of the Shrewsbury moneyer Godesbrand, from the same reverse die and both reading +GODSBRAND ON-. The first coin had an unusual obverse but the second a normal one, though on this the reverse legend was partially mutilated and obliterated.

By MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY:

An angel and casts of four other angels purporting to be pieces of Henry VII or Henry VIII but all imitations possibly of continental origin; also genuine English coins for comparison.

1. Casts of an imitation angel of Henry VII with i.m. Escallop.
2. By courtesy of Mr. Peter Seaby, an imitation angel of Henry VII with i.m. apparently Anchor, with an orthodox anchor-marked angel for comparison. The former has since passed into the collection of Mr. J. D. A. Thompson.
3. Casts of an imitation angel of Henry VII, i.m. Rose, reading correctly *HENRIC*D
4. Casts of an imitation angel of Henry VII, i.m. Rose, reading HENRIC VII.
5. Casts of an imitation angel of Henry VIII in the British Museum with i.m. Rose. Mr. Whitton, who sent this cast, wrote that although an angel of Henry VIII with i.m. Rose was unknown, such coins were recorded in a pyx trial of 1527 when almost certainly i.m. Rose was in vogue.

Paper

DR. J. DAVIDSON read a paper entitled "Some distinguishing marks on the Second Issue of David II". This paper will be published in the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 MARCH 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

Messrs. W. D. Ferguson and A. W. Lainchbury were elected members of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN, in illustration of the two papers:

1. Plated Ormond crowns, two pairs of dies.
2. Plated Ormond half-crowns, also from two pairs of dies.
3. Contemporary plated forgeries of the same period.
4. Hammered coins, centrally pierced, to illustrate Mr. Pridmore's paper.

By MR. C. L. MASON:

A Plated Ormond crown.

By HON. R. W. H. ERSKINE:

A penny of Edward the Elder; *B.M.C.* ii; moneyer WALDVLF MÖ: overstruck on an earlier coin. This feature, Mr. Erskine remarked, was often found on issues at that time.

By MR. C. A. WHITTON:

Casts of four unpublished coins to be illustrated in the forthcoming new edition of Brooke's *English Coins*:

1. A pattern groat of Edward VI with on obverse a profile bust with the TIMOR legend and the date MDXL7 (1547); the reverse is struck from a groat die of the profile issue of Edward VI and reads POSVI, &c. The i.m. on *obv.* is Rose, on *rev.* Arrow. The coin weighs 95.6 gr. and is in a private collection. It is from the same obverse die as the Piedfort of a shilling in the British Museum with reverse i.m. Rose and Edward's name and titles. The curious mixture of Roman and Arabic numerals in the date was probably due to considerations of space.
2. A milled shilling of Elizabeth (one of two in B.M.) with i.m. Martlet. This coin was inadvertently omitted by Brooke in his *English Coins*, though he gives Martlet in the list of marks found on milled coins of Elizabeth.
3. A gold half-crown of James I's first coinage; i.m. Lis; obverse reads IACOBVS D G AN SC FR ET HI REX, and reverse TVEATVR VNITA DEVS about a crowned shield with I R above. The coin was presumably unknown to Brooke, and is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow.
4. A Scarborough siege piece of Charles I for the new denomination of 5s. 8d. This coin is also in the Hunterian Museum. Dr. Philip Nelson remarks that the castle on the coin is from the same puncheons as that on the 3s. piece illustrated in his paper on siege pieces in vol. ii of our *Journal*. The coin weighs 467.37 gr.

Papers

1. MR. F. PRIDMORE, "Pierced Coins, temp. William III".
2. MR. C. L. MASON, "A plated Ormonde Crown".

Mr. Pridmore's paper dealt with the official piercing of hammered silver with a central round perforation. Such pieces, he said, were frequently disregarded by the collector as spoiled and useless in ignorance of the official nature and purpose of the piercing. It was done, Mr. Pridmore said, to show official approval that such pieces should circulate at a reduced value until the new coinage of 1695 should be in full circulation.

Mr. C. L. Mason said his paper was written originally to suggest that the plated Ormonde crown was produced by a process similar to Sheffield plate, which not having been invented until 1742 suggested that the Ormonde pieces could not have been made until 100 years after the date appearing on them. Mr. Mason had, however, in the course of discussion with members, come to believe that such a view

was mistaken. He gave an outline of the technique of Sheffield plating and other methods of coating copper with silver.

Speaking after the paper, Mr. Albert Baldwin summarized his reasons for opposing the view Mr. Mason originally held:

1. Forgers of 100 years later would not choose an Ormonde Crown.
2. There were at least two pairs of dies known; further search might bring more to light. Dies used for plated coins were not used on good silver coins.
3. He contended that the edges were not soldered.
4. Striations on the surface might be caused by pressure in striking.

Mr. Carson remarked that ancient plated coins were only detectable by weight or by their specific gravity.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 APRIL 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

Mr. Weber de Vore, Three-Tuns, Ambler, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., was nominated for membership.

Accounts

The Treasurer presented the accounts for the year ending 31 October 1948 and said the deficiency as shown in the Income account was exceptionally large because it included both the cost of the 1947 *Journal* and provision for the current year's issue. This provision was felt to be prudent as the 1948 subscriptions were taken to credit in the accounts. The amount of arrears of subscriptions recovered was less than the record amount recovered last year. The sum of £45. 10s. 9d. received by the sale of back numbers of the *Journal* was thanks to the energy shown by the Librarian. The expenses during the year had been small apart from the large increase in the cost of the *Journal*. The Balance Sheet showed nothing remarkable. The appeal for a voluntary increase in the annual subscription had resulted in the receipt of £60 up to date. A vote of thanks to the Treasurer was proposed by the President, seconded by Mr. King, and carried unanimously. The adoption of the accounts was proposed by Mr. Albert Baldwin and seconded by Mr. David Spink.

Exhibitions

By MR. H. H. KING:

Edward the Confessor: Type ii, Chichester, +ÆLFINEONIC; Type iv, Lewes +NORÐMAN O LÆ.; Type xv, Hastings, +COLSPEGN ON HIE

William I: Type v, Chichester, +BRVMMNAN ON C and (same obv. die) BRVMAN ON CIST (ex "War Area" find, see *B.N.J.* xii).

William II: Type 1, Chichester, +BRVNMAN ON C; Type 2, Chichester, +BRVMAN ON CICE

By MR. DAVID SPINK, coins of Henry VIII in illustration of the paper:

1. Bristol crown, reverse i.m. WS monogram.
2. Bristol crown, similar, from different dies.
3. London crown, i.m. Rose both sides, HK on obverse.
4. London crown, i.m. Arrow both sides, HI on both sides.
5. London crown, i.m. Annulet-with-pellet, HR both sides.
6. Bristol half-sovereign, i.m. WS on reverse only, an exceedingly rare coin.

By the PRESIDENT for MR. HERBERT SCHNEIDER:

A cast of the third known specimen of the heavy noble of Edward IV of 1461-4 (the Brooke Memorial coin in B.M. is later but may rank as a fourth); i.m. Lis, pellet either side of crown, lis below shield, & in centre of reverse. The coin is remarkable for its magnificent condition.

By MR. HOWARD LINECAR:

Specimens of the new coinage of Pakistan.

Paper

The SECRETARY read a short paper by MR. C. A. WHITTON entitled "The Crowns and Half-crowns of the Double Rose". The paper drew attention to the evidence of the order of the initial marks in the second coinage of Henry VIII afforded by the crowns marked with the initials of Katherine of Aragon, HK, which weakened Brooke's theory that there was another "Lis" period after the "Arrow" period. The writer also stressed the peculiarity of the Southwark mint for which no accounts exist and which appears to have been treated as a branch of the Tower mint. Mr. Whitton mentioned also the following new coins all discovered since the publication of Brooke's *English Coins*.

1. Crown with i.m. Arrow, *obv.* HA, *rev.* HR (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
2. Half-crown with i.m. Arrow, HK both sides (*ex* Rashleigh), the obverse showing i.m. Arrow over Lis from the same die as a coin in B.M. showing i.m. Lis alone.
3. Crown with i.m. S both sides (Ashmolean).
4. Crown (Edward VI in Henry's name) with i.m. K (2 specimens known, Mr. R. C. Lockett and Mr. H. Hird) also a half-crown with the same mark (B.M.).
5. Crown (Edward VI in Henry's name), i.m. Roman E (Mr. Albert Baldwin; a similar coin had been listed in the Montagu sale).

ORDINARY MEETING

25 MAY 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership:

Charles van der Elst, 32 Longue rue de l'Hôpital, Antwerp, Belgium.

L. V. Larsen, 803 Grandview, Coshocton, Ohio, U.S.A.

Mr. Weber de Vore was elected a member of the Society.

The President announced that Commander R. G. Liveing, R.N., had sent a contribution of £3. 3s. towards the Society's funds and asked the Secretary to record this generous act in the minutes.

Exhibitions and Short Paper

By MR. PETER SEABY:

1. St. Edmund Memorial Penny; *obv.* EDRENI DANAC, *rev.* ERSAG-MON (*B.M.C.* 402).
2. Edward I Durham penny, Xa, reading EDWARD REX, unpublished.
3. Henry IV, a Heavy penny of London and a Light groat.
4. Henry V, two groats, one with an obverse of Henry IV.
5. Henry V, London penny, with "Emaciated" bust (Brooke A).
6. Edward IV, Light groat, i.m. *obv.* Sun and Crown, *rev.* Sun.

By Messrs. BALDWIN:

1. Silver Pass, "Doncaster Subscription Stand", 1826.
2. " " Proprietor's ticket, Liverpool Race Course.
3. Gold ticket for King's Theatre, issued to the Lord Chamberlain.

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES, in illustration of a note on the Saxon and Norman moneyer Godsbrand:

1. Edward Confessor, *B.M.C.* 7.
2. " " *B.M.C.* 9.
3. " " *B.M.C.* 9.
4. William I, *B.M.C.* 6.

All the above coins with indeterminate mint reading.

5. Cast of a mule coin in B.M. with *obv.* Edward Confessor type XV, *rev.* William I, type 2. + GODESBRAND ON S, assigned by Brooke doubtfully to Shaftesbury.
6. Edward Confessor, type XV; + GODPINE ON SROBB (Shrewsbury); same obverse die as No. 5 above.

Also

7. Tealby penny with initial of an unpublished surname (RO)GIER: F:

By the PRESIDENT: Coins of Edward III:

1. Florin-type penny of Durham (1344-51) with the unusual reading *Rex Ain* (for *Angl*).
2. Treaty groat, 1363-9, with reversed Roman N in *Angl* instead of the normal Lombardic n; reverse reads *Aiutore*, unrecorded by Mr. Lawrence.
3. Treaty groat, 1363-9, mule Calais/London; obverse with annulet on breast; recorded by Mr. Lawrence as a true coin of London.
4. Treaty half-groat, 1363-9, with double saltire stops on obverse, and on reverse *Adiutoreu*. Mr. Lawrence says these stops are found only on mules with the Post-treaty period.
5. Treaty/Post-treaty half-groat, c. 1369; a mule with double annulet stops on obverse and double saltires on reverse, with the unrecorded reading *Den*.

By the PRESIDENT on behalf of MR. H. HIRD:

Cast of an unpublished sovereign of the last coinage of Henry VIII, with obverse i.m. Lombardic \mathfrak{A} , reverse \mathfrak{S} . The stops on obverse are the "sleeves" which Brooke calls "hooks", and on reverse trefoils. This coin forms the long-looked-for complement to the sovereign in the B.M. which has *obv.* i.m. \mathfrak{S} and *rev.* Lombardic \mathfrak{A} . The reverse die of the new coin also, with i.m. \mathfrak{S} , is new, for previously all \mathfrak{S} coins known were found to be struck from the same pair of dies.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 JUNE 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership:

E. H. Cooper, 8 Outram Road, Croydon, Surrey.

F. B. Nightingale, 40 Osborne Road, Jesmond, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Charles van der Elst and L. V. Larsen were elected to membership of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES:

A Long-cross penny of class 5c ION/CWV/NLT/OVG=ION ON WIL-TONG (WILTON). One of the very rare exceptions to the generally accepted rule that the only *non* sceptre coins were issued from the provincial mints. Is it an authentic piece?

By MR. PETER SEABY:

1. Henry VII Tentative issue groat, i.m. Lis/Greyhound's Head.

2. " " " " " none.

3-8. " " " " " Cross crosslet; variants in bust.

9. Stephen penny type, 1. TURCHIL.ONWE (Wareham)? unpublished mint for this reign.

10. William III 2nd bust shilling; unique?

By SIR JOHN HANHAM, on behalf of the owner:

A Henry VIII last coinage half-sovereign 1544-7: i.m. *obv.* \mathfrak{A} ; *rev.* \mathfrak{S} : trefoil stops. This combination of dies is recorded on a half-sovereign in the Montagu and Manley Foster sales. It is not in the British Museum and forms an interesting pendant to the sovereign with the same marks exhibited at the May meeting.

Paper

The SECRETARY read a paper on the profile groats of Henry VII.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 SEPTEMBER 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

Obituary

The President referred to the recent deaths of Mr. Lawrence and Mr. Wells, reminding members that both were foundation members and had been held in esteem and affection by all.

Mr. E. H. Cooper and Mr. F. B. Nightingale were elected members of the Society.

Exhibitions

By HON. R. W. H. ERSKINE:

Edward the Elder, coins showing three unpublished moneyers: RODBERHT; AGNES MO; WILLVF M

Athelstan, unpublished coins without name of mint: AEDELSTAN REX BERNAIC (last word retrograde); BERNAIC MONETAO outwards.

Edred; coin with an unpublished moneyer HEREMOD MO

By MR. H. H. KING:

William I, type V, Chichester; three coins from the same obverse die +PILLIMREX ANI. I. +BRVMMAN ON C 2. +BRVMAN ON C IEST 3. +BRVMMAN ON C I

By MR. D. G. LIDDELL for MESSRS. SPINK:

William I, type V, Dover mint; *obv.* +PILLEM REX MN, *rev.* +BRVMAN O DOFI; an unpublished moneyer for the Dover mint for any reign and a mint not represented in the B.M. for this type.

By MR. R. CARLYON-BRITTON:

Edward IV(?) Half-groat of Canterbury, Ecclesiastical mint, i.m., *obv.* Pall, *rev.* Lis; small trefoils on cusps, reverse *Cantor Civitas* (*Can* under *Posui*).

Mr. Whitton had written that the obverse of the coin was a normal one of the ecclesiastical issue of Edward's first reign (1464-7).

The reverse was quite new and remarkable in that it belonged to a much later period. From a close examination of the lettering the following possibilities emerged:

1. It was struck either late in Edward IV's second reign or early in Henry VII's.
2. If it was struck by Edward IV it was struck at Canterbury quite late in the reign under royal, not ecclesiastical, authority.
3. If it was struck by Henry VII it was struck early in Morton's tenure of the see, probably after the issue of the coins with Lombardic M in the centre of the reverse, but before the issue of the coins with ornamental lettering which had at first i.m. Lis and later i.m. Tun.

Although no reason could be given for the resuscitation of so old an obverse die, the occurrence was not without precedent (cf.

a half-groat of Henry V with a reverse die of Richard II). The possibility of the coin being an issue made in the early days of Henry VII's reign was one that could not be entirely ruled out, but pending further evidence it would be more prudent to regard it as a new variety of Edward IV's reign.

Paper

The PRESIDENT read a paper on "Some Unpublished Early Anglo-Saxon Coins", illustrated by lantern slides. Mr. Lockett, speaking afterwards, thanked Mr. Blunt for a most interesting paper and hoped that they might look forward one day to a *corpus* of such coins.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 OCTOBER 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership:

J. W. F. Hill, 3 Lindrum Terrace, Lincoln.

The Australian Numismatic Society, c/o the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, New South Wales.

The resignation of Mr. F. C. Stuart was announced.

The President gave notice of the proposal to raise the annual subscription to 2 guineas in January 1950.

The President announced that the Society in conjunction with the London dealers was presenting to H.M.S. *Amethyst* a Naval General Service medal for the action fought against the French in April 1809, with two other medals, one for the China campaign of 1860 and the other for the Great War 1914-18, both awarded to members of the crew of ships of the name *Amethyst*.

Exhibitions

By the PRESIDENT:

A long cross penny of apparently normal type Vb and of good weight ($21\frac{1}{2}$ gr.), but the reverse legend seemingly meaningless ODT|H&V|ONV|NIE Possibly a continental imitation. For comparison a St. Edmundsbury coin of type Vb.

By MR. ANTHONY THOMPSON: Coins to illustrate his paper on Spanish dollars:

1. Dollar of Carlos IV of Spain, Mexico mint 1791, counterstruck in England with a head of George III.
2. Forgery of a Mexican dollar 1800. This coin, though not plated, is of base silver. A cut on the reverse shows how its purity was tested.
3. Mexico dollar 1804. The weight of this piece is unusually high (430 gr.), but the bad colour of the metal suggests one of the forgeries which the authorities found so hard to detect.

4. Proof of a Bank of England dollar of 1804 struck upon a dollar of Carlos IV 1797. The old inscription is just visible. In a metal container originally issued with proof coins by the Birmingham Mint.
5. Forgery of a Bank dollar dated 1804.
6. Forgery of a George I shilling to illustrate the sort of currency in circulation at the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars. This piece weighs only 62 gr. as compared with 92 gr. for a shilling of 1787 in fine condition. Its reverse is blank, indicating wear.

By MR. H. H. KING: three unpublished pennies of William II:

- Type 1. Chichester +PILLELM REX; +EDPINE ON EICESTI
 Type 2. Lewes +PILLELM REX; +(P)INRIED ON LIEPE
 Type 5. Chichester +PILLELM REX; +GODPINE ON EIC

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES:

A cast of a Tealby penny in the L. A. Lawrence collection. Bust D. *GODWI---N London. Same obverse die as on Mr. Elmore Jones's coin: *EDMUNDON:LVN: (B.M.C. 463). The Lawrence coin, which is unique, has only recently come to light. It may be assigned to Godwine Laduber of the Pipe Roll entry. The name has not hitherto been found on any London coin. It occurs at York and at Gloucester.

By MR. W. G. WALLACE: Varieties of Edward II pennies:

1. A London penny of class XI (Fox) showing the crown before the malformation of the left-hand ornament, typical of the class, had developed.
2. A Durham penny of class XIa with the malformation well displayed, but showing traces of the original outline of an ornament similar to that on the London coin below.
 It was the opinion of Mr. Elmore Jones that no. 1 was an irregular penny of group X.
3. A Bury St. Edmunds penny of class XIIIb showing on both sides the broken-backed letter & usually associated with classes XIII-XIV. This piece Mr. Elmore Jones thought a mule XIII/XIV.

Paper

MR. ANTHONY THOMPSON read a paper entitled "The Smuggling of Gold and Silver Bullion by British Naval Officers, with special reference to the Spanish Dollar".

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1949

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The resignation was announced of Messrs. Tivy, T. Thomas, and Dr. Brushfield.

Messrs. Ridsdale, A. Wilson, and C. Colborne were removed from membership for non-payment of arrears of subscription.

Mr. J. W. F. Hill and the Australian Numismatic Society were elected members of the Society.

Mr. C. A. Whitton was elected an honorary member of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. C. A. WHITTON:

A Tower groat of Henry VIII, 1543-4, with Irish title HIB REX, i.m. *obv.* Lis, *rev.* Pheon. Groats of this issue are already known to collectors with the i.m. Pheon on *obv.* and Lis on *rev.* The present coin bears out Mr. Parsons's view that an issue with i.m. Lis formed the last of the profile groats of Henry VIII. It will be noted that the coin has several pronounced differences from the ordinary second coinage profile groats.

1. It is struck on a larger flan, with a wider inner circle, both features of the first full-faced groats.
2. The Lis puncheon and the lettering puncheons are also those of the full-faced groats and were probably contemporary with them, although the full-faced groats were, for the time being, not issued.

MR. WINSTANLEY exhibited a Lis/Pheon groat of Henry VIII without the Irish title and a Pheon/Lis groat with the Irish title for comparison.

By MR. ANTHONY THOMPSON:

The manuscript catalogue of the collection of Mrs. Buckeridge dated 1849. This book is particularly interesting not only because of the exceptionally beautiful drawings but because it records a number of finds made during the early Victorian period. The collection includes some British staters from Whaddon Chase and a Saxon penny (Burgred) from an otherwise unrecorded hoard found in the churchyard of St. Mary at Reading in May 1839. The text (taken from Mackerell's book on Saxon coins) is unworthy of the illustrations.

By DR. ARNOLD:

Ten coins of Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, and Henry VII in connexion with his paper.

Paper

DR. F. O. ARNOLD read a brief paper on the subject of "The Regnal Attribution of the Initial-mark Rose and Sun dimidiated". He contended that the view, which was held by the late Mr. Montagu and others, that Edward coins with this i.m. on the reverse, or on both sides, should be assigned to the reign of Edward V, was most probably correct, and could be substantiated upon numismatic evidence at present available—notwithstanding the fact that a contrary view is held, and has been advocated in recent years, by several recognized authorities on numismatics.

He advanced as the chief points, in favour of this contention, the fact that even in Richard III's reign—so far as his coins are extant

as evidence—the rose and sun dimidiated was a distinctly more common i.m. than the boar's head, and only a minority of his coins had the latter i.m. upon either side; so that the view that Richard desired, as soon as possible, to eliminate his brother's i.m.s., and/or display his own special badge of the boar's head, is inconsistent with the factual evidence of i.m.s. upon the coins which have come down to us. Also that, if the rose and sun dimidiated i.m. had been instituted in the reign of Edward IV, it would have meant that this i.m. was actually in use for no less than four consecutive reigns—in the reader's view an improbably long sequence. Also, unless Edward IV died almost immediately after the institution of the rose and sun dimidiated i.m.—if it ever was instituted in his reign at all—it would have been expected that more Edward coins with this i.m. would have been preserved, and in existence to-day, than the exceedingly few which have come down to us, since records show what a very considerable coinage was minted in Edward IV's reign. He also referred to the significance of the pellet under the bust, which is found on some Edward and Richard III coins.

THE PRESIDENT read his Annual Address. At its conclusion the Secretary in proposing a vote of thanks to the President stressed the Society's grateful recognition of the distinguished service rendered by Mr. Blunt during his year of office. The motion was seconded by Mr. Elmore Jones and the vote was carried unanimously.

The President declared the ballot closed and reported that those nominated by the Council had been elected. The Officers had been re-elected. On the Council the vacancies caused by the death of Mr. L. A. Lawrence and the retirement of Col. Grant, Dr. Arnold, and Messrs. B. A. Seaby and H. A. Parsons had been filled by Messrs. J. D. A. Thompson, D. F. Spink, Lt.-Col. H. Allcard, Commander R. P. Mack, R.N., and Captain Youde.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1948

EXPENDITURE

1947	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
23	8	9	Printing and Stationery	.	34	19	9
6	5	1	Postages	.	10	5	6
7	15	6	Expenses of Meetings, Rent, &c.	.	15	11	0
18	9	5	Sundry Expenses	.	9	14	9
—	—	—	Library Expenses	.	7	8	6
470	13	9	Expenditure on 1947 <i>Journal</i>	.	389	12	4
—	—	—	Provision for expenditure on 1948 <i>Journal</i>	.	350	0	0

526 12 6

£817 11 10

INCOME

1947	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
197	8	0	Subscriptions received for 1948	.	204	11	7			
128	12	6	Subscriptions in arrear received during the year	.	7	17	6			
15	15	0	Entrance Fees	.				212	9	1
			Donations:					22	1	0
			C. E. Blunt	.	1	1	0			
			Miss H. L. Farquhar	.	1	1	0			
			Dr. E. C. Carter	.	1	1	0			
			L. Cabot Briggs	.	1	1	0			
5	10	7						4	4	0
40	14	6	Interest received	.				44	8	3
11	2	0	Sale of Back Volumes	.				45	10	9
			Balance Deficiency, carried to General Purposes Fund	.				488	18	9
127	9	11						£817	11	10
£526	12	6								

£817 11 10

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1948

[illegible]

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

25 March 1949.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants*,
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

ADDRESS BY CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, ESQ.,
O.B.E., F.S.A.

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 30 November 1949

THE influx of new Members that occurred in the years immediately after the war is now slowing up, but I am glad to report to you that in 1949 elections totalling thirteen still exceeded by eight our losses. For the well-being of the Society it is important that we should continue to expand, and the fact that over the last four years we have elected nearly one hundred new Members is satisfactory evidence of the interest and keenness that is shown in British numismatics.

This year we have been proud to send our greetings and good wishes to our old friend Miss Helen Farquhar on her ninetieth birthday. I saw her myself that day and can not only vouch to you the pleasure that the Society's greetings gave her but can add that, though old in years, she is still as delightfully young in spirit as ever.

To our list of honorary members, a list that in this Society is always extremely restricted, we have this year added the name of Mr. C. A. Whitton in recognition of his many services to the Society both as author and editor, a recognition which I know you will all agree he fully deserves.

Of the three Members whose deaths occurred this year you would, I feel sure, wish me first to refer to Mr. L. A. Lawrence. He was one of the prime movers in forming the Society forty-six years ago and was throughout one of the principal contributors to the *Journal*. His papers are far too numerous to list to-night, but it will suffice to remind you of his work on the First or Tealby coinage of Henry II, on the Short- and Long-cross issues, on the reign of Henry VII, and, most important of all, his "Coinage of Edward III". Lawrence carried on the great tradition of English numismatics of Ruding, Hawkins, and Evans. He had handed the torch on to Brooke, with whom he collaborated for many years as an honorary member of the Coin-room staff at the British Museum, and Brooke's early death was an acute loss to him. Brooke dedicated his *English Coins* to "My friend and helper, L. A. Lawrence", and it is as a friend and helper that he will be remembered by us who honour his memory to-day.

Another founder Member whose death I must record was Mr. W. C. Wells. Like Lawrence, a Medallist of the Society, Wells's special interest lay in the later Saxon and Norman periods, where he made a special study of the mints of Northampton and Southampton and of Stamford and Peterborough, the results of which were published in our *Journal*. Formerly a regular attendant at our meetings, ill health has latterly kept him away.

Mr. C. J. Bunn, whose death also occurred this year, had been a Member for fifteen years. Although known to many of us he did not often attend our meetings and did not, I believe, contribute to the *Journal*.

THE YEAR'S WORK

The papers laid before the Society have shown a healthy interest in a wide range of subjects. First in point of date, but not of importance, were some notes of my own on certain unpublished or lost Anglo-Saxon coins found in preparing for a new edition of Brooke's *English Coins*, a work we may hope to see published in the near future. The material for the Addendum, which will distinguish this edition from earlier ones, has been collected by various Members of the Society under the editorship of Mr. Whitton, who has been at great pains to ensure its conformity to the standard of the original work. The publishers are printing separate copies of this Addendum which will be sent out to Members free of charge as soon as they are available.

Mr. Elmore Jones spoke on a late-Saxon and early-Norman moneyer, Godsbrand, hitherto tentatively attributed to Shaftesbury, and showed from a study of die identities that Shrewsbury was the more likely mint. There is undoubtedly more work of this nature still to be done in this series by the patient study of individual dies and we hope that he and others will continue it.

Dr. Davidson has discussed the significance of the small letters found on the reverse of certain coins of David II of Scotland, a problem that has long exercised Scottish numismatists.

In the Tudor series we have been given further instalments of their major works on Henry VII and Henry VIII by Mr. Winstanley and Mr. Whitton respectively. It is planned to start the publication of these shortly; Mr. Whitton's manuscript is now complete and in the hands of the press.

Among new readers we are glad to welcome Mr. Pridmore, who read on the official piercing of coins of the hammered issues that took place in William III's reign to denote that such pieces could only pass by weight; Mr. Mason, who in the course of a note on a plated Ormonde crown, gave some interesting details of the various methods of plating; and Mr. Linecar, who spoke of the centenary of that strangely unpopular coin, the florin.

In the colonial field Mr. Anthony Thompson read two short papers, one on "Documents illustrating the Export of Counterfeit Currency to the West Indies", the other on "The Smuggling of Gold and Silver Bullion by British Naval Officers with special reference to the Spanish Dollar".

PUBLICATIONS

The year has seen no major publication on British Numismatics, but some useful work has been produced. The *Numismatic Chronicle* for the second half of 1947 contained reports on a number of hoards: the Bredgar hoard of gold of Edward III and Richard II (the full account

of which was destroyed by enemy action) by Mr. Derek Allen and Mr. Whitton; an early fifteenth-century hoard from near King's Lynn and two Civil War hoards from Glympton, Oxon., and Bingley, Yorks., by Mr. Carson; and from Ilkeston, Derbyshire, a hoard of modern gold, the latest dated 1912, surely, as had so often occurred in the past, the treasure of a victim of war. The volume for the first half of 1948 has some Anglo-Saxon notes by Dr. Philip Nelson, notes by Mr. Parsons on the mint of Galway and by Mr. Kerr on the 40s. piece of James VI and by Mr. Thompson on a curious sixteenth-century hoard from the Scilly Isles composed of contemporary forgeries.

Lately there has reached us a valuable paper by Mr. O'Sullivan on the earliest coinage of Ireland in which he lists moneyers' and mint names found on coins of probably Hiberno-Danish origin and illustrates, from the hoards deposited in Dublin, representative specimens of the curious bracteate and semi-bracteate issues. Mr. O'Sullivan is now engaged on a detailed study of the first Anglo-Irish coinage, the halfpennies of John (1177-99), based on the 1,200 specimens in Dublin, the results of which should be extremely interesting.

The Hamburger *Beiträge zur Numismatik* has issued its third number in which appears an article by Herr Kennepohl on the significance of certain gold issues in Germany in a predominantly silver age, a subject that has lately engaged our attention in this country. There is also a report by Herr Steilberg on a thirteenth-century hoard from Köln-Dünnwald that contains 85 Long-cross pennies of Henry III and 3 pennies of Alexander III of Scotland, all of which are described in detail.

Spink's *Numismatic Circular* has published a valuable article by Mr. Carlyon-Britton on the first coinage of Edward VI which is to be followed shortly by further articles on the same reign. One could wish that a means could be found to produce the illustrations more effectively, no easy matter when dealing with debased coins, often ill-struck.

To Lady Fox we are indebted for bringing to notice a small hoard, temp. Edward the Elder, found at Bangor in 1894 and now in the University College Museum of Antiquities there. This is now published in the centenary number of the journal of the *Cambrian Archaeological Association*.

Finally, mention must be made of a number of handy publications produced by Messrs. Seaby, which should tend to increase interest in coin collecting.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS

Comparatively few museum acquisitions in the British series fall to be recorded this year. The British Museum has received a gift of a further 120 Admiral Vernon medals from Commander McCormack-Goodhart that makes its collection one of the most complete that there is. More should need to be recorded next year. Under Mr.

Lawrence's will the British Museum has the right to purchase such of his coins as they may choose in advance of the sale. In the medieval series the collection was extraordinarily rich in minor varieties besides having a large number of major rarities. It is to be hoped that the Museum will be in a position to afford to take full advantage of Mr. Lawrence's wish that it should have the first choice of varieties that it may need.

The Ashmolean Museum at Oxford has acquired six Armorican staters from the St. Brelade hoard; five Wallingford pennies: Edgar, *B.M.C.* iv, *PVLSTAN M'O PELIGN*; Edward the Confessor, *B.M.C.* xiii, by Brihtmær; William I, *B.M.C.* ii, *BRIHTMÆR ON PELI*; type II, Sweartlinc; type IV, Brand. An Oxford penny of William II type III, *PVLFP! ON OXN*. The coins of which readings have been quoted are not in *B.M.C.* Several Oxford coins of Charles I including the "pattern shilling" of 1644. This coin shows signs of circulation which leads Mr. Thompson, to whom I am indebted for these particulars, to think that it may not in fact be a pattern. Finally, a new seventeenth-century token has been acquired which Mr. Thompson will shortly publish.

At the Fitzwilliam Museum acquisitions have been for the most part in the Greek series and nothing of special interest has been added to the British cabinets.

TREASURE TROVE

The unsatisfactory state of the law of Treasure Trove was shown in connexion with a hoard of Iron-Age articles found at Snettisham in Norfolk at the end of last year. This consisted of ornaments of gold and of base alloys, bronze, brass, &c., and of tin coins. The gold was declared Treasure Trove but not the other articles. It was emphasized at the inquest how important, archaeologically, it was that the find as a whole should be kept together, but the Coroner directed the jury that they must return a verdict in accordance with the law, however cogent the arguments might be to avoid the dispersal of the hoard. I believe that arrangements were subsequently made for the whole to be kept together, but this might well not prove practicable in other cases.

LOCAL SOCIETIES

In the years immediately following the war a large number of local numismatic societies and clubs were formed with which many of us here are associated, and these have proved of real value in bringing collectors together and in stimulating interest in others. In some cases these young societies have now entered a testing period. Usually they rely on the enthusiasm and energy of one or two people and there inevitably comes a time when these begin to wonder if the effort of running a society is really worth while.

I would ask all those responsible for local societies to make every effort to keep them in being. Modify the original programmes if need be; meet less often. But keep the society going. There is a great deal

of useful work that such societies can do besides the pleasure to be derived from the comradeship to which they conduce. Local museums can be helped with their coin-collections—and it is extraordinary how much is to be found in such museums scattered all over the country. Local issues of tradesmen's tokens can be studied and a master list of all new varieties and names made. One day—and I hope it will be soon—a new edition of Williamson's seventeenth-century tokens will be called for and the editors will be immensely helped in their task if local societies have covered their individual counties. The ready access members have to parish registers and other local records puts them in a position to collect data far more readily than a single editor could ever hope to do.

There is also the listing and recording of coins of local mints struck in the later Saxon and Norman period. I referred last year to the extremely useful little booklet published in Ilchester of the coins of that mint. Since then there has appeared an article by Mr. Shortt on the Wiltshire mints, showing admirably what can be done on a county level. There are still many coins of the later Saxon and Norman period whose attribution is doubtful. A case has already been mentioned to-night. A detailed study of moneyers' names and of the dies they used will elucidate these problems in many cases and our Society will always be prepared to help in this.

Finally, there is the question of recording local finds either of hoards or of single coins. The existence of a local society whose activities receive perhaps occasional mention in the press can do much to ensure that hoards are not broken up before recording, as is often done, generally more through ignorance than malice, and that the find-spots of individual coins are not only recorded in the local museum but, where of significance, published in the appropriate numismatic publication. The importance of this in the case of the anonymous Ancient British and earliest Saxon issues needs no emphasis. Find-spots play a major part in their attribution to districts. It is also always important in the case of Greek coins found in this county and may well be so even for isolated Roman pieces.

And while on the subject of provenances may I stress the importance of collectors' maintaining a record of them with the actual coin, wherever known. To future numismatists in the light of further knowledge provenances of seeming unimportance may prove significant. They should never be lost. The value of pedigrees to-day is realized. Would it had been so fifty years or more ago. In trying to track down all known specimens of a certain type one is constantly faced with a doubt as to whether a piece appearing in a modern sale catalogue is in fact the specimen mentioned in, say, the Devonshire catalogue of 1844 or whether one has a further specimen to look for. A lot of unnecessary work is saved where a full pedigree exists, going back ideally to the hoard in which the coin was found. This is one of the many respects in which the British Museum catalogue of Norman coins marks so great an advance on the Saxon catalogue.

THE LIBRARY

It is with real pleasure that I am able to announce that an offer to house the Society's library and that of the Royal Numismatic Society has been received from the Warburg Institute which is situated in the Imperial Institute Building at South Kensington. The Institute has one of the most important (if not the most important) libraries in the country on art and its associated subjects. The numismatic section was weak and the suggestion that a room should be made available for our two libraries was found to be of mutual benefit. The arrangements have still to be formally concluded, but if, as I hope, this is achieved, Members of this Society will enjoy the use of the vast resources of the Warburg Institute, a privilege that will surely be greatly valued.

The question of holding our meetings at the Institute, so that they could be made the occasion to use the libraries, was considered by the Council, but it was decided that the convenience of Members would be better served by continuing to meet more centrally in the rooms we now use.

The arrangement and cataloguing of the books, to which of necessity little attention has been given during the war, will take some time even when the formalities with the Institute are completed. Members will be notified as soon as the library is properly installed.

FINANCES

The heavy increase in the cost of printing has made it necessary for the Council to propose the raising of the subscription for 1950 from one to two guineas. The junior subscription will, however, remain unchanged. The Council regrets the necessity to do this, but we can, I think, be proud that we have been able to avoid it before now. In the forty-six years of the Society's existence, that is over a period involving two world wars, the subscription has remained at the figure of one guinea originally fixed in 1903. This has been made possible by a number of generous gifts, and in the past year, in addition to the many Members who voluntarily doubled their subscriptions for 1949, we have specially to thank Mr. Bagnall, Miss Farquhar, and Commander Liveing for additional donations to the Society's funds.

THE AMETHYST MEDAL

The exploits of H.M.S. *Amethyst* in the Yangtze has excited general admiration in a somewhat drab period of this country's history. An opportunity occurred for the Society to show its appreciation when there appeared in the sale-room recently a Naval General Service Medal (1793-1840) with two bars, one of which, bearing the words "Amethyst 8 April 1809", commemorated the exploit of an earlier *Amethyst*, a 36-gun frigate, that captured a French frigate the *Niémén* after a gallant fight. This medal was bought by the Society at the instigation of the firms of Messrs. Baldwin, Seaby and Spink, who

have generously agreed to bear the bulk of the cost, and, with medals awarded to members of the crews of *Amethysts* in the Second China War and the First Great War, is to be presented to the present ship of that name to keep alive the memory of those earlier exploits.

I cannot end without calling the attention of Members to the debt of gratitude that they owe to the officers of the Society and in particular to the Director, the Secretary, and the Treasurer on whom falls the bulk of the work. On your behalf, and for myself also, I thank them for the time and thought they willingly give to the Society's affairs.

May I just say that we at all times welcome papers, long or short, that may be offered us, and that I hope that Members who have ideas that they wish to lay before the Society for discussion will feel no diffidence in doing so. The past year brought us several new readers and I hope that 1950 will, with the assistance of all Members, continue the progress that has been made since the war.

LISTS OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ON 30 APRIL 1950

ROYAL MEMBERS

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR.

In Alphabetical Order

HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.

HER MAJESTY ELENA OF ITALY.

HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII, KING OF NORWAY.

HER MAJESTY AMELIA OF PORTUGAL.

HER MAJESTY VICTORIA OF SPAIN.

HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV V, KING OF SWEDEN.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCE OF SWEDEN.

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE CROWN PRINCESS OF SWEDEN.

HONORARY MEMBER

1905 RENDALL, VERNON HORACE, ESQ., B.A., 43 Black Lion Lane, Hammersmith, London, W. 6.

MEMBERS

* *Life Member* † *Junior Member*

1904 ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, The Librarian.

1907 ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, c/o B. H. Blackwell Ltd., 48-51 Broad Street, Oxford.

1947 ALLCARD, LT.-COL. H., 29 Windsor Road, Selsey, Sussex.

1935 ALLEN, D. F., ESQ., B.A., "U.K. Shipping Representative", P.O. Box 1360, Singapore.

1946 AMANN, ARTHUR F., ESQ., 1a Mayfield Road, Stroud Green, London, N. 8.

1906 AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, The Secretary, 156th Street West of Broadway, New York, U.S.A.

1906 ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, The Secretary, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.

1915 ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, The Secretary, Queen Street, Edinburgh.

1922 ARKEOLOGISKA KOMMISSIONEN, FINLANDS NATIONALMUSEUM, Helsinki, Finland, The Librarian.

1935 ARNOLD, F. O., ESQ., M.A., M.D., Wynthorpe, Hale, Cheshire.

1936 ASSHETON, J. R., ESQ., 46 Jubilee Place, London, S.W. 3.

1949 AUSTRALIAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, c/o the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney, New South Wales.

1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 3 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorks.

1938 BALDWIN, ALBERT, ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

1941 BALDWIN, W. V. R., ESQ., Mont Dore, West Hill, High Salvington, Worthing, Sussex.

1949 BARBER, D. R. W., ESQ., Flat 3, 341 Banbury Road, Oxford.

1946 BARNES, A. E., ESQ., 33 Stratton Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.

- 1947 BASMADJIEFF, LUBEN A., ESQ., Postfach Fraumunster 1071, Zürich, Switzerland.
- 1909 BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Chief Librarian, Belfast.
- 1904 BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The Librarian, Central Library, Birkenhead, Cheshire.
- 1906 BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The City Librarian, Birmingham, 1.
- 1947 BIRMINGHAM, The Librarian, The University Library, Edmund Street, Birmingham.
- 1933 BLUNT, C. E., ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A., Wilton House, Hungerford, Berks.
- 1948 BLAKE, G. R., ESQ., Adanac, Crabwood Road, Millbrook, Southampton.
- 1907 BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, The Librarian and Curator, Oriel Road, Bootle, Lancs.
- 1930 BOURNEMOUTH PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The Borough Librarian, Central Library, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1948 BRAZENOR, HERBERT C. F., ESQ., Art Gallery and Museum, North Gate House, Church Street, Brighton, Sussex.
- 1942 BRETTELL, R. P. V., ESQ., Devon Constabulary, Lynton, North Devon.
- *1933 BRIGGS, MR. L. CABOT, Hancock, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
- 1947 BRISTOL, The Keeper, The City Museum, Queen's Road, Bristol 8.
- 1945 BROWN, ERIC, ESQ., 1 Newland Avenue, Harrogate, Yorks.
- †1946 BROWN, L. A., ESQ., 3 Hampton Road, Worcester Park, Surrey.
- 1927 BROWNING, W. H., ESQ., Chiddingstone, Bexley Road, Eltham, London, S.E. 9.
- 1942 BURSTAL, E., ESQ., M.A., M.D., 46 Lansdowne Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1945 BURTON, LT.-COL. G. S. M., M.B.E., M.C., West Court, Gravel Hill, Finchley, London, N. 3.
- 1908 CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, The Director.
- 1904 CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Cambridge.
- 1904 CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, The Librarian, Cardiff, Glam.
- 1947 CAREW-HUNT, MAJOR B., 60 Parkway, Raynes Park, London, S.W. 20.
- 1911 CARLYON-BRITTON, R. C., ESQ., F.S.A., 38 Westgate, Chichester, Sussex.
- 1906 CARTER, E. C., ESQ., M.D., M.R.C.P., The Elms, Forty Hill, Enfield, Middlesex.
- 1946 CARTER, P. C., ESQ., Coneygree, Harlaxton, Grantham, Lincs.
- 1947 CAWTHORNE, TERENCE, ESQ., F.R.C.S., 149 Harley St., London, W. 1.
- 1946 CHAINEY, H. G., ESQ., 21 Manor Way, Chingford, London, E. 4.
- 1929 CHECKLEY, J. F. H., ESQ., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1914 CHRISTOPHER, R. T., ESQ., West View, Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts.
- 1949 CLARK, MAJOR A., 44 High Street, Penistone, Sheffield.
- 1946 CLARK, J. W., ESQ., 56-58 Beaconsfield Street, Blyth, Northumberland.
- 1948 CLARKE, REV. J. W., B.A., C.F., Gormanston, Meath, Eire.
- 1944 CLARKE, B., ESQ., Bennington, School Lane, Bapchild, Sittingbourne, Kent.
- 1904 COLCHESTER, THE CORPORATION OF, The Chairman, Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester, Essex.
- 1909 CONGRESS, THE LIBRARY OF, WASHINGTON, D.C., U.S.A., The Librarian, c/o Messrs. E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1949 COOPER, E. H., ESQ., 8 Outram Road, Croydon, Surrey.
- 1947 DALE, L. J., ESQ., 76 St. James's Avenue, Papanui, Christchurch, New Zealand.

- 1937 DAVIDSON, J., ESQ., M.B., CH.B., F.R.C.P.E., F.S.A. SCOT., 4 Randolph Crescent, Edinburgh.
- 1930 DAY, W. H., ESQ., Carlyle House, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1917 DENMARK, The Keeper, Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.
- 1926 DENTON, A. R., ESQ., The Hollies, 90 Haygate Road, Wellington, Salop.
- 1904 DERBY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Director, Derby.
- 1949 DE VORE, WEBER, ESQ., Three-Tuns, Ambler, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
- 1946 DOUBLEDAY, G. V., ESQ., The Old Rectory, Langford, Maldon, Essex.
- 1948 DRESSER, MR. JOHN L., 167 East 90th Street, New York City, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1904 DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, The Librarian, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin, Eire.
- 1904 EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, The Keeper, Edinburgh.
- 1903 EDINBURGH PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Principal Librarian, Edinburgh.
- 1913 EDINBURGH, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Edinburgh.
- †1946 ERSKINE, 2/LT. THE HON. R. W. H., Ickworth, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
- 1903 EVANS, LT.-COLONEL C. L., Corris, Wash Hill, Newbury, Berks.
- 1903 FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, F.R.HIST.S., 6 Lowndes Street, London, S.W. 1.
- 1949 FERGUSON, W. D., ESQ., Linda, 39 North Terrace, Kelburn, Wellington, 1, New Zealand.
- 1946 FERMEUS, D. A. J., ESQ., 13 Gloucester Road, Kensington, London, S.W. 7.
- 1903 FORRER, L., ESQ., Helvetia, 24 Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.
- 1946 FORRER, L. S., ESQ., 175 Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
- 1947 FORRER, R., ESQ., c/o Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd., 5-7 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
- 1906 GARDNER, WILLOUGHBY, ESQ., D.SC., F.S.A., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, North Wales.
- 1903 GLASGOW, THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, The Librarian, North Street, Glasgow.
- 1903 GLENDINING, D., ESQ., 7 Blenheim St., New Bond St., London, W. 1.
- 1949 GRAY, A. P., ESQ., M.A., 100 Clarence Gate Gardens, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.
- 1938 GRANT, COLONEL M. H., 18 Victoria Grove, London, W. 8.
- 1947 GRIERSON, PHILIP, ESQ., M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
- *1943 GRIFFITHS, NORMAN, ESQ., Trinity Chambers, 67 High Street, Tunstall, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffs.
- 1948 HAGLEY, SYDNEY V., ESQ., Renmark Avenue, Renmark, South Australia.
- *1944 HANHAM, SIR JOHN, BT., Dean's Court, Wimborne, Dorset.
- 1949 HARKNESS, DAVID, ESQ., 38 Redcar Rd., Crookesmoor, Sheffield, 10.
- 1909 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, LIBRARY OF, CAMBRIDGE, MASS., U.S.A., The Librarian, c/o Messrs. E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1947 HAY, C., ESQ., 140 Kings Cross Road, London, W.C. 1.
- 1949 HILL, J. W. F., ESQ., 3 Lindrum Terrace, Lincoln.
- 1944 HIRD, H., ESQ., F.S.A., Fern Royd, North Park Road, Bradford, Yorks.
- 1948 HOLZER, MR. H. W., 42-52 Layton Street, Elmhurst, New York, U.S.A.

- 1946 HOPKINS, G. S., ESQ., 45 Crosby Road, Westcliffe-on-Sea, Essex.
 1946 HORNE, F. G., ESQ., Cross Park Farm, Thurlestone, Nr. Kingsbridge, Devon.
 1948 HORSMAN, H., ESQ., 99 Leyburn Road, Darlington, Co. Durham.
 1947 HUNTINGFORD, ROY, ESQ., 3 Drysdale Avenue, Chingford.
 *1906 HUNTINGTON, A. M., ESQ., 3 East 89th Street, New York 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1939 HURLEY, W., ESQ., 37 Thaxted Road, New Eltham, London, S.E. 9.
 1904 IRELAND, NATIONAL LIBRARY OF, The Director, Kildare Street, Dublin, Eire.
 1946 IRONS, J. K., ESQ., 79 The Drive, Northampton.
 1939 JACKSON, C. A., ESQ., Bradgate, Charlton Lane, Brentry, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.
 1946 JACOB, K. A., ESQ., Lynstone, 32 Gilbert Road, Cambridge.
 1944 JOHNSTONE, DR. E. A., 121 North Road, Clayton, Manchester.
 1948 JONES, MR. DORAN A., 4 Weeks Street, Plymouth, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
 1938 JONES, F. ELMORE, ESQ., 30 Finsbury Square, London, E.C. 2.
 1948 KAPLAN, DR. ALEC, P.O. Box 132, Germiston, South Africa.
 1937 KENNEY, L. A., ESQ., Shamrock, Joy Lane, Whitstable, Kent.
 1909 KING, H. H., ESQ., M.A., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth, Sussex.
 1938 KING, P., ESQ., Flat 1, Lamport Hall, Lamport, Northants.
 1949 LAINCHBURY, A. W., ESQ., Trigmoor, Kingham, Oxon.
 1949 LARSEN, MR. L. V., 803 Grandview, Coshocton, Ohio, U.S.A.
 1947 LAWRENCE, G. WILSON, ESQ., L.D.S., Lyndhurst, 111 Upton Road, Bexley Heath.
 1904 LEE, E. H., ESQ., 71 Upper Parliament Street, Nottingham.
 1948 LEE, CAPT. REGINALD, Woodgate House, Uttoxeter, Staffs.
 1904 LEEDS PUBLIC FREE LIBRARIES, The Chief Librarian, Central Free Public Library, Leeds.
 1905 LEICESTER, THE MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES OF, The Librarian, Leicester.
 1947 LIDDELL, D. G., ESQ., c/o Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd., 5-7 King St., St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
 1946 LINECAR, H. W. A., ESQ., c/o Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd., 5-7 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
 1933 LINGFORD, H. M., ESQ., Lancelands, Cotherstone, Barnard Castle, Co. Durham.
 1947 LIVEING, COMMANDER R. G., R.N., Westerhouse, The Avenue, Alverstoke, Hants.
 1905 LOCKETT, R. C., ESQ., J.P., F.S.A., 58 Cadogan Place, London, S.W. 1.
 1922 LONDON LIBRARY, THE, The Chief Librarian, 14 St. James's Square, London, S.W. 1.
 1933 LONDON LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF, Goldsmiths' Librarian, Senate House, Bloomsbury, London, W.C. 1.
 1915 LONGMAN, W., ESQ., 42 Chelsea Square, Chelsea, London, S.W. 3.
 1946 LOVELL, C., ESQ., Tuffley Grange, Gloucester.
 1950 LUBRAN, J., ESQ., Prospect House, Honley, Nr. Huddersfield.
 1945 LYON, C. S. S., ESQ., 15 Ullet Road, Liverpool, 17.
 *1930 MABBOTT, PROFESSOR T. O., PH.D., 27 Washington Square, N., New York 11, N.Y., U.S.A.
 1947 MACK, COMMANDER R. P., R.N., West House, Droxford, Hants.
 1904 MANCHESTER, THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, The Librarian, Manchester.
 1903 MANCHESTER, PUBLIC FREE LIBRARY, The Chief Librarian, Manchester.
 1945 MANGAKIS, D., ESQ., 7 Esmond Court, Thackeray Street, London, W. 8.

- *1920 MAPLES, A. K., ESQ., 33 London Road, Spalding, Lincs.
- 1944 MARSHALL, J. Y., ESQ., 20 Kildare Gardens, London, W. 2.
- 1946 MASON, C. L., ESQ., 1 Washington House, Basil Street, London, S.W. 3.
- 1942 MASON, N. B., ESQ., M.A., 200 St. Helen's Avenue, Toronto, 4, Ontario, Canada.
- 1947 MATTINGLEY, H., ESQ., British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 1946 MEDWAY TOWNS NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, c/o A. G. Baverstock, Esq., 153 Sunnymeade Avenue, Gillingham, Kent.
- 1905 MEHL, MR. B. MAX, Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A.
- 1921 MICHIGAN, THE LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF U.S.A., c/o Messrs H. Sotheran & Co., 2-5 Sackville St., London, W. 1.
- 1932 MITCHELL, D. D., ESQ., 18 Craneford Way, Twickenham, Middlesex.
- 1939 MULLER, F., ESQ., L.D.S., 46 Station Road, Blackpool, S.S., Lancs.
- 1927 NAPIER, D. S., ESQ., 3 Marchhall Road, Edinburgh.
- 1921 NEVIN, J., ESQ., 136 Musters Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.
- 1916 NEW SOUTH WALES, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, c/o Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son, Ltd., Strand House, London, W.C. 2.
- 1904 NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Librarian, c/o Stephens & Brown Ltd., 28-30 Little Russell St., London, W.C. 1.
- 1909 NEW YORK, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, The Librarian, c/o Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
- 1935 NEWNHAM, A. J., ESQ., 35 Frogmore Lane, Lovedean, Hants.
- 1949 NIGHTINGALE, F. B., ESQ., 40 Osborne Road, Jesmond, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- 1930 NORWICH CASTLE MUSEUM, The Curator, Norwich, Norfolk.
- 1919 NOTTINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The City Librarian, Central Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.
- 1904 OLDHAM, THE FREE LIBRARY COMMITTEE, The Librarian, Oldham, Lancs.
- 1947 O'SULLIVAN, WILLIAM, ESQ., National Museum of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin, C. 17.
- 1922 OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, The Keeper, Oxford.
- 1904 OXFORD, THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, The Librarian, Oxford.
- 1903 PARSONS, H. A., ESQ., Charmandean, Towncourt Crescent, Pett's Wood, Kent.
- 1949 PASSMORE, A. D., ESQ., Callas House, Wanborough, Swindon, Wilts.
- 1946 PARSONS, O. F., ESQ., 74 Longlevens Lane, Gloucester.
- 1946 PECK, C. W., ESQ., 31 Vineyard Hill Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W. 19.
- 1944 PEGG, H., ESQ., Sunny Nook, Wollaton Road, Beeston, Notts.
- 1945 PERRIN, MRS., Apartment 3, 2673 Bloor Street, W. Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- 1909 PHILADELPHIA, THE FREE LIBRARY OF, The Librarian, Philadelphia 3, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1944 PRIDMORE, F., ESQ., 46 High Street, Skegness, Lincs.
- 1946 PRIESTMAN, A., ESQ., Brougham, Penrith, Cumberland.
- 1945 PRITCHARD, J. R., ESQ., 122 Kensington Park Road, London, W. 11.
- 1945 PRITCHARD, MRS. J. R., 122 Kensington Park Road, London, W. 11.
- 1903 RABY, H., ESQ., Kensington House, Withington, Manchester.
- 1948 RAYNER, P. A., ESQ., 35 Tennyson Road, Harpenden, Herts.
- 1926 READING PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The Chief Librarian, Reading, Berks.
- 1947 READING, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Reading, Berks.
- 1949 RIGOLD, S. E., ESQ., Dept. of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works, Lambeth Bridge House, London, S.E. 1.

- 1946 ROBINSON, E. S. G., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., F.B.A., British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 1938 ROLFE, M. S., ESQ., 16 Chestnut Grove, Southend-on-Sea, Essex.
- 1948 SCHULMAN, MR. HANS M. F., 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1947 SCHNEIDER, MONS. H., 10 Place Leopold, Antwerp, Belgium.
- 1946 SEABY, MRS. H. E., 46 Baker Street, Potters Bar, Middlesex.
- 1926 SEABY, H. A., ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.
- 1945 SEABY, P. J., ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.
- 1933 SELLWOOD, P. H., ESQ., 34 Paddock Road, Newbury, Berks.
- 1946 SHRIGLEY, MISS I., M.A., 5 Suffolk Road, Barnes, London, S.W. 13.
- 1941 SIMPSON, S., ESQ., Spitchwick Manor, Poundsgate, Newton Abbot, Devon.
- 1946 SLAYTER, W., ESQ., 63 West Way, Edgware, Middlesex.
- 1946 SMITH, C. B., ESQ., Greensted, Ashley Road, Farnborough, Hants.
- 1948 SMITH, D. ELLIOT, ESQ., 50 Moruben Road, Mosman, N.S.W., Australia.
- 1949 SMITH, J. C., ESQ., B.E.M., 75 Nelson's Row, Clapham, London, S.W. 4.
- 1946 SOMERVILLE, D., ESQ., Hillview, Achno Road, Hardgate, Clydebank.
- 1946 SOUTH AFRICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, Dr. W. F. K. Mitchell, *Hon. Sec.*, P.O. Box 1073, Cape Town, S. Africa.
- 1908 SOUTH AUSTRALIA, THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF, c/o The Agent-General for Australia, British Industries House, Marble Arch, London, W. 1.
- 1941 SPINK, D. F., ESQ., 5-7 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
- 1945 STEBBING, LT.-COL. N. A., Toll Cottage, Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey.
- 1947 STEWART, JAMES R., ESQ., Dept. of History, Sydney University, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.
- 1945 STONE, H., ESQ., 14 Chase Court, Chase Road, Southgate, London, N. 14.
- 1937 STRAND, A. C., ESQ., 14 Lismore Road, South Croydon, Surrey.
- 1943 STREETER, E., ESQ., The Clock House, Church Street, Petworth, Sussex.
- 1944 TADGELL, W., ESQ., Great Northern Hotel, Station Road, Cambridge.
- 1903 TAFFS, H. W., ESQ., M.B.E., 109 Foots Cray Road, Eltham, London, S.E. 9.
- 1942 THEOBALD, O. E. C., ESQ., 56 Ulster Gardens, Palmer's Green, London, N. 13.
- 1943 THOMPSON, J. C., ESQ., 16 King George V Avenue, King's Lynn, Norfolk.
- 1946 THOMPSON, J. D. A., ESQ., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- †1945 TIDMARSH, R. J., ESQ., 132 Kent House Road, Beckenham, Kent.
- 1949 TREVOR, LT.-COL. E. N., Tudor Cottage, 128 Priory Lane, London, S.W. 15.
- 1946 TURNER, W. B., ESQ., 2 Brassey Street, Chester.
- 1949 VAN DER ELST, CHARLES, 32 Longue Rue de l'Hôpital, Antwerp, Belgium.
- 1904 VICTORIA, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, The Librarian, Melbourne, c/o Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son, Ltd., Strand House, London, W.C. 2.
- 1931 VIDLER, L. A., ESQ., The Old Stone House, Rye, Sussex.
- 1922 WALES, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF, The Chief Librarian, Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire.
- 1923 WALES, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, The Director, Department of Archaeology, Cardiff, Glamorgan.
- *1944 WALLACE, J., ESQ., 40 Temple Place, Marston Road, Blakeney, Norfolk.
- 1918 WALLACE, W. G., ESQ., 61 East Avenue, Bournemouth, Hants.

- 1938 WATERFIELD, P. G., ESQ., Bishop's Hull House, Bishop's Hull, Taunton, Somerset.
- 1950 WEIBL, J., ESQ., c/o Swiss Bank Corporation, 99 Gresham Street, London, E.C. 2.
- *1945 WEST, A. J., ESQ., Springfield, Bookham, Surrey.
- 1946 WHETMORE, S. A. H., ESQ., 4 Sydney House, Bedford Park, London, W. 4.
- 1946 WILLIAMS, B., ESQ., 30 Beeleigh Road, Morden, Surrey.
- 1939 WINSTANLEY, E. J., ESQ., L.D.S., 32 Belsize Grove, London, N.W. 3.
- 1947 WRIGHT, L. V. W., ESQ., 1 Malbrook Court, Malbrook Road, Putney, London, S.W. 15.
- 1937 WRIGHTSON, A. G., ESQ., O.B.E., 20 Brunswick Gardens, London, W. 8.
- 1909 YALE UNIVERSITY, NEWHAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A., c/o Messrs. E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1930 YORKSHIRE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, The Curator, The Yorkshire Museum, York.
- 1947 YOUDE, CAPT. W. J. C., The Shrubbery, Leacroft, Staines, Middlesex.

SAXON SCEATTAS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

By PHILIP V. HILL

THE difficulties presented by Saxon sceattas have been tackled by many numismatists during the past century, but it must be admitted that, with the notable exception of Dr. Sutherland's war-time paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, our knowledge of the series has not been appreciably extended. Indeed, we may even say that the more we know about sceattas, the more we realize we do not know. To me their study is but a side-line (albeit a necessary one) to my researches into the barbarous Roman coins, since I believe that both series can be linked far more closely than many students are prepared to admit. Still, I am hardly justified in making any dogmatic assertions or in imagining that I can dispose for all eternity of the problems which beset us! I can only hope that this paper will present a more qualified student with a few pointers and will lead to a greater understanding of these difficult coins.

Dr. Sutherland has already dealt with the problems of the earlier gold thrymsas, so that we need not traverse that ground again but refer those interested to his valuable monograph on the Crondall hoard.¹ We shall therefore take up the story with the silver coins and, after a few preliminary remarks on the types of sceattas and their art, proceed to a consideration of their problems.

Since in this country sceattas are usually studied in connexion with our own coinage, our English sense of insularity often blinds us to two facts: that they were not peculiarly English, and that the same types were frequently produced on both sides of the Channel. That the Saxon sceattas were part of a far greater whole will be especially apparent when we come to touch upon the commercial relations of England and the Continent. Yet, in spite of this, they are stylistically in a class apart, being far superior in treatment to those of Merovingian Gaul and Frisia. For the most part, Merovingian sceattas, having been more thoroughly subjected to Romanizing influences, bear the names of mints and often of moneyers, which enable them to be identified and geographically classified, if not dated. Frisian sceattas, on the other hand, present the same difficulties as are presented by their Saxon cousins, without even the vague leads which the latter occasionally give. So it will be convenient for us to return to our insularity for the time being and bring our minds to bear upon our own problems.

First, a word about prototypes. Although most sceatta types were of purely native origin, some were obviously inspired by Roman, Byzantine, or Merovingian prototypes. The centaur of *B.M.C.* type 47 (Pl. IV, 19) is clearly derived from just such a Carausian

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard* (Oxford, 1948).

antoninianus as **Pl. I, 1**. I believe it was the eminent nineteenth-century numismatist C. F. Keary who suggested that the familiarity of the Teutonic invaders with the coins of Carausius began with his employing large numbers of Saxons for the purpose of manning the Saxon Shore¹—a political measure which was in full accordance with the dangerous practice under the Late Empire of using outer barbarians in the imperial defences. It is an ingenious and attractive theory and may well account for the Carausian origins of certain types, such as the “clasped hands” on a thrymsa (**Pl. II, 2**) and the “centaur” and “wolf and twins” (**Pl. II, 37**) on sceattas. (The last, however, may more reasonably be traced to the Constantinian *Urbs Roma* (**Pl. I, 4**), which was struck in considerably greater quantities than the Carausian “wolf and twins”²). The Constantinian *Virtus Exercit.* (vexillum and captives, **Pl. I, 2**) served as the model for the “radiate bust—standard” type (**Pl. II, 7–10, 13–17, 19–21**; cp. **Pl. IV, 34, 38** (obvs.) and **Pl. II, 22–32, 34–6, 38, 41**; **IV, 18, 24, 33, 36** (revs.)), and it is possible that the obverse also owes something to some fourth-century obverse, although its more obvious derivation from the third-century radiates,³ including, again, the antoniniani of Carausius, must not be overlooked. The “bird-on-vine” of *B.M.C.* type 7 (**Pl. II, 37**) has no prototype but is a Saxon design borrowed from Late Antique art and occurring on Saxon crosses. In *B.M.C.* type 1 (**Pl. II, 6**) we have a stylized copy in miniature of the late fourth-century *Victoria Augg. solidus* (**Pl. I, 5**). This particular specimen, being struck in silver, falls within the sceatta series, but thrymsas are also found with the same types (**Pl. II, 5**), thus proving Brooke’s contention that the sceatta coinage was in its origins merely a debased thrymsa coinage.⁴ The seated figure on one of the “London” sceattas (**Pl. III, 1**) was probably derived from one of the many figures on the Roman fourth-century issues, such as the Roma on the Constantinian *Romae Aeternae* coins (**Pl. I, 3**), while the “man with cross and bird” reverse (**Pl. III, 9–11**) undoubtedly originated in the early fifth-century solidus with a figure of the Emperor holding a Victory and a labarum (**Pl. I, 6**). The main Byzantine prototypes were the *Victoriae Augg. solidus* (**Pl. I, 7**) for the “man with crosses” reverse (**Pl. II, 42, 43; III, 3–8, 12–20; IV, 6**); the “two Emperors—cross on steps” of the silver of Heraclius and his son (**Pl. I, 8**), which seems to have served

¹ *The Coinages of Western Europe* (London, 1879), pp. 103 sqq. See Mattingly in *Antiquity*, 1943, pp. 165–6, and in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, no. 80, p. 14.

² Baldwin Brown (*The Arts in Early England*, vol. iii (London, 1915), pp. 87, 110) regards the “centaur” as a late type, and I see no reason to disagree with his opinion. Not only is the “wolf—whorl” reverse “in an advanced state of morphological change” and therefore seems to be late, but also the “centaur”, in spite of its classicism, is not an early type but may show the influence of the Carolingian renaissance of the latter half of the eighth century.

³ If this is the case, the “radiate bust—standard” sceattas provide the logical consequence of the presence of the mules, partly from radiate and partly from fourth-century prototypes, in the Richborough radiate hoard (p. 135, below).

⁴ *English Coins* (1st edition, London, 1932), p. 5. Of two specimens of type 1 in the British Museum, one was found to have a specific gravity of 11.5 (i.e. c. 11 per cent. gold); the other is apparently entirely of silver.

as the original for the "two men with crosses"¹ (PI. II, 33; III, 34, 35; IV, 7-9, 24, 30), and the solidus with the bust of Christ on the reverse (PI. I, 9), which degenerated into various "facing heads" (PI. III, 32-7), which are probably Frisian. Merovingian prototypes include the gold triens with obv. bust with cross (PI. I, 10), for the "diademed bust—standard" (PI. II, 22-7); and that with rev. cross (or cross chrisinée) and pellets (PI. I, 11), for the common "cross and pellets" type (PI. II, 11, 12, 18, 38; IV, 23).

The most interesting feature of Saxon sceattas is the so-called "degeneration" of types. This, as Baldwin Brown has observed,² is not so much degeneration as the evolution of a new type by constantly copying the original. Admittedly the original "degenerates", in the accepted sense of the word, but it finally gives birth to an entirely new composition, which is often artistically superior to its progenitor. In continental specimens, unrelieved degeneration sets in, so that the derived type is nothing more than a travesty of its model. This, as we shall see, was by no means the case among the Saxon artists, whose flair for symmetry and originality often produced most pleasing results. A prototype was never slavishly copied but was endowed in imitation with a native charm and delicacy rarely met with in the dull, stereotyped productions of the late Roman and Byzantine mints. Occasionally the originality of the Saxon engravers over-stepped itself, as is shown in *B.M.C.* type 24*b* (PI. III, 22), an English copy of an infinitely more dignified Merovingian silver piece of Auxerre (*B.M.C.* type 24*a*—PI. III, 21): the oddments which the artist has crammed around the cross on the reverse—the annulets and the quite inappropriate "inscription" (TT) from the "standard" reverse—give a sense of overcrowding which completely spoils the dignified simplicity of the prototype. This, however, is an exception and many examples are forthcoming of the enhancement of the original at the hands of the Saxon copyists.

A remarkable series of the "bust with cross—standard" type shows the evolution from a Romanized to a Saxonized treatment of the bust (PI. II, 22-6). PI. II, 22 seems to be the earliest of the group, but, in spite of its Roman appearance, it is not without the charm of pure Saxon portraiture. The question whether this diademed bust was the ancestor of the spiky composition (PI. II, 29-33; IV, 26, 39-41), which for sake of convenience we may call the "porcupine" type, is a matter of opinion. Some numismatists, following Dirks and other continental scholars, are inclined to trace the origin of the "porcupine" to the "wolf and twins" (PI. II, 37), but many examples are forthcoming (e.g. *B.M.C.* type 10, PI. II, 40 (rev.), and *B.M.C.* type 3*b*, PI. II, 27, (obv.)) which connect it rather with the diademed bust (*B.M.C.* 3*a*). The possibility is that, although the type sprang directly from the diademed bust, it was also influenced by the "wolf and

¹ Alternatively the "two men" type may be merely a duplication of the "one man" type.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

twins", as is shown by a Frisian piece from Domburg,¹ which resembles a disintegrated wolf more than anything else. Thus we have what is known as a "contaminated type"—one which shows connexions with two or more prototypes. Eventually the "porcupine" sprouts a head, tail, and legs and becomes a plumed bird (Pl. II, 34-6). The main objection to this hypothesis is that the "standard" reverses of the "porcupine" types (*B.M.C.* 3*b*, 4, and 5) very rarely possess stylistic affinities with their supposed prototype, the "standard" of *B.M.C.* 3*a*; they are far more frequently allied to the "standards" of the radiate series (*B.M.C.* 2*a*, 2*b*, and Runic). On the other hand, the "plumed bird" type—the obverse of which is farthest from *B.M.C.* 3*a*, the original—has reverses which are nearest in style to those of *B.M.C.* 3*a*. (Cp. Pl. II, 27, 29-32 with Pl. II, 9, 10, 13, 14, 17, 19-21 and Pl. II, 34-6 with Pl. II, 22-6.) This would suggest that the obverses of the "porcupine" types were derived directly from the obverse of *B.M.C.* 3*a*, influenced by the "wolf and twins", while their reverses came from the "radiate bust" series, and that the reverse of *B.M.C.* 3*a* was utilized as a prototype only for the reverses of the "plumed bird" type.

I am making the variations and significance of the "standard" type the subject of a future paper, the foregoing remarks being merely the bare outlines of a very complicated subject. Even as they stand, however, without having been marshalled in any order, they cast doubts upon another accepted theory, that which derives the "Celtic cross" from the "standard". Now, this theory hinges upon the modification of one of the two reverses of the "plumed bird" type and, as that reverse cannot have been directly obtained from those of the "porcupine" type, the connecting links necessary for a lineal descent from the original "standard" to the "Celtic cross" are naturally missing. We must now consider the origins of the "Celtic cross" type in detail.

Typologically there seems at first sight to be nothing wrong with the sequence illustrated in Pl. IV, 36; II, 7, 17, 13, 20, 22-6, 30, 35; III, 2; IV, 20, 30, with intermediate stages in Pl. II, 32, 9, 27, 38 (a Frisian piece), 29, and 34. Yet, as we have seen, such an argument is open to question and I am indebted to Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, for having cast doubts upon a not very satisfactory hypothesis and for having suggested to me the outlines of an alternative one. In deriving the "Celtic cross" from the "standard", students of early Saxon numismatics seem to have overlooked one important and obvious fact—that while the obverses associated with the "standard" reverse are mainly radiate or diademed busts in various stages of degeneration, the "Celtic cross" is never found with an obverse even remotely resembling that of its supposed ancestor. It is used with the "London" bust, with or without the mint-name, a bird type, a

¹ Dirks in *Revue belge de numismatique*, 1870, Pl. F. 18, and Baldwin Brown, op. cit., Pl. VII. 9.

wolf-whorl, and two men with crosses—compositions which were at the same time less Romanized than the earliest obverses with which the “standard” reverse was used and more artistic and mature than the later “porcupines”. Another explanation for its origin, then, will have to be sought. Mr. Bruce-Mitford suggests that its prototype, like that of the reverse of *B.M.C.* 53 (PI. IV. 26), may be found in other branches of Saxon art—a reasonable conclusion which we shall discuss in a moment. Before doing so, however, let us see if we can hazard any hypothesis to support the original theory, apart from the typological similarities upon which it is based. Now it is probable that the early “radiate bust-standard” sceattas (*B.M.C.* 2a) originated in Kent, and it is certain that the “Celtic cross” design is a native of London, whither the Kentish type, having been modified as far as the “square with annulets” (*B.M.C.* 6), could conceivably have migrated; it might be argued that the change from the square to the circular form was made then. However, this hypothesis presupposes too much—the migration of a type, after considerable modification, from Kent to London; its further modification by the Londoners; and their exclusive use of the newly evolved design with entirely different obverses. Chronologically, it fits: the reopening of the London mint took place at about the same time as the “porcupine” types were being produced—but that can be no more than a coincidence of date. It is far more likely that, instead of having been evolved from the imitations of a Roman type, the “Celtic cross” was directly copied from other forms of Saxon art, since, long before the introduction of sceattas, it was widely used on jewellery (such as pectoral crosses¹), in the decoration of manuscripts, as a variety of the stone cross-head itself, and even on such early objects as the two scabbard-bosses from the Sutton Hoo burial.² Therefore, instead of seeking its origin in the “standard” type, through various complicated changes, we need look no farther than contemporary art—and, indeed, its use at London, where types of a decidedly Christian character were commonly employed on both thrymsas and sceattas, is natural enough, in view of the distinct possibility that the London mint operated under the aegis of the ecclesiastical authority.

Other favourite methods of the Saxon artist for varying and improving upon an uninteresting type are to duplicate the design and, having done that, to make the whole composition turn on its own axis, as has happened in PI. IV, 1–3, where a single bird becomes a rose of four birds. Similarly, the “wolf and twins” (PI. II, 37) is changed. First the twins are omitted and the wolf develops long hind-legs and short fore-legs (PI. III, 38, 39), next it loses first its hind-legs (PI. III, 40) and then its fore-legs as well (PI. IV, 33; III, 41) on the way to becoming a wolf-headed serpent (PI. III, 42–4) which is duplicated

¹ *Antiquaries Journal*, 1937, pp. 283–93, especially Pl. LXXVII, c–d (the Ixworth cross).

² R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (B.M. Guide) (London, 1947), p. 59, Pl. 21 c, d and a forthcoming paper in the *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 1949.

and varied on one sceatta as two bird-headed serpents (PI. IV, 32): the head then occupies all the flan (PI. III, 45, 46), and it is finally quadrupled or triplicated to become a wolf-whorl (PI. III, 20; IV, 19, 20). The "bird and branch" type is another which undergoes considerable modification. PI. IV, 13 may possibly be the earliest, judging from its style, and soon after there may have been produced the less naturalistic PI. IV, 14 with the spaces in the field covered with pellets. The linear designs of *B.M.C.* types 23*c* and 23*b* (PI. III, 18, 17) seem to have been derived from it and already show a tendency to revolve, which is particularly obvious in the (probably later) *B.M.C.* 23*b*. The "star-fish" appearance of the birds on, first, *B.M.C.* type 49 and, later, *B.M.C.* type 39 (PI. IV, 21, 22, 5) carries this effect a stage farther, so that eventually the bird almost turns into a whorl (PI. III, 19). With this metamorphosis may perhaps be connected the wolf-whorl motif of PI. III, 20; IV, 19, 20 which we have just considered and which, although it is not derived from the bird-whorl, exhibits the same tendency. The amalgamation of two types is shown by the "facing head" of PI. III, 32 merging into the "Celtic cross" (PI. III, 2, 47, 48; IV, 5, 20, 30) to form the "face in shield" (PI. IV, 21, 22). Mere degeneration of the type, resulting in no new motif, is seen in continental sceattas, as for example the "facing heads" of PI. III, 33-7, although occasionally the English artist seems to have lost his usual aptitude for originality in copying his models, as is shown by some of the varieties (PI. III, 29, 30) of *B.M.C.* 27*b* (apparently a Saxon derivation of the ?Merovingian *B.M.C.* 27*a* (PI. III, 25, 26)). The earliest of this type with a charming little head in a serpent-torque on the obverse and an equally delightful little bird on a cross, also in a torque, on the reverse (PI. III, 27), is a very different matter and ranks amongst the finest productions of pre-Conquest moneyers. This type may be traced through successive degenerations (PI. III, 28, 29) until the crude and inartistic sceatta of PI. III, 30 was produced.

We must now turn our attention to the problem before us, the first of which is that of dating. When did a native English coinage begin? Were the thrymsas the earliest Saxon coins or were there tentative issues in bronze—at least in south-east England—as early as the third quarter of the sixth century? We cannot here go into the position thoroughly, but recent research¹ may be summarized as follows:

- c. 550-600. Use of Merovingian gold in southern and eastern England.
- c. 575-600. Production of thrymsas copied from Roman and Merovingian prototypes. (I do not altogether agree with this dating, as nearly a century seems too long for the production of thrymsas, however sporadically they may have been struck: c. 600-630 may be nearer the mark.)
- c. 610-?630. London mint operating.
- c. 610-650. Mint operating in Kent.
- c. 655. Introduction of a mint in Mercia by Peada striking debased thrymsas and sceattas. Beginning of sceatta series.
- c. 675. Sceattas finally supersede thrymsas.

¹ Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

So much, then, for the issues which are admittedly Saxon. However, further complications have now set in, in the shape of the Richborough radiate hoard of 1931. In their account of this hoard Messrs. Mattingly, Stebbing, and (in an appendix) Derek Allen put forward a most revolutionary theory,¹ a theory which may alter our entire conception of the earliest Teutonic coinages in this island. The hoard contained some 800 barbarous imitations in bronze derived from third-century Roman prototypes and a few derived from fourth-century reverses muled with radiate obverses (Pl. I, 16, 17). These latter coins convinced the writers that it was a late deposit, since otherwise the imitations of the *Fel. Temp. Reparatio* and *Gloria Romanorum* types would not have failed to present the correct (diademed) obverse. Mattingly put the date of the hoard to c. 450, but Allen went even farther and preferred a late sixth-century date. Now there were in the hoard numerous imitations which had stylistic affinities, some very definite, with Saxon sceattas (Pl. I, 12-15), and similar pieces have been noticed from other sites, mainly in the south and east. These coins, in the authors' view, not only corroborated the late date suggested by the radiate/fourth-century mules but also were most likely to have been the products, not of the Romano-Britons, but of the Teutonic invaders at a time when, the first flush of conquest over, they were beginning to settle down and to feel the need for a medium of exchange. It was suggested by Keary² that Roman solidi were used as currency as well as ornaments, and if this were so it must have familiarized the English with coins even though it did not directly influence the beginnings of the thrymsa coinage, which derived its initial inspiration from Merovingian Gaul. This suggestion certainly links up with the theory of the sceatta-like imitations, since it makes more feasible the possibility that towards the end of the sixth century tentative attempts to institute a coinage were made by the English themselves. Indeed, it may well have been that, while using solidi for transactions involving large sums, the more civilized amongst them followed the example of the Romano-Britons in striking bronze imitations of the Roman coinage for everyday use. These attempts led to a more stable gold coinage about a generation later, which in its turn was superseded by silver by the third quarter of the seventh century.

Assessing a date for the beginnings of the sceatta-series is made more difficult by the fact that, sceattas having been originally only debased thrymsas, the process was a gradual one and not a sudden change. For a number of years thrymsas and sceattas must have been contemporary and, indeed, the earliest sceattas should more correctly be described as silver thrymsas. When the name "sceatta" was first applied we cannot say: perhaps it was about the time when they finally superseded the thrymsas—in other words, when no more pieces containing even the slightest admixture of gold were being

¹ *Num. Notes and Mon.*, no. 80, pp. 13, 117. See also *Num. Chron.*, 1948, pp. 148 sqq.

² *B.M. Catalogue, Anglo-Saxon*, i (London, 1887), *Introd.*, pp. ix-xi.

struck. Various transitional pieces exist as evidence of this debasement of thrymsas into a purely silver coinage. The "Crispus" thrymsa from St. Albans in very pale electrum (PI. II, 1) and the "clasped hands" thrymsa (PI. II, 2) in both gold and electrum may probably be assigned to the transitional period (c. 655-75), although no sceattas are known with the same types. Nevertheless, the "Crispus" piece bears very strong stylistic resemblances to the *Pada* coins in both electrum (PI. II, 3, 4) and silver (with which we shall deal later), and the "clasped hands" thrymsa to early sceattas. The *Victoria Augg.* type is found first in gold (PI. II, 5), then in electrum, and finally in silver (PI. II, 6), which is only to be expected since it is one of the latest types of "Romanizing" thrymsas: it should perhaps be placed to some years later than the other "transitional" pieces. On the whole, then, the evidence tends to point to the origins of the sceatta coinage soon after 650 and to the fact that it did not completely oust the thrymsa coinage until about twenty years later. However, we must beware of imagining that the economic difficulties which replaced gold by silver were simultaneous throughout the English parts of this island. As we shall see, it is possible to place them in middle Anglia and southern Mercia between the limits of Peada's reign (?632-56), but elsewhere their chronology is quite impossible to determine.

It may be objected that a period of twenty years for the replacement of thrymsas by sceattas is too long when only three sceattas with thrymsa types are known—the *Victoria Augg.* and the two *Pada* coins. Nevertheless, this is hardly a serious objection, since the thrymsa coinage was not a prolific coinage in spite of its comparatively long life and, in any case, the sceattas themselves were probably struck equally sporadically in their earlier years. Moreover, there is no reason why a thrymsa mint, having been forced by economic conditions to fall back upon a silver currency, should not have got completely away from the thrymsa types and changed the types with the change of metal. If that were the case, sceattas with thrymsa types would naturally be few and far between.

So much for the upper limit for the dating of sceattas. The lower limit is not so difficult to determine. Except in Northumbria, the series finally ended when, towards the close of the long reign of Offa of Mercia (757-96), the penny gained general acceptance—although, we must remember, the end of the sceatta period, like its beginning, was not the result of a sudden movement but of gradual change.

We may digress for a while to consider the problems raised by two coins which should be dated to the second transitional period before the penny successfully ousted the sceatta at the end of the eighth century. The first is the piece inscribed "Beonna" (or, on another specimen, "Benna"; PI. IV, 42) in Runic and the other is that which reads "Æthelberht" in Roman letters with the moneyer's name, Lul, in Runic (PI. IV, 43): the reverse type of the latter is the Wolf and Twins in a beaded panel with the legend REX above. If Keary is

right in regarding the "Beonna" coin as having been struck by Beorna of East Anglia,¹ who is mentioned by Florence of Worcester *s.a.* 758, we may reasonably assume that it was produced *c.* 760 under the influence of Pépin's new *denier* (*c.* 755), to which it conforms in weight, module, and even types. Brooke's reason for giving to Northumbria—that there is no evidence for an East Anglian mint before the end of Cœnwulf's reign (822)²—is hardly sufficient to negative Keary's attribution: indeed, the similarity of "Beonna" to Florence's "Beorna" and the coincidence of date (assuming 758 to be reasonably accurate) are too strong for Brooke's contention. The second coin Keary attributes to Æthelberht of East Anglia (d. 794),³ while Brooke gives it to Æthelberht II of Kent (748–62)⁴ in spite of Keary's argument that palaeographically it is twenty to thirty years later than the "Beonna" coin.⁵ On the whole, Keary's opinion seems to be the more logical. The legend—in Roman letters for the more important name of the king and in Runic for the less important name of the moneyer—indicates a date considerably later than the "Beonna" coin with its regal name in Runic and moneyer's name in Roman script. It clearly belongs to a time when the Roman alphabet had nearly superseded the Runic and was probably regarded as the fitter medium for the king's name and title. Since Æthelberht of Kent died *c.* 762, he does not fulfil these conditions. Moreover, despite Brooke's statement to the contrary, the portrait has very definite stylistic affinities with Offa's portraits and, as a more mature form of art, it is quite different from the sceatta busts. Finally, as Mr. Blunt has pointed out to me, the name Lul appears as a moneyer's name on the pennies of an unknown king, Eadwald, as well as on the later pennies of Offa and the earlier pennies of Cœnwulf—although only on the "Æthelberht" coin is it in Runic letters. It is reasonable enough therefore to assume that the Lul of the coins of Offa and Cœnwulf is the same as the Lul of the "Æthelberht" and "Eadwald" coins. If so, he would be striking during the last decade of the eighth century, first for Æthelberht of East Anglia and Eadwald (whoever he was) and then for Offa and his son and successor, Cœnwulf. Weighing the evidence, therefore, we may say that both these pieces are undoubtedly transitional and that they are pennies which had not yet become "formalized", as it were, into the weight and modules of later pennies. A consideration of their weights does not tell us very much. Brooke⁶ has noticed a considerable depreciation in the weight and fineness of many sceattas which appear to be late in style (e.g. **Pl. III, 18–20**), and it may well be that these two pieces represent attempts inspired by the new coins of the Carolingian monarchy in France to remedy the effects of a depreciating sceatta

¹ *B.M. Catalogue, Anglo-Saxon*, i, p. 83; see also *Introd.*, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ *Loc. cit.*, and *Introd.*, pp. xxvi–xxvii.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15–16.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. lxxxvii.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

coinage. Although the "Beonna" and "Æthelberht" controversies may never be completely solved, one cannot help thinking that these coins represent early tentative efforts, made in East Anglia by Beorna (c. 760) and Æthelberht (? just before 790), towards a penny coinage.

But to return to the lower date for sceattas: if we assign c. 790 to this event, we shall probably not be far wrong, and certainly the 140 years which we thereby postulate for the duration of the series is not too long a time for the numerous varieties which are still extant. In Northumbria copper sceattas lasted for another eighty years until they too came to an end in 867.

Have we any clues for the dating of individual types? Much depends upon whether or not we are prepared to accept the interpretation, made by Keary¹ but rejected by Brooke,² of the Runic *Pada* and *Æthiliræd* on certain sceattas as the names of Mercian kings (PI. II, 3, 4 for thrymsas reading *Pada* and PI. IV, 35-41 for the *Pada* and *Æthiliræd* sceattas). Numismatists have since returned to the earlier view, and certainly if we study the coins closely there is much to be said for it. Let us assume for the sake of argument that *Pada* and *Æthiliræd* are Peada and Ethelred of Mercia, who reigned 654-6 and 675-704 respectively. (Peada had already been appointed by his father Penda to the vassal kingdom of the Middle Angles some years earlier, probably on the latter's accession to the Mercian throne in 632.) Three of the four varieties of the *Pada* coins are closely allied to the best-style "radiate bust—standard" type (cp. PI. II, 7 with PI. IV, 35, 36 (revs.) and 38 (obv.)). Now this type was undoubtedly early in date, and from its contemporary, the "diademed bust" (PI. II, 22-6), was eventually developed, as we have seen, the "porcupine"—the universal obverse of the coins reading *Æthiliræd* (PI. IV, 39-41). The twenty years which separate the reigns of Peada and Ethelred are just such a period of time as would be required to effect this development and, moreover, both the early "Romanizing" style of Peada's sceattas and his two varieties of electrum thrymsas with sceatta types suggest the mid-seventh century as the starting-point of the sceatta series. However, it has been put forward³ that the electrum thrymsas were struck by Peada and the silver pieces by Wulfhere, his successor after a short interregnum when Mercia was under the heel of Northumbria. This would imply a date between 657 and 675 for both the *Pada* and the early "radiate bust—standard" sceattas. If this is the case, the *Pada* sceattas must have been struck early in Wulfhere's reign: otherwise there would hardly have been sufficient time for the development of the diademed bust into Ethelred's "porcupine" type. Nevertheless, whether or not we place the beginning of the sceatta coinage in the reign of Peada or in that of Wulfhere, we can still say that stylistically the *Pada* and *Æthiliræd* coins fit completely into our chronological framework and that soon

¹ Op. cit., pp. 23-4. See also *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage*, p. 43.

² Op. cit., p. 7. But see Sutherland in *Num. Chron.*, 1942, pp. 43-4.

³ *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage*, p. 55.

after the middle of the century the debasement of thrymsas into sceattas had begun—at least in Mercia. The further development of the “porcupine” obverse into the “plumed bird” should be assigned to the first years of the eighth century and, as we shall see, certain hoards from Frisia and Gaul undoubtedly support this dating.

Pada and *Æthiliræd* are not the only Runic inscriptions on sceattas. There are several others: *Epa*, *Apa*, *Lepa*, *Wigræd* (Pl. II, 13–21) and numerous uncertain or blundered readings. The question arises as to whether these names are to be regarded as those of moneyers or kings. As far as *Pada* and *Æthiliræd* are concerned, the objections given by Brooke to their being regal names—that the title *Rex* is absent and that they are placed on the reverse, the less important side of the coin—will not stand, in view of the fact (as Sutherland has pointed out¹ that the *Pada* sceattas at least were struck before any conventional forms or formulae were evolved as to the respective places of king's and moneyer's names. The same must be equally true of the *Æthiliræd* coins, even though they were produced twenty years or more later. That being the case, the other coins bearing names in runes on the obverse, which fall stylistically between *Peada* and *Ethelred*, can hardly have been subjected to any conventional formula either. Indeed, such a convention had apparently not been worked out even as late as Offa's time, since his early pennies, both with and without portraits, have the king's and moneyer's names indiscriminately on obverse or reverse, according to the whim of the engraver. The possibility therefore exists that *Epa*, *Wigræd*, &c., are regal names. Can this be proved? In 1869 Daniel Haigh made out a case for such an hypothesis,² but it will not bear too critical an examination. *Epa* he assigned to a Mercian king, Eoba, brother of Penda and therefore uncle of Peada, but this attribution does not fit into the sequence based upon the later style of the Runic sceattas. A misreading of *Wigræd* made him reconstruct the name as *Answiguard* (= Answigu, chief), whom he regarded as Oswiu, king of Bernicia, father-in-law of Peada. Keary³ dates the *Epa* and *Lepa* pieces on palaeographical grounds to the time of Peada, and there is indeed no reason why the better-style Runic sceattas, poor though they may be compared with, say, the early “radiate bust—standard” (cp. Pl. II, 17, 19 with 7), should not be assigned an early date. Grueber⁴ concurs in this dating and identifies *Epa* and *Apa*, which are probably different variations of the same personal name, either with Penda's brother Eoba, killed at the battle of Maserfeld in 642 (Grueber wrongly calls him Peada's brother), or with Eba “who is mentioned after the death of Peada as ‘Dux Merciorum’”. The first attribution is the same as Haigh's and can scarcely be maintained. The second is certainly more feasible, since it is corroborated by the later style of the *Epa*

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1942, p. 44.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1869, pp. 182–4.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

⁴ *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1899), Introd., p. x, and p. 2 of text.

and *Apa* coins. All the same, in such attempts to argue from style we should remember the warning of Baldwin Brown when he stressed the dangers attendant on a too rigid and dogmatic argument from typology, which "takes no account of the possibility of variations due to differences in skill and practice among craftsmen, and to their location at places near or remote from the centres where art and learning were at each epoch chiefly flourishing".¹

As regards Roman legends, Haigh's attributions to Nunna, king of the South Saxons (c. 710), of the London-inscribed sceattas with the blundered forms of the original legend LVNDONIA+ (VNOONN+, JNDONN+ (Pl. II, 43), &c.), and of others reading IN+ to Ine of Wessex (688-726), are quite fanciful, although his dating is probably near the truth.

Another "legend" in Roman letters which at first sight appears to mean something is that on the early "radiate bust—standard" sceattas, TIC before the bust and A behind (Pl. II, 7). This legend Le Gentilhomme has reconstructed as TICA,² which is also found as a personal name in a charter (c. 780) of Ecgberht, king of Kent. These sceattas are mainly found in Kent, where, therefore, they probably originated. The earlier Tica, according to Le Gentilhomme, was a moneyer who, like his namesake of the charter, lived in Kent. There are several objections to this hypothesis. First, the A behind the bust is common both to the degraded versions of this type and to the Runic types and seems only to serve the purpose of an ornamentation, perhaps with a vague memory of the A in the field of the fourth-century Roman coins of Constantius II, Magnentius, &c. Secondly, although the coins are quite common, the only "legend" found on them is TIC and it is hardly possible that a single moneyer could have been responsible for all of them. Thirdly, there are many stylistic varieties which would not have existed had the whole issue emanated from the same workshop—even if we make allowances for inexpert workmanship and illegal copying.³ We must therefore regard it as a meaningless legend designed to fill up the flan: it may even be the remains of the legend of some third-century prototype (e.g. [TE]T[R]-IC[VS]).

The question of the Runic names on sceattas, then, must remain open for the present as much can be said in favour of both sides. Yet we should not dismiss altogether the possibility that they are names of rulers (though not necessarily, with the exception of *Pada* and *Æthilræd*, of kings), if only because such early pieces would hardly have been signed by moneyers, when for nearly a century afterwards, until the advent of the penny coinage, no other examples of this practice are forthcoming. Moreover, the paucity of intelligible signatures is such as to preclude the possibility that the numerous Runic

¹ Op. cit., p. 81.

² "La Circulation des sceattas", in *Mélanges de numismatique mérovingienne* (Paris, 1940), pp. 67-93. (Translated in *B.N.J.*, 1943-4, pp. 195-210.)

³ A piece in my collection (Pl. II, 8) of inferior workmanship is plated and seems to be a contemporary forgery.

sceattas were produced by a mere handful of moneyers. It is far more likely that they were the coins of vassal-kings, like the Eba of Grueber's suggestion, or even of Ealdormen. Who they really were and, if they are known to history at all, what their historical names are must remain matters for conjecture. In any case, we know too little about these early English princes to be able to attribute coins to them with any degree of certainty as yet. If we could discover these facts, we could go far towards dating a large and important group in the series. Failing that, we shall have to do the best we can with typological arguments, constantly bearing in mind the timely warning of Baldwin Brown.

A good starting-point is the very degraded form of the diademed bust, Ethelred's "porcupine" type, which we have dated to the end of the seventh century and which is important since it is found in conjunction with several types other than the normal "standard" composition (PI. II, 30-2). In an earlier form, when it had not yet lost the resemblance to a head, it is used as a reverse (PI. II, 40) with a Runic (*Apa*) obverse, so that it is quite reasonable to place this sceatta to the third quarter of the seventh century, probably *c.* 670. Secondly, the same type is found as an obverse with a "stepped cross" reverse (PI. IV, 26), although it is still not so degraded as it had become by the time of Ethelred. Now, this cruciform design bears remarkable similarities to certain Kentish cloisonné brooches which have usually been dated to the seventh century, although authorities are at variance on the subject. It is likely that, if the die-engraver had intended to copy jewellery at all (and there seems little doubt that he did), he would have copied contemporary models: as Sutherland has pointed out,¹ the date usually given to the brooches is therefore in full accordance with the date of the coins. Thirdly, the "porcupine" is used in conjunction with two designs of the "London" type—as a reverse with a London-inscribed obverse (PI. II, 44: cp. PI. II, 39) and as an obverse with a "two men with cross" reverse (PI. II, 33). The variety of the "porcupine" type is in both cases the more degraded variety, like that on Ethelred's sceattas, although the London bust is stylistically early, very "Romanized", and with a reasonably good legend. On the other hand, the "two men" reverse of the second coin is considerably later in style, and the possibility must not be overlooked that it is a Frisian copy of a "London" type. Single specimens of both were in the Hallum hoard which, owing to the inclusion of a few transitional silver pieces current at the time of the introduction of the new *denier* by Pépin (*c.* 755), has been dated to *c.* 740-50.² The fact that the London obverse of the first piece is of an early style does not seriously challenge this dating, since due allowances must be made for circulation and for time-lag in arriving at its place of burial. If our dating of the "porcupine" type is correct,

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1942, p. 46.

² By Keary, *op. cit.*, p. xxii n. Another example came from Domburg, which strengthens the possibility that they are Frisian copies.

it is obvious that the earliest London sceattas fall within the last quarter of the seventh century, perhaps *c.* 690. When the series ended we can only guess, but the importance of London as a commercial centre may have given it a life of at least fifty years, perhaps nearly a hundred, until the penny finally superseded the sceatta. The comparative rarity, however, of the inscribed pieces may indicate a very much shorter life, although the uninscribed "London" types and their connexions probably continued to be struck (not necessarily at London, of course) until the end of the series (*c.* 790).

Another group is the "wolf and twins—bird on vine" sceatta (Pl. II, 37) and the various wolf-motifs which were derived from its obverse. The original may be regarded as quite early, probably contemporary with the other undoubtedly early pieces—the *Victoria Augg.*, the early "radiate bust" and the issues of Peada. Its derivatives—"curved wolf", "wolf-serpent", "wolf-whorl" (Pl. III, 38–40; IV, 33; III, 41–4; IV, 32; III, 45, 46, 20; IV, 19, 20)—may therefore successively fall towards the end of the seventh and during the first half of the eighth centuries and, as most of these types are connected by either the obverse or the reverse with the London group, this dating coincides with that which we have assigned to the London pieces.

Finally, the "bird and branch" type may be traced through successive stylistic variations, several of which are linked with the uninscribed London sceattas (Pl. IV, 13, 14; III, 18, 17; IV, 21, 22, 5; III, 19). This London connexion, common to all these groups, may place them in the first half of the eighth century. The possibility that some of these pieces may be the latest of the series is borne out by the fact that the majority are of extremely low weight and often struck in very base metal. We have already seen that some time during the eighth century the sceatta series underwent depreciation and it is likely that the almost consistently low weight of these coins places them well after the middle of the century.

Summarizing the foregoing remarks, we may give to the main types the following dates, which are to be regarded as symbolical rather than actual:

- B.M.C.* 2a. Early radiate bust—standard, *c.* 650–60. (Pl. II, 7, 8.)
 Peada, *c.* 654–6. (Pl. IV, 35–7 and *IV, 38.)
B.M.C. 7. Wolf and twins, *c.* 660. (Pl. II, 37.)
 *Helmeted bust—small cross, *c.* 660. (Pl. IV, 28.)
B.M.C. 2b, 2c, 50. Later radiate bust, *c.* 660–80. (Pl. II, 9–12; IV, 23.)
 Runic, *c.* 660–700. (Pl. II, 13–21.)
B.M.C. 3a–6. Diademed bust, degenerating into plumed bird, *c.* 660–720. (Pl. II, 22–7; 29–36.)
B.M.C. 10. Runic—porcupine, *c.* 670. (Pl. II, 40.)
B.M.C. 1. Victoria Augg., *c.* 670. (Pl. II, 6.)
 Ethelred, *c.* 675–704. (Pl. IV, 39–41.)
B.M.C. 53. Porcupine-stepped cross, *c.* 680. (Pl. IV, 26.)
B.M.C. 23e, 32a–33, 47, 48. Derivatives and connexions of wolf and twins, *c.* 690–750.
 (Pl. III, 20, 38–46; IV, 19, 20. Also* Pl. IV, 32, 33.)
B.M.C. 12–23e, 32a–34, 38–42, 47–9, 51, 52. London and derivatives and connexions,

c. 690–750 (or later). (Pl. II, 42–III, 20; III, 38–48; IV, 4–11, 19–22, 24, 25. Also *Pl. IV, 29, 30, 32–3.)

Cp. *B.M.C.* 9. London—porcupine, c. 700. (Pl. II, 44; cp. Pl. II, 39.)

*Porcupine—two men, c. 710. (Pl. II, 33.)

B.M.C. 35–7. Bird changing to rose, c. 710–30. (Pl. IV, 1–3.)

B.M.C. 27b, 46, ?54. Saxon derivatives of Merovingian, c. 710–50. (Pl. III, 27–30; IV, 18, 27.)

B.M.C. 23b–23d, 39, 44, 45, 49. Bird and branch and connexions, c. 720–90. (Pl. III, 17–19; IV, 5, 13–17, 21, 22. Also, probably, Pl. IV, 34.)

* = Not in *B.M.C.*

With the exception of London, mints did not sign their coins. We may, however, be reasonably certain that the more important centres for the production of thrymsas—Canterbury (? or Rochester), a Mercian mint, and, possibly, York¹—continued in action during the period of the sceatta series. More than that we cannot say at present—at least, not until hoards are more fully written up than they have been and until a close watch is kept for die-links in hoards and site-finds.

The problems of the dating of barbarous imitations of Roman coins can often be dealt with by a study of hoards, but owing to the impossibility of determining, with one or two exceptions, the burial dates of sceatta hoards, this method of approach is quite out of the question. Thus we have had to do the best we can with the study of individual types as a criterion for dating and reverse the usual order by considering hoards and site-finds after the problems of chronology.

The types of sceattas are so numerous and varied that in studying their distribution it would be better to borrow Sutherland's simplified classification. He has condensed the fifty-four types of the *British Museum Catalogue* into five main groups,² but for the sake of clarity the order and the designations have been changed slightly here and an extra group added:

1. Radiate, diademed, or helmeted bust—(i.e. "wolf—standard") (e.g. Pl. II, 7, 22, 27, 32; IV, 28, 35).
2. London (e.g. Pl. II, 42; III, 6).
3. Animal (i.e. "bird—beast") (e.g. Pl. IV, 8, 13, 15, 31).
4. Saxon derivatives of Merovingian (e.g. Pl. III, 22, 27; IV, 27).
5. Frisian (i.e. "Wodan—monster") (e.g. Pl. III, 36, 73, and probably IV, 12).
6. Merovingian (e.g. Pl. III, 21, 31, and probably II, 28, 41; III, 23, 24).

Most of these groups contain numerous derivative types and in many cases one type may be affiliated with two or more groups.

As will be seen from the map (Map 1), the main concentration is

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage*, pp. 41 sqq.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1942, pp. 58–9. Several new types have turned up since the publication of *B.M.C.*, but they all fit into the five main groups.

south and east of the Fosse Way, coins from other sites being with one exception (to quote Sutherland) "leakages from the main reservoir of currency further south".¹ The exception is Whitby, but it is an isolated instance and does not alter our general argument in the least. Class 1, as may be expected from such a large class, is evenly



MAP I

distributed over the whole area, with several "outliers" in Warwickshire, Staffordshire, and Lancashire. It appears to be particularly concentrated on the coast from the Thames estuary to Dorset and especially in Kent—whence its more degraded varieties seem to have travelled to the Low Countries and Gaul. Class 2 is naturally common in London and also, rather unexpectedly, at Southampton, though rare in Kent. Elsewhere it is fairly evenly distributed, with outliers at Whitby. Class 3 is also evenly distributed, and is especially concentrated in Kent and the Thames Valley, with Whitby and York

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1942, p. 69. See pp. 51–8 for a valuable list of English hoards and site-finds.

outside the main area. Class 4 is almost exclusively within a square, the northern side of which runs east from north Suffolk to the Severn and the western side due south to the Dorset coast: one outlier is noted from Somerset. Again the emphasis is on the coastal hoards, owing to the fact that this class is mainly imported. The purely Frisian class 5 is very rarely found in this country: it is recorded from Dorset, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Hertfordshire, and then only in stray examples. So much for sceatta-distribution in England. We must now turn our attention to the continental provenances.

From the Continent we have several sceatta hoards (Map 2). Among the Frisian deposits are several from Duurstede and Domburg, and others from Terwispel, Hallum, and Franeker. In the last two were included numerous pieces in mint state. The most important French hoards are those from Saint-Pierre-les-Étieux (Cher), Plassac (Gironde), Bais (Ille-et-Vilaine), and Cimiez (Alpes Maritimes), now a suburb of Nice.¹

Let us now examine some of these finds more closely. As we have seen, one of those from Duurstede and the Hallum and Franeker hoards have been dated to *c.* 740–50. Apart from the Frankish and Frisian pieces, the first contained sceattas of our Class 1; the second, of Classes 1 and 4, including the two pieces, noticed above, which are allied to Class 2 by their “London” obverse or reverse; and the third, of Class 1 (“porcupine”, most of which were undoubtedly Frisian copies). Now, as several of the Hallum and Franeker pieces were in mint state, it may be assumed that the date of their production was not long anterior to that of the burial of the hoards. If this is roughly the mid-eighth century in both cases, the “porcupine” type and its Frisian imitations appear to have continued in circulation until well into the century. From Domburg have come examples of Classes 1 (including one Ethelred), 2, and 4, while the Terwispel hoard was composed entirely of the Frisian “Wodan—monster” type (Class 5).

Le Gentilhomme has dated the French hoards, reasonably enough, to the first half of the eighth century and has even assigned one of them, the Cimiez hoard, a precise date—737, the year of the destruction of the town by the Lombards.² Moreover, from a study of their contents he concludes that the Bais hoard was buried later than the Plassac but earlier than the Cimiez. He has not dated the Saint-Pierre-les-Étieux hoard. Rather unexpectedly, the Cimiez hoard contained three Peada sceattas—coins which are normally only from English sites, thus showing that they actually travelled as far afield as Provence. (Two were silver and the third silver gilt (a thrymsa?)). An English sceatta rarely found in France is the early “radiate bust—standard” type (Pl. II, 7, 8), but the Cimiez and Bais hoards nevertheless each contained one example. Altogether no less than seventeen English sceatta-types have been discovered among the

¹ For the Frisian hoards see Dirks, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 sqq., and for the French hoards, Le Gentilhomme, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 sqq.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

contents of hoards and finds from France and the Low Countries, which indicates a surprisingly wide circulation outside England.¹

Of all the continental hoards, however, that from Cimiez is by far the most important, since it is of great assistance in throwing light upon the chronology of sceattas. If Le Gentilhomme's estimate of 737 as its burial-date is correct (and there is no reason to doubt it), not only were the Peada and early "radiate bust" sceattas circulating in southern Gaul eighty years after their original appearance in England, but the other types present in the hoard (the later "radiate bust" (Pl. II, 9), the "diademed bust" and its derivatives (Pl. II, 22-7, 29-32, 34-6), and various examples of Classes 3 and 4) must have been struck some years before 737, perhaps c. 720 at the latest. In any case, 737 is the *terminus ante quem* for the production of these types. In so far as some of them (the "diademed bust" and its degraded copies) are concerned, this certainly fits in with the dating suggested by the Frisian hoards.

The distribution of English sceattas on the Continent (Map 2) and, to a lesser extent, that of Merovingian and Frisian sceattas in England, gives some idea of the commercial activities between the two sides of the Channel in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Frisians were active merchants, their main article of commerce, as in later times, being cloth, and it is possible that even before 700 their depots had spread not only around the coasts of the Channel, Atlantic, and the North Sea, but also as far east as the Baltic seaboard.² Their principal trading-centre was Duurstede, where three important trade-routes met—from the east, the Baltic, and England—and it is possible that Frisian sceattas were mainly produced there. Trading colonies were established by the Frisians at various places in England and Gaul, the most important being at Strasbourg, Mainz, St. Denis, London, and York. Colonel Belaiew suggests³ that the trade between England and Frisia never completely passed out of the hands of the Frisian merchants during these centuries, as is shown by their trading-centres in both countries, their single currency, which varied in output according to the volume of trade, and their control of shipping and of

¹ B.M.C. types represented from the various foreign sites are as follows:

Duurstede. (Class 1) 2a, Runic, 4; (class 5) 31.

Hallum. (Class 1) 3a, 4, 5, 6; (classes 1/2) mule 5/51; (classes 2/1) mule 12/5; (class 4) 27b; (class 5) 31.

Franeker. (Class 1) 4, 5.

Domburg. (Class 1) 2a, 2b, 2c, Runic, 3a, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 53; (classes 2/1) mule 12/5; (class 4) 27b. [Site-finds also included one 19, one 32a, and one Ethelred.]

Terwispeel. (Class 5) 31.

Bais. (Class 1) 2a, 2c, 2c var., Runic, 4, 5 var., 8; (class 4) 27b [2c. var.—obv. bust to 1. (Pl. II, 12); 5 var.—"porcupine" type to 1. (Cp. pl. II, 31)].

Plassac. (Class 1) Runic; (class 4) 27b.

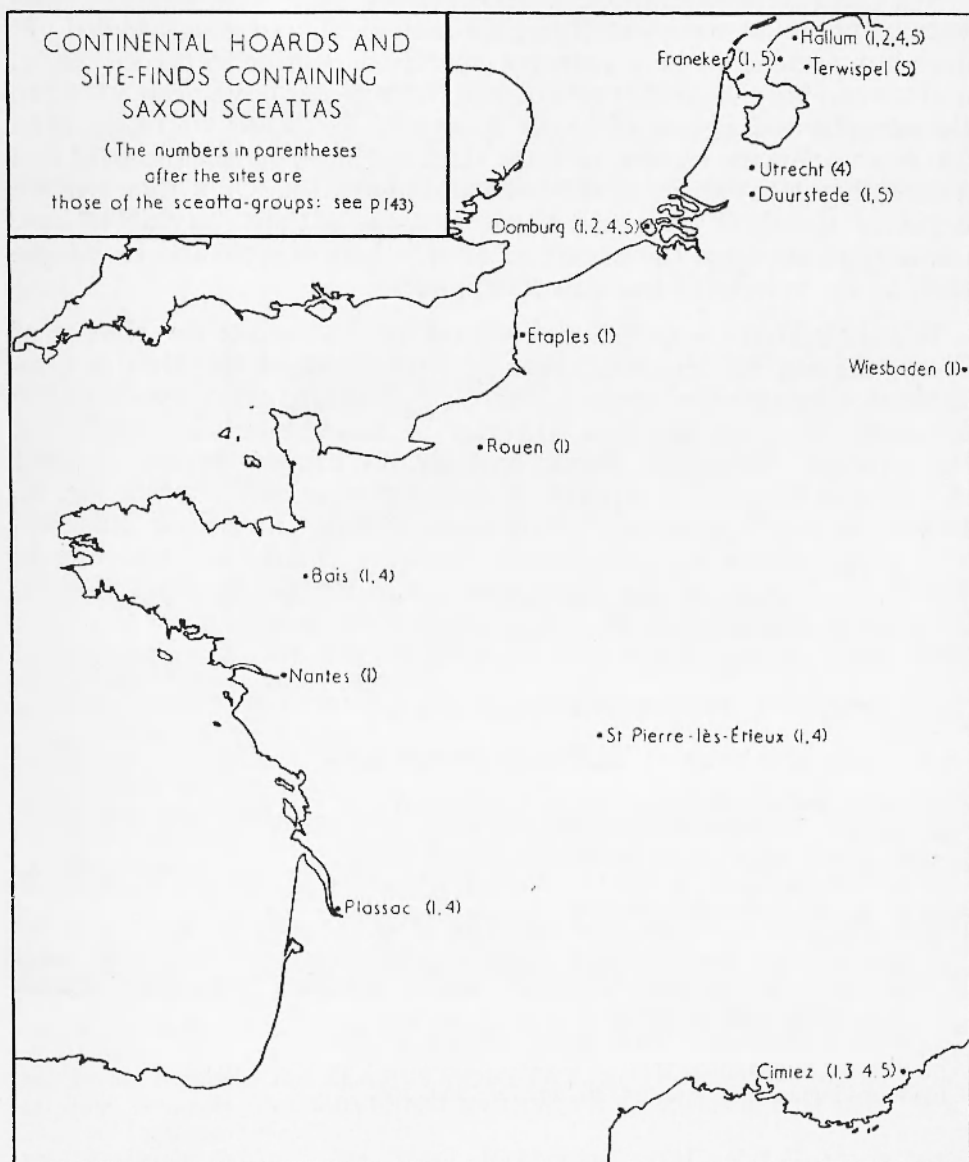
Cimiez. (Class 1) 2a, Runic, 3a, 3b, 4, 5, 6, 8, 53, Peada; (class 3) 23e, 37, 41b; (class 4) 27b; (class 5) 31.

St.-Pierre-les-Étieux. (Class 1) Runic, 5, 8; (class 4) 27b.

² For the question of commercial relations between England and the Continent during the seventh and eighth centuries see Belaiew in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxvii, 1932, pp. 190-215.

³ Ibid., p. 197.

cross-Channel traffic. Their activities in Gaul are well attested by the large number of hoards containing Anglo-Frisian types buried there during the first half of the eighth century. For example, Le Gentilhomme pointedly observes that the "porcupine" sceattas were prob-



MAP 2

ably struck even more abundantly in Frisia than in England, although their type is strictly speaking Anglo-Saxon. On the other hand, he continues, the "cross and pellets" reverse may belong to Frisia or even perhaps to the Frisian emporia on the coasts of Gaul.¹

¹ Op. cit., p. 75.

Thus the interchange of Saxon, Frisian, and Merovingian types implies considerable commercial intercourse between England, Frisia, and Gaul, no less than the hoards and individual finds from Yorkshire to Provence.

We have here attempted a brief survey of Saxon sceattas from various points of view—stylistic, chronological, and geographical. It does not pretend to be conclusive, merely a pointer to future study, and we can only hope that one or two more pieces have been added to the complicated jigsaw of Saxon sceattas. Yet what we really need are more scientific records of finds than we have had in the past and a careful, patient study of die-links and identities. Only then will we begin to approach the truth about sceattas without having to base our arguments upon the uncertain foundations of style and technique such as we have tried to do in this paper.

For their kind co-operation I should like to thank: the Keeper of Coins, the British Museum; Miss A. Robertson, of the Hunter Coin Cabinet, Glasgow University; Miss G. V. Barnard, of Norwich Castle Museum; M. Jean Babelon, Director of the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and Mr. F. Elmore Jones. A word should also be given in appreciation of the excellent work of Mr. K. Howes, of the Department of Coins and Medals, the British Museum, who prepared the numerous casts, and my thanks are also due to Mr. B. E. Lynch, of the Map Room, the British Museum, for his invaluable assistance in the preparation of the maps.

APPENDIX A

Sceatta-groups

(Numbers indicate *B.M.C.* types.)

1. Radiate, diademed or helmeted busts: 1, 2a, 2b, 2c, Runic, 3a, 3b, 4, 5, 6, 10, 50, 53, Peada, Ethelred, helmeted bust—small cross.
2. London: 9, 12, 13, 14, 15a, 15b, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 32a, 32b, 33, 34, 38, 39, 42, 51, 52, two men—rosettes.
3. "Animal": 7, 23a*, 23b*, 23c*, 23d*, 23e*, 35, 36, 37, 40*, 41a*, 41b*, 43, 44, 45, 47*, 48*, 49*, head in cable border—dragon*, diademed head—two bird-serpents*, wolf-serpent—standard*, dragon—standard, facing bust—animal. [* = linked with Group 2.]
4. Saxon derivatives of Merovingian: 24b, 27b, 46, ?54.
5. Frisian: 8, 30a, 30b, 31.
6. Merovingian: ?11, 24a, 25, 26, 27a, 28, 29a, 29b.

APPENDIX B

Index of Main Types

"Bird and branch": 23b, 23c, 23d, 39, 44, 49.

Bird motifs, various: 7, 35, 36, 37, 38, 46.

Bust, diademed: 1, 3a, 3b, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 26, 27b, 53, Peada, Ethelred, diademed head—two bird-serpents.

„ helmeted: 24b, Peada, helmeted bust—small cross.

- Bust, "London" (or "Saxon bust"): 9, 12, 15*a*, 15*b*, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 32*a*, 32*b*, 33, 34, 38, 42, 52, head in cable border—dragon.
 „ radiate: 2*a*, 2*b*, 2*c*, Runic, 10, 50.
 Cross and pellets: 2*c*, 8, Runic, 50.
 „ "Celtic", and derivatives: 14, 39, 48, 49, two men—rosettes.
 Dragon: 23*a*, 31, 40, 41*a*, 41*b*, 43, 45, head in cable border—dragon, dragon—standard.
 Head, facing: 29*a*, 29*b*, 30*a*, 30*b*, 51.
 Man: 12, 15*a*, 15*b*, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23*a*, 23*b*, 23*c*, 23*d*, 23*e*, 40.
 Men, two: 30*a*, 30*b*, 41*a*, 41*b*, 51, two men—rosettes.
 Standard: 2*a*, 2*b*, Runic, 3*a*, 3*b*, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 46, 51, Peada, wolf-serpent—standard, dragon—standard.
 Wolf-motifs: 7, 23*e*, 32*a*, 32*b*, 33, 47, 48, diademed head—two bird-serpents, wolf-serpent—standard.

KEY TO PLATES

The following abbreviations are used in the Key to plates:

- A.S.G.C.—Sutherland. *Anglo-Saxon Gold Coinage in the Light of the Crondall Hoard*.
 B.B.—Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*.
 C.B.S.C.—*Carlyon-Britton Sale Catalogue* (Sotheby, 17 Nov., 1913).
 F.E.J.—F. Elmore Jones collection.
 H.M.—Hunterian Museum.
 P.V.H.—Own collection.
 Ruding—Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*.

PLATE I

1. Carausius, antoninianus. *Rev.* LEG II PARTH Centaur walking l. London mint. B.M.; M. & S., v (2), nos. 61 sqq.
2. Constantine II. *Rev.* VIRTVS EXERCIT Trophy and captives. Treveri mint. B.M.; Cohen, vii, nos. 250 sqq.
3. Constantine I. *Rev.* ROMAE AETERNAE Roma seated l. Rome mint. B.M.; Cohen, vii, nos. 469 sqq.
4. Temp. Constantine I. VRBS ROMA Wolf and Twins. Rome mint. B.M.; Cohen, vii, nos. 17.
5. Valentinian I, solidus. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVGG Two Emperors seated facing. Treveri mint. B.M.; Cohen, viii, nos. 43 sqq.
6. Honorius, solidus. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG Emperor r. with captive. Rome mint. B.M.; Cohen, viii, no. 44.
7. Justin I, solidus. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG A Victory stg. facing. B.M.; B.M.C. Byz., Pl. II. 10.
8. Heraclius, Ar. *Rev.* SALVS ADIVTA ROMANIS Cross on steps. B.M.; B.M.C. Byz., Pl. XXIX, 15.
9. Justinian II, solidus. *Rev.* IHS CRISTOS REX REGNANTIVM Bust of Christ facing. B.M.; B.M.C. Byz., Pl. XXXVIII, 16.
10. Javols, tremissis. *Rev.* ELAFIVS MONETAT Chalice. B.M.; as Prou, no. 2074.
11. Sion, tremissis. *Rev.* SIDVNINSI IN CIVI VA Cross chrismée on steps. B.M.; as Prou, no. 1284.
12. "Barbarous radiate." *Rev.* Spes l. Richborough. B.M.; N.N.M. 80, no. 197.
13. " " *Rev.* Male figure, nimbate (?or helmeted), walking r. Richborough. B.M.; N.N.M. 80, no. 301.
14. "Barbarous radiate." *Rev.* Male figure walking r. Richborough. B.M.; N.N.M. 80, no. 312.
15. "Barbarous radiate." *Rev.* Cross pommée and pellets. Richborough. B.M.; N.N.M. 80, no. 495.
16. "Barbarous radiate." *Rev.* Legionary [and horseman]. Richborough. B.M.; N.N.M. 80, no. 531.

17. "Barbarous radiate." *Rev.* Emperor and captive. Richborough. B.M.; *N.N.M.* 80, no. 538.

PLATE II

1. Thrymsa, "Crispus" type. *Obv.* Helmeted bust r.; *rev.* Small cross in triple circle. St. Albans. B.M.; *A.S.G.C.*, no. 27a.
2. Thrymsa, "Clasped hands" type. *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Clasped hands. ?Strood, Kent. B.M.; *A.S.G.C.*, no. 23a.
3. Thrymsa, "Pada" type. *Obv.* Diademed bust r.; *rev.* Star-shaped ornament. B.M.; *A.S.G.C.*, no. 82a.
4. Thrymsa, "Pada" type. *Obv.* Helmeted bust r.; *rev.* Standard. Bib. Nat.; *A.S.G.C.*, no. 83a.
5. Thrymsa, "Victoria Augg." type. *Obv.* Diademed bust r.; *rev.* Busts of two Emperors with Victory. B.M.; *A.S.G.C.*, no. 32a.
6. Sceatta, type 1. *Obv.* Diademed bust r.; *rev.* Busts of two Emperors with Victory. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 9.
7. Sceatta, type 2a. *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 12.
8. " " 2a. (Plated.) P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 13.
9. " " 2b. *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Standard. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 23.
10. " " 2b. *Obv.* Radiate bust l.; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 27.
11. " " 2c. *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Cross and pellets. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 28.
12. Sceatta, type 2c (var.). *Obv.* Radiate bust l.; *rev.* Cross and pellets. P.V.H. (cp. *N.C.* 1852, pp. 94-5).
13. Sceatta, Runic, *Epa.* *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 33.
14. Sceatta, Runic, *Epa.* *Obv.* Radiate l.; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 35.
15. " " (var.), *Epa.* *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Stylized standard. H.M.; Ruding, Pl. II, 16.
16. Sceatta, Runic (var.), *Epa.* *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Cross, limbs ending in annulets. H.M.; B.B., Pl. IX, 11.
17. Sceatta, Runic, *Apa.* *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 48.
18. " " *Apa.* *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Cross and pellets. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 47.
19. Sceatta, Runic, *Lepa.* *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Standard. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 49.
20. Sceatta, Runic, *Wigraed.* *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Standard. P.V.H.
21. " " *Wigraed.* *Obv.* Radiate bust l.; *rev.* Standard. H.M.; Ruding, Pl. II, 8.
- 22-4. Sceattas, type 3a. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Standard. F.E.J.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 50.
- 25, 26. Sceattas, type 3a. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Standard. F.E.J.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 51.
27. Sceatta, type 3b. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 52.
28. Sceatta, type 3b. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with annulet; *rev.* Standard. [= *B.M.C.* type 11, below.] B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 53.
29. Sceatta, type 4. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* Standard. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 54.
30. Sceatta, type 4. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 55.
31. Sceatta, type 4 (var.). *Obv.* Diademed bust l. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* Standard. P.V.H.
32. Sceatta, type 5. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* Standard. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 60.
33. Sceatta, type 5/51 (mule). *Obv.* Diademed bust r. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* Two men with crosses. Hallum, Holland. Middelburg Museum; *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. c, 13.

34. Sceatta, type 6. *Obv.* Plumed bird r.; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 72.
35. " " 6. *Obv.* Plumed bird r.; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 75.
36. Sceatta, type 6 (var.). *Obv.* Plumed bird l.; *rev.* Standard. Domburg, Holland.
Location uncertain; *R.B.N.* 1870, Pl. F. 21.
37. Sceatta, type 7. *Obv.* Wolf and Twins; *rev.* Bird on vine. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 77.
38. " " 8. *Obv.* Cross and pellets; *rev.* Standard. (Frisian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*,
no. 81.
39. Sceatta, type 9. *Obv.* Diademed bust r; *rev.* Diademed bust l. ("Porcupine").
B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 85.
40. Sceatta, type 10. *Obv.* Radiate bust r. with runes; *rev.* Diademed bust r. B.M.;
B.M.C., no. 86.
41. Sceatta, type 11. *Obv.* Bust r. with annulet and small cross; *rev.* Standard.
(?Merovingian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 87.
42. Sceatta, type 12. *Obv.* Diademed ("London") bust r.; *rev.* Man with crosses.
B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 89.
43. Sceatta, type 12. *Obv.* Diademed ("London") bust r.; *rev.* Man with crosses.
B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 90.
44. Sceatta, type 12/5 (mule) [cf. type 9]. *Obv.* Diademed ("London") bust r.; *rev.*
Diademed bust r. ("Porcupine"). Hallum, Middelburg Museum; *R.B.N.*
1870, Pl. c. 14; B.B., Pl. iv, 6.

PLATE III

1. Sceatta, type 13. *Obv.* "London" bust r.; *rev.* Seated figure r. B.M.; *B.M.C.*,
no. 92.
2. Sceatta, type 14. *Obv.* "London" bust r.; *rev.* "Celtic cross". B.M.; *B.M.C.*,
no. 93.
3. Sceatta, type 15a. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Man with crosses.
B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 94.
4. Sceatta, type 15a. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross on base; *rev.* Man with
crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 95.
5. Sceatta, type 15b. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Man with branch and
cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 96.
6. Sceatta, type 16. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with flower; *rev.* Man with crosses.
B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 97.
7. Sceatta, type 15b (var.). *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with letters; *rev.* Man with crosses.
B.M.; *N.N.M.* 80, Pl. xv, 5.
8. Sceatta, type 17. *Obv.* Diademed bust l. with cross; *rev.* Man with crosses. B.M.;
B.M.C., no. 99.
9. Sceatta, type 18. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Man with cross and bird.
B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 101.
10. Sceatta, type 19. *Obv.* Diademed bust l. with cross; *rev.* Man with cross and bird.
B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 105.
11. Sceatta, type 20. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cup; *rev.* Man with cross and bird.
B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 106.
12. Sceatta, type 21. *Obv.* Head l. in wreath; *rev.* Man with crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*,
no. 108.
13. Sceatta, type 22. *Obv.* Victory r.; *rev.* Man with crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 110.
14. " " 23a. *Obv.* "Dragon" r.; *rev.* Man with staff and cross. B.M.;
B.M.C., no. 111.
15. Sceatta, type 23a. *Obv.* "Dragon" l.; *rev.* Man with cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 112.
16. " " 23a (var.). *Obv.* "Dragon" r.; *rev.* Man with bow and cross.
Dorchester, Oxon. Ashmolean Museum; *N.C.* 1841/2, p. 32, no. 4; *R.B.N.* 1870,
p. 117.
17. Sceatta, type 23b. *Obv.* Bird and branch r.; *rev.* Man with crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*,
no. 113.
18. Sceatta, type 23c. *Obv.* Bird and branch l.; *rev.* Man with crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*,
no. 115.

19. Sceatta, type 23*d*. *Obv.* Bird-whorl; *rev.* Man with crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 116.
20. " " 23*e*. *Obv.* Wolf-whorl; *rev.* Man with crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 117.
21. " " 24*a*. *Obv.* Helmeted bust r.; *rev.* Cross on steps. (Merovingian (Auxerre.)) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 118.
22. Sceatta, type 24*b*. *Obv.* Helmeted bust r.; *rev.* Cross on steps. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 120.
23. Sceatta, type 25. *Obv.* Bust r.; *rev.* Cross and arabesque. (?Merovingian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 122.
24. Sceatta, type 26. *Obv.* Diademed bust r.; *rev.* Cross on steps. (?Merovingian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 123.
25. Sceatta, type 27*a*. *Obv.* Head r. with cross; *rev.* Bird r. on cross. (?Merovingian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 124.
26. Sceatta, type 27*a*. *Obv.* Head r. with cross; *rev.* Bird l. on cross. (?Merovingian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 125.
27. Sceatta, type 27*b*. *Obv.* Diademed head r. in serpent-torque; *rev.* Bird r. on cross in serpent-torque. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 131.
28. Sceatta, type 27*b*. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with annulet; *rev.* Bird r. on cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 135.
29. Sceatta, type 27*b*. *Obv.* Diademed head r.; *rev.* Bird r. on cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 138.
30. Sceatta, type 27*b*. *Obv.* Diademed head r.; *rev.* Bird r. on cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 140.
31. Sceatta, type 28. *Obv.* Radiate head r.; *rev.* Cross. (Merovingian (Poitiers.)) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 142.
32. Sceatta, type 29*a*. *Obv.* Facing head; *rev.* Bird r. on cross. (Frisian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 143.
33. Sceatta, type 29*b*. *Obv.* Facing head; *rev.* Bird r. on cross. (Frisian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 144.
34. Sceatta, type 30*a*. *Obv.* Facing head; *rev.* Two men with staffs. (Frisian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 145.
35. Sceatta, type 30*b*. *Obv.* Facing head; *rev.* Two men with crosses. (Frisian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 146.
36. Sceatta, type 31. *Obv.* Facing head; *rev.* "Dragon" r. (Frisian.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 147.
37. Sceatta, type 31. *Obv.* Facing head; *rev.* "Dragon" l. (Frisian.) P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 148.
38. Sceatta, type 32*a*. *Obv.* Diademed bust r., holding cross; *rev.* Wolf curved to r. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 151.
39. Sceatta, type 32*a*. *Obv.* Diademed bust r.; *rev.* Wolf l. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 152.
40. " " 32*a*. *Obv.* Diademed bust r., holding cross; *rev.* Wolf, with forelegs only, curved r. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 153.
41. Sceatta, type 32*a*. *Obv.* Diademed bust r., holding cross; *rev.* Wolf, without legs, curved r. Domburg, Holland. Location uncertain; *R.B.N.* 1870, p. 117.
42. Sceatta, type 32*a*. *Obv.* Diademed bust r., holding cross; *rev.* Wolf-headed serpent curved l. in "torque". B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 154.
43. Sceatta, type 32*a*. *Obv.* Diademed bust r., holding cross; *rev.* Wolf-headed serpent curved r. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 155.
44. Sceatta, type 32*b*. *Obv.* Diademed bust l. with rosettes; *rev.* Wolf-headed serpent curved l. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 156.
45. Sceatta, type 33. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Wolf-head r. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 157.
46. Sceatta, type 33. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Wolf-head l. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 160.
47. Sceatta, type 34. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* "Celtic cross". B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 161.
48. Sceatta, type 34. *Obv.* Diademed bust l. with branch; *rev.* "Celtic cross". B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 162.

PLATE IV

1. Sceatta, type 35. *Obv.* Bust r. with cross; *rev.* Bird l. with cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 163.
2. Sceatta, type 36. *Obv.* Bust r. with cross; *rev.* Two birds r. with cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 164.
3. Sceatta, type 37. *Obv.* Two heads, cross between; *rev.* Rose of four birds. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 165.
4. Sceatta, type 38. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. with cross; *rev.* Crested bird r. with cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 169.
5. Sceatta, type 39. *Obv.* Bird r.; *rev.* "Celtic cross". B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 170.
6. " " 40. *Obv.* "Dragon" l.; *rev.* Man with crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 171.
7. Sceatta, type 41a. *Obv.* "Dragon" r.; *rev.* Two men, with crosses, facing each other. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 173.
8. Sceatta, type 41b. *Obv.* "Dragon" l.; *rev.* Two men with crosses. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 178.
9. Sceatta, type 41b. *Obv.* "Dragon" r.; *rev.* Two men with crosses. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 176.
10. Sceatta, type 42. *Obv.* Diademed bust r., bird on shoulder; *rev.* Hound l. with tree. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 180.
11. Sceatta, type 42. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. holding cross; *rev.* Hound l. with tree. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 181.
12. Sceatta, type 43. *Obv.* "Dragon" l.; *rev.* Tetragram. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 182.
13. Sceatta, type 44. *Obv.* Bird and branch r.; *rev.* Beast l. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 183.
14. " " 44 (var.). *Obv.* Bird l.; *rev.* Beast l. B.M.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 183.
15. " " 45. *Obv.* Crested beast r.; *rev.* Spiral. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 184.
16. " " 45. *Obv.* Beast l.; *rev.* Spiral. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 186.
17. " " 45. *Obv.* Dragon r.; *rev.* Spiral. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 187.
18. " " 46. *Obv.* Bird r.; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 188.
19. " " 47. *Obv.* Female centaur l.; *rev.* Wolf-whorl. P.V.H.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 189.
20. Sceatta, type 48. *Obv.* Wolf-whorl; *rev.* "Celtic cross". B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 191.
21. " " 49. *Obv.* Face on shield; *rev.* Bird r. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 192.
22. " " 49 (var.). *Obv.* Face on shield; *rev.* Bird l. H.M.; Ruding, Pl. II, 6.
23. " " 50. *Obv.* Radiate bust r.; *rev.* Cross and pellets. (Cp. *B.M.C.* type 2c.) B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 196.
24. Sceatta, type 51. *Obv.* Two men with crosses; *rev.* Standard. B.M.; as *B.M.C.*, no. 197; *N.N.M.* 80, Pl. xv, 8.
25. Sceatta, type 52. *Obv.* Facing bust; *rev.* Arabesque. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 198.
26. " " 53. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* Stepped cross. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 199.
27. Sceatta, type 54. *Obv.* Half-figure r. with crosses; *rev.* Star. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, no. 200.
28. Sceatta. *Obv.* Helmeted bust r. with sceptre;¹ *rev.* Small cross. H.M.; Ruding, Pl. II, 26.
29. Sceatta. *Obv.* Head r. in cable border; *rev.* "Dragon". H.M.; Ruding, Pl. I, 27.
30. " *Obv.* Two men with cross; *rev.* "Celtic cross". B.M.; Ruding, Appx., Pl. xxvi, 13.
31. Sceatta. *Obv.* Facing bust; *rev.* Beast l. Location uncertain; B.B., Pl. v, 7; *C.B.S.C.*, lot 175.
32. Sceatta. *Obv.* Diademed head r.; *rev.* Two bird-headed serpents. H.M.; Ruding, Pl. II, 1; B.B., Pl. VIII, 6 (*rev.*).
33. Sceatta. *Obv.* Wolf-serpent r.; *rev.* Standard. H.M.; Ruding, Pl. I, 19; B.B., Pl. VII, 8 (*rev.*).
34. Sceatta. *Obv.* Standard in chain-border; *rev.* "Dragon" r. Norwich Mus.

¹ The Hunterian coin illustrated in Pl. IV, 28 has the helmet off the flan, but it is clearly shown on a coin formerly in the Grantley collection (lot 739 in the Sale Catalogue).

35. Sceatta. Peada. *Obv.* Helmeted bust r.; *rev.* Standard, on which *Pada*. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, Mercia, no. 1.
36. Sceatta. Peada. *Ob.* Helmeted bust r.; *rev.* Standard, on which *TOT XX*. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, Mercia, no. 2.
37. Sceatta. Peada. *Obv.* Diademed bust r.; *rev.* Small cross with annulets in circle. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, Mercia, no. 3.
38. Sceatta. Peada. *Obv.* Diademed bust r.; *rev.* *Pada* in wreath. B.M.; B.B., Pl. iv, 4 (*rev.*).
39. Sceatta. Æthelred. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* *Æthilraed* in triple border. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, Mercia, no. 4.
40. Sceatta. Æthelred. *Obv.* Diademed bust l. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* *Æthilraed* in single border. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, Mercia, no. 5.
41. Sceatta. Æthelred. *Obv.* Diademed bust r. ("Porcupine"); *rev.* *Æthilraed* retrograde. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, Mercia, no. 6.
42. Penny. "Beonna." *Obv.* Pellet in circle of pellets; *rev.* Cross with square in centre. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, E. Anglia, no. 1.
43. Penny. "Æthelberht". *Obv.* Bust r., *rev.* Wolf and Twins l. B.M.; *B.M.C.*, E. Anglia, no. 2.



1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15

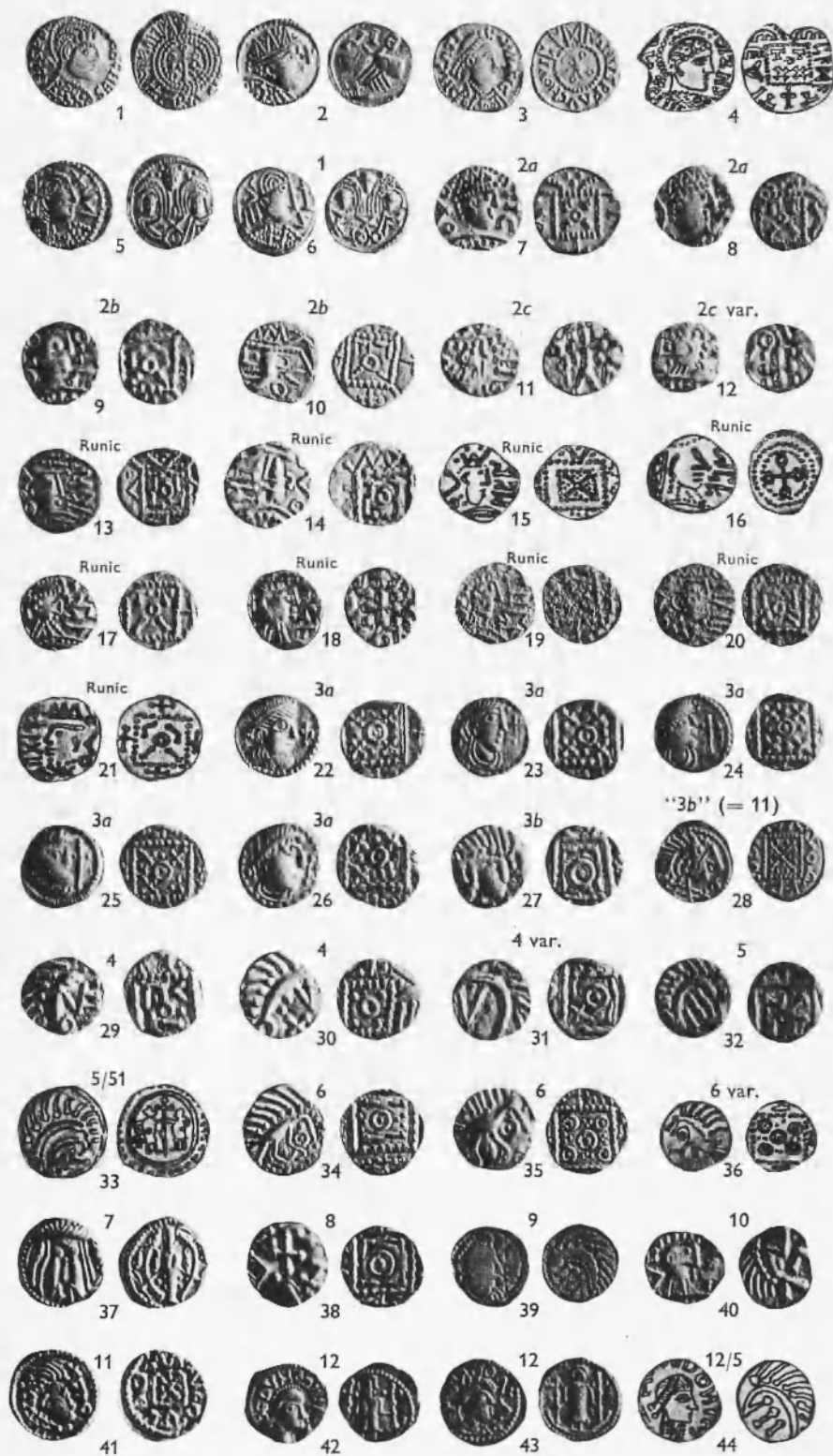


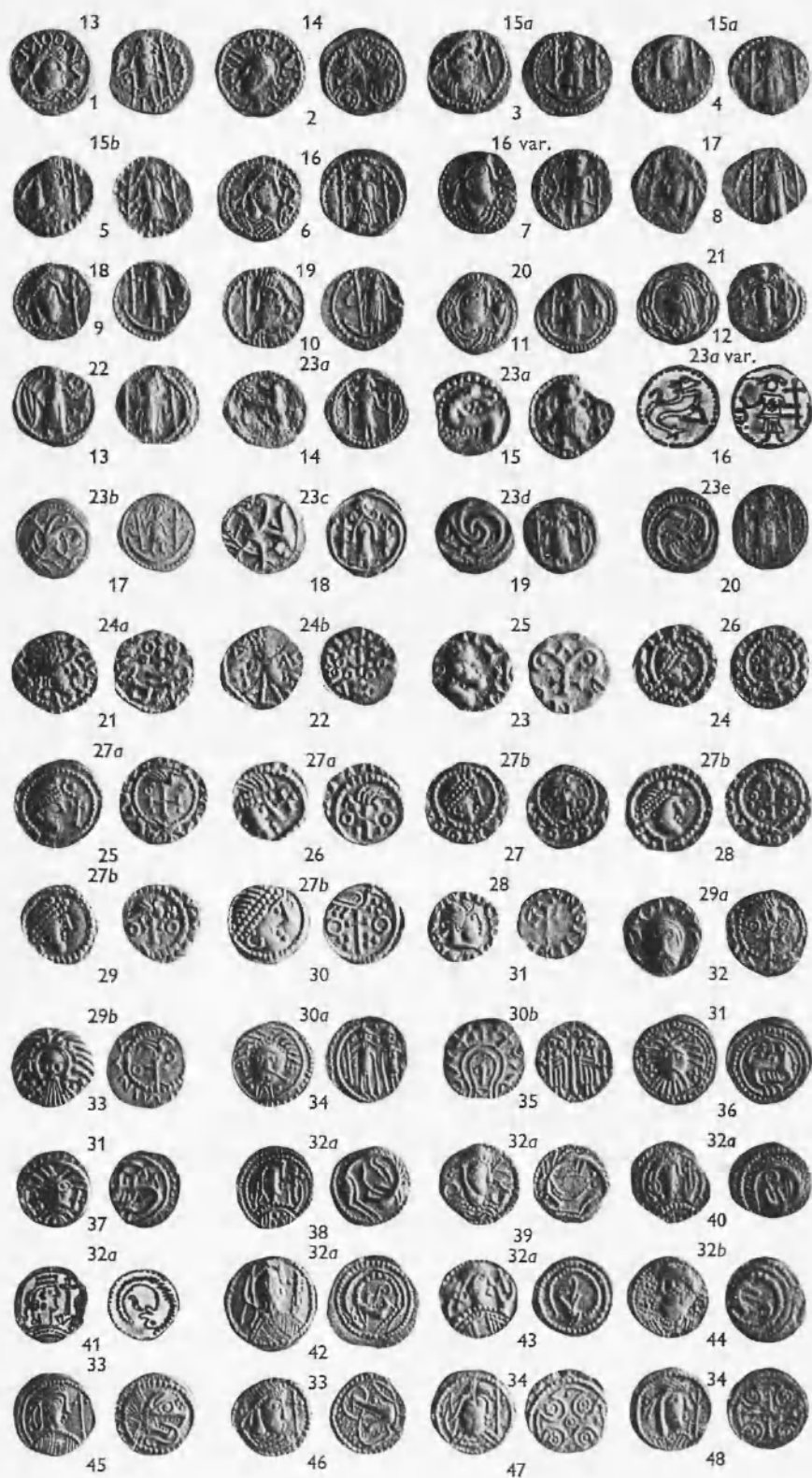
16



17









DISTINGUISHING MARKS ON THE LATER ISSUES OF DAVID II

By JAMES DAVIDSON, F.S.A. SCOT.

SOME short time before his death the late Mr. H. J. Dakers handed me some notes with regard to certain special marks which are found on the later issues of groats, half-groats, and pennies of David II. I have endeavoured to pursue this subject and to add further facts which undoubtedly would have been much more complete if he had been enabled to finish his investigation.

The valuable papers¹ by Dr. Lawrence on the coinage of Edward III tell us how the trials of the pyx in that reign were ordered to be carried out; that they were "to be held once every three months and directions were usually given that the officer concerned was bound at his peril to make 'une prive signe en toutes les monoies' of gold and silver worked by him so that he might know which were his and which were not". Previously the trials of the pyx had apparently been somewhat spasmodic, but now they were put on a more regular footing in that they were held every three months. In order that a moneyer's work could be identified it would be necessary that some secret sign be placed on the different denominations of the money. Because of the frequency of the trials, these signs or privy marks must have been various and numerous, as suggested by Lawrence. There might be variations in the wording, the letters, the stops, or the initial mark. All such variations could be reckoned as privy marks, and in addition some particular mark could be placed on the coin such as the lis which is found on the reverse of Edward III nobles and half-nobles towards the 1351-60 period. In brief, it has been established that every coin bore a privy mark which was changed every three months.

When we turn to the corresponding coinage of Scotland, such as certain of the groats, half-groats, and pennies of David II, again do we find particular marks such as the letter "D" in different positions on the reverse, the mark +, and pellets. What is the meaning of such marks? Have they been placed there to serve the same purpose as those privy marks which have been referred to in the coinage of Edward III?

In discussing such marks let us first of all look at the relationship between the coinage of Scotland and that of England. David II was captured at the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346—a battle which has been ranked as one of the national disasters of Scotland. He remained a prisoner in England for eleven years. During this time he must have been influenced by English customs and it is said that he showed a decided leaning towards England. No doubt this would also apply to the English currency, as up to his reign pennies, halfpennies, and

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 5th Series, vol. vi, 1926, pp. 417 et seq.

farthings had been the only currency in Scotland. Groats, half-groats, and a gold coinage had not as yet appeared as part of the national currency. However, it was during his reign and almost certainly after his release from captivity in 1357 that groats, half-groats, and gold nobles appeared for the first time in the coinage of Scotland, the style of the noble being remarkably similar to that of England. In that year a charter was conferred upon one Adam Torr, who as mint-master carried out a great new coinage. Such a coinage would also be necessary to assist in the payment of the ransom demanded by Edward for the release of the Scottish king. This was 100,000 marks, which Burns computed as equal to £66,666. 13s. 4d., and according to him represented £165,001. 9s. 4d. of modern money. The ransom was only paid with great difficulty and was not finally settled until some years after David's death. In 1355 the English had apparently complained of the state of the Scottish coinage and had issued a proclamation forbidding anyone to receive Scottish money except *ad verum valorem eiusdem*. It was stated that the money lately coined in Scotland was less in weight and coarser in alloy than the old money of that realm. This coinage comprised the pennies, halfpennies, and farthings of the **REX SCOTTORUM** type which are assigned to the early part of David's reign, and which constitute the first coinage. The pennies were certainly of defective weight, but an assay of a specimen has shown it to be of the same standard as the English money. The new Scottish coinage was to be of the same quality and weight as that of England, viz. 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine, the penny weighing 18 gr. and the groat 72 gr.

English or rather foreign moneyers and artists who had been employed in English mints were used. The chief moneyer at the commencement of the new coinage was James Mulekyn of Florence. A Donatus or Donate Mulekyn was also employed, probably later than James. At the time that he was mentioned there appears the name of Bonagius, who again was of Florence. This Bonagius appears to have worked at the Scottish mint for thirty years, and is of interest, as previous to his employment at the Scottish mint he had been moneyer at the episcopal mint of Durham. There he apparently got into debt to the Lord Prior and had to leave, perhaps somewhat suddenly. His lands and crops were confiscated. This occurred about 1363 or 1364. These moneyers no doubt would thus introduce methods of identification of the money similar to those already in use in England. It is thus seen that there were numerous factors which would tend to influence and bring about a certain similarity between this new coinage and that of the neighbouring kingdom.

From now onwards until the end of the reign, David's coinage shows three principal varieties of head. These are the well-known Small Head, the Intermediate Head, and the Robert II style of head. Burns has subdivided the type with the Intermediate Head into three varieties. The only known mints are those of Edinburgh and Aberdeen.

The Small Head is attributed to the earlier coinage, and here

ornaments in the treasures, between the words, or at the ends of the legends were no doubt used for the purpose of making it possible to check the dates of the issue for some form of government trial. These are as follows:

1. Trefoils in the arcs of the tressure. Rosettes between the words on the obverse. Saltires on the reverse.
2. Trefoils in the arcs of the tressure. Saltires between the words on both the obverse and reverse.
3. Rosettes in the arcs of the tressure. Saltires between the words on both the obverse and the reverse.
4. Pellets in the arcs of the tressure. Saltires between the words.
5. Plain tressure (sometimes of six, sometimes of seven arcs). Saltires between the words.
6. Plain tressure. Crosses between the words.
7. Similar, but with privy mark of mullet of five points at end of obverse legend.
8. Similar, but with privy mark of lis at end of obverse legend.

All the above types with the exception of (2) are found in Burns, who does not appear to have met with this type. The following groat is in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (Cat. no. 29) and a specimen is also in the writer's collection:

Obv. *DAVID*DEI*GRAT*REX*SCOTORUM*
Rev. *DNS*PATRI*TECTORIS*TIBITORUM*

A saltire is present at the free ends of both lower spandrels.

There are some variations in the placing of the saltires or crosses between the words. Sometimes they may be absent, sometimes additional ones are added between the letters on the reverse. Variations are also found with regard to the numbers; usually they are single throughout the legend, but at times there may be double crosses ‡ or saltires ✕. Legends may also contain both single and double crosses as Burns, Fig. 258. At the end of the obverse legend there may be quadruple saltires ✕✕ (Burns, Fig. 252, no. 6) or triple saltires ✕✕✕ (Burns, Fig. 253). There may be a mixture of saltires and crosses as Burns, Fig. 257 and Fig. 262 B.

A variation in the letters **PA** and **V** also occurs in this series. It may be only in one word on the obverse such as the **PA** or **V** in **DAVID**, or may be in a word on the reverse. The **PA** may be barred or unbarred. It may assume the ornamental form **H** barred or unbarred. Occasionally the **V** may be ornamental—**U**.

This early coinage was presumably that of James Mulekyn and was replaced by the coinage with what is known as the Intermediate Head. This, as already mentioned, has been subdivided into a first, second, and third variety by Burns. The letter **D** now appears on the reverse in the majority of the different types and only on those minted at Edinburgh. None are known with this letter from the Aberdeen

mint. It is, however, interesting to note that in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, vol. xxix, 1921, col. 404, there is a record of a David II groat of the Small Head type and corresponding to Burns, Fig. 261, with a **D** in the third quarter of the reverse, although it is not mentioned in which part of the quarter. It would thus appear that this **D** was used at an earlier date than was supposed by Burns. Burns, Fig. 261, and those of similar types no doubt belong to the latest issues of the Small Head groats and this coin with the **D** on the reverse would seem to form a link between the later issues of the Small Head and the Intermediate Head series.



The great seal of David II (see above) shows a **D** in the field on the king's left on the obverse. What does the letter mean? Could it have been used as David's badge? No doubt it represents the royal initial.¹ When it is thus found on the great seal, this would explain its meaning on the coinage. In the past there have been various suggestions as to its meaning because of the uncertainty as to what this letter represented. Initial letters have appeared with comparative frequency on the Scottish coinage and their significance has been discussed by H. J. Dakers in a previous paper² to this Society. Moneyer's initial letters have no doubt been placed on the coinage. On a halfpenny of David II shown to this Society in 1937 by the late Mr. H. J. Dakers,³ there is the letter **I** in one of the quarters of the reverse and was thought to have possibly been the privy mark of the moneyer Jacobus Mulekyn. Donatus Mulekyn, probably a son or a brother of Jacobus Mulekyn of Florence, is mentioned in the Mint Accounts of 2 December 1364. As Dakers previously pointed out, these accounts

¹ Birch, *History of Scottish Seals*, vol. i, 1905, pp. 43-4, Plate No. 24.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xxi, 1935, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xxii, 1938, p. 340.

"record payments: 'Bonagio monetario pro tabulis de diversis imaginibus et aliis diversis rebus sculptis et depictis ad opus regiis' and also 'Donato Mulekyn pro diversis artificiis factis ad usum regis'.¹ Donatus is not called 'monetarius' and the vague expression 'artificiis ad usum regis' suggests rather articles of jewellery or the like than the coinage. It is evident from the rest of the account that work of that kind was done for the king by artists employed at the mint."² The query therefore arises as to whether the letter **D** represented the initial of Donatus. Cochran Patrick has also discussed the question.³ He asks if it were possible that the letters which appear so conspicuously on many of the Scottish coins were meant to stand either for the initial of the sovereign or of the regent or governor for the time being. Donald, Earl of Mar, was Governor of Scotland at the beginning of David II's reign and this **D**, he suggests, might either stand for the initial of the king himself or denote that the coins were struck during his regency.

Burns⁴ has not gone into the matter fully and comes to no conclusion. "It may possibly have happened", writes Burns, "that the groats of David II with the letter **D** on the reverse were a *second* issue of the Intermediate Head varieties—struck while the dies for those with the Robert II Head were in preparation. In this case, possibly, the letter **D** may stand for *duplicata*, or some such word." He also mentions Donatus Mulekyn as being employed at the Scottish mint, but concludes that "it is scarcely likely that this person's Christian name would have been placed upon the coins".

Burns was apparently unaware of the presence of the letter **D** on the great seal, although the fact is mentioned by Cochran-Patrick. However, we may conclude that as its presence on the great seal is indicative of the royal initial, this being accepted by eminent authorities such as Birch, the letter on the coinage is similar. It might also be mentioned that the letter **I** appears on the coinage of James I.

Apart from the solitary instance mentioned above of its presence on the groat of the Small Head series, the letter **D** now appears with comparative regularity on the Intermediate Head issues of groats, half-groats, and pennies beginning with the first variety of Intermediate Head. The reason behind this becomes readily apparent if it is taken to be a distinguishing mark for a test similar to the Trial of the Pyx in England. It appears in definite positions in the quarters of the reverse in relation to the first or last letter of that part of the inner legend **VIIIIA EDINBVRGH** which is found in any one quarter, being placed immediately under the respective letter in the first or latter part of the quarter (**Plate A**). The letter **D** is also found reversed -**α**. This only occurs in the latter part of the quarters. A tabulated list of known coins with the letter **D** normal or reversed in each of the four quarters gives a complete series (**Chart I**). It is seen that the

¹ Cochran-Patrick, *Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, 1876, vol. i, p. 5, X.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. xxi, 1935, p. 67.

³ *Num. Chron.*, New Series, vol. xii, 1872, p. 88.

⁴ Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, 1887, vol. i, p. 248.



1



2



3



4



5



6

throughout the reign of Robert II, although the privy marks changed to be in keeping with those on the groats and pennies of the Robert II head types. It is therefore difficult to understand why he applied the term Robert II head to the half-groats to this series.

The pennies, on the other hand, have a Small Head and two distinct types of Intermediate Head. One corresponds to the so-called First and Second Intermediate Heads of the groats, whilst the second type has a head with a highly aquiline profile which corresponds exactly with the Third Intermediate Head of the groats. Burns was apparently unaware of this type on the pennies (Chart I, no. 10). The typical Robert II head corresponding to that on the groats also appears on the pennies, which have similar symbols to those on the groats.

The confusion of the Intermediate Heads may have affected the contemporary examiners as the use of the letter **D** is dropped after no. 10 (Chart I). Thereafter the different series with crosses, stars, and pellets behind the head and on the reverse appear, together with the Robert II head.

The cross is only known on the coins of the Intermediate Head series. On the groats it is present on Burns's Second Intermediate Head variety, and is found in the latter part of the third quarter on the reverse, being present in the same position on the half-groats and pennies of the Intermediate Head type. It is situated under the letter **V** of **INBV** with one exception on the groats, where it is also found in the latter part of the fourth quarter under the letter **n** of **R6n** (Chart II).

Pellets are used on all denominations of the Robert II head type, including the corresponding type of half-groat mentioned above. A pellet is situated behind the crown on the obverse and in the first part of the first quarter on the reverse under the letter **V** of **VILLU** (Chart II). An exception occurs in the case of a penny in the National Collection of Scotland where a pellet is present in the normal situation in the first quarter and another is in the first part of the third quarter (Cat. of National Collection, no. 109).

In the heavier issues of Robert II head groats previous to 7 October 1367, there is a coin with a pellet on the sceptre handle (Burns, Fig. 296). In the lighter issues subsequent to 7 October 1367 stars are used. The Act provided that a "notable sign" be placed on the coinage which was to be of the same weight and quality as the money current in England. But this never materialized as the standard of weight of the coins was reduced considerably below that of England. However, as Burns¹ suggests, the star was in all probability the "notable sign" finally adopted. It appears on the sceptre handle of all denominations. On a rare groat it appears behind the neck of the obverse and between the letters **ED** on the reverse. This arrangement is also found on a half-groat of the corresponding period (Burns, Fig. 300). A penny shows it behind the neck only (Burns, Fig. 300A). Certain issues have two stars in the legend after **DNS** on the reverse.

¹ Burns, *Coinage of Scotland*, 1887, vol. i, p. 256.

Although the symbols on the later coinage of David II may not be numerous, it has been shown that they do frequently have a definite orderly arrangement, especially with regard to the letter D, and were obviously there for a definite purpose, which in the latter case could be none other than the Trial of the Pyx. A single sign such as the star always in the same position might be a distinguishing mark for a certain type or standard of coinage. Distinguishing marks were adopted after the king's return from England, his earlier coinage being devoid of such symbols. In later reigns, particularly those of Robert III and James I, they are much more numerous.

Finally, I should like to express my gratitude and thanks to Mr. John Allan of the British Museum and Mr. R. C. Lockett for their very great kindness and assistance with regard to this paper.

CHART I
*David II Groats, Half-Groats, Pennies (Intermed. Head)
with D on Reverse*

Quarters	First VILL	Second ÆD	Third INB	Fourth RGR	First and Second Intermediate Heads
Groats	1 D				Burns, Figs. 271 and 279A; S.S.A. no. 60; Davidson.
2	α	D			S.S.A. no. 109, addenda; Davidson.
3		α			Dakers; Davidson.
4			D		Burns, Fig. 282; S.S.A. no. 108 Addenda.
5				α	Dakers; Lockett; Davidson.
6				D	Dakers; Davidson.
7				α	Brit. Mus.; Burns, Figs. 271A, 280, 281; Lockett(2); S.S.A. reversed on side. Q
8				D	Dakers; Baldwin; Lockett.
9				α	Burns, Fig. 280; Dakers; Davidson.
10	D				Third Intermed. Head. Burns, Figs. 288, 289; Dakers; Lockett; Davidson.
½ Groats	1 D				Burns, Fig. 272, no. 11; S.S.A. addenda, no. 113.
2	α	D			Burns, Fig. 272, no. 10; S.S.A. no. 91; Brit. Mus.; Dakers; Baldwin; Lockett.
3		α			Baldwin; Lockett; Davidson.
4			—		Brit. Mus.; Lockett.
5					Not known.
6				D	Not known.
7				α	Burns, Fig. 273; S.S.A. no. 92.
8				—	S.S.A. addenda, no. 111, Lockett.
9					Not known.
10	D				Third Intermed. Head (Burns, Robt. II head), Burns, Fig. 290; S.S.A. nos. 94, 95; Dakers.
Pennies	1 D				Brit. Mus., Baldwin.
2		D			Burns, Fig. 274, no. 6; Hunterian; Lockett.
3		α			Dakers.
4			—		Not known.
5					Not known.
6				—	Not known.
7				α	Burns, Fig. 274, no. 7; Dakers.
8				—	Not known.
9					Davidson (2); Dakers; Third Intermed. Head.
10	D				
Summary	D α	D α	D α	D α	

CHART II

David II Groats, Half-Groats, Pennies with cross or pellets on Reverse

Quarters	First VILL	Second ÆED	Third INBV	Fourth RGN	First and Second Intermediate Heads
Groats					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6			+		Burns, Fig. 282B; Lockett; Davidson.
7					
8				+	Burns, Fig. 282A; Lockett.
9					
10	●				Robert II Head. Burns, Figs. 297 and 298; Lockett; Davidson.
½ Groats					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6			+		Lockett.
7					
8					
9					
10	●				Third Intermed. Head (Burns, Robt. II head); Burns, Fig. 299; Lockett; Davidson.
Pennies					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6			+		Burns, Fig. 283; Lockett.
7					
8					
9					
10	●		●		Robert II Head; Lockett; Burns, Fig. 299A; S.S.A. 109, Pellet in 1st and 3rd qts.

The coins with pellet in the first quarter of reverse have also a pellet behind the crown on the obverse.

THE REGNAL ATTRIBUTION OF THE INITIAL MARK ROSE AND SUN DIMIDIATED

By F. O. ARNOLD, M.A., M.D.

TILL the later years of the nineteenth century the general view of numismatists, apparently, was that no coin with the name of Edward upon it could safely be assigned to Edward V's reign unless it had a boar's head initial mark impressed upon it. (When it did actually have a boar's head initial mark, it would appear to have been invariably impressed on the obverse, never on the reverse, and consequently never on both sides. At least, no undoubted Edward coin with a boar's head impressed on the reverse can be produced today for inspection.)

Indeed, some numismatists went even farther than this—including Hawkins in his less mature days—and actually attributed Edward coins with a boar's head to the reign of Edward IV, having regard to Edward V's reign only having lasted for some eleven weeks, which they deemed to be too brief a period for the mintage and use of any fresh initial mark at all, let alone two. But Mr. Earle-Fox, by his researches in the Record Office, showed that in Edward V's reign some 49 lb. in gold coins and 434 lb. in silver coins were in fact minted, and Hawkins himself and most other numismatists subsequently agreed that coins bearing the name of Edward and a boar's head upon them were definitely assignable to the reign of Edward V, though many, including Kenyon, still regarded the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark as a late or last initial mark of Edward IV.

But by 1895 we find Montagu challenging this latter view and deeming the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark as a fresh distinguishing initial mark introduced by the mint-master Hastings, or the Lord Treasurer, upon, or very shortly after, Edward IV's death, and Montagu impliedly considered the cinquefoil initial mark to be the very last of Edward IV's initial marks.

I know that this was the view of the late Mr. Shirley-Fox, a view shared by many other learned numismatists, living and dead, including the late Mr. Lawrence. His view supported that of the late Mr. Montagu and totally dissented from that held by Mr. Blunt, as is shown by his remarks printed immediately following upon the latter's paper in the *Journal* for 1936, and I know that two years later he was still of the same opinion.

In 1936 Mr. Blunt in a learned paper before this Society, printed on pp. 213-24 of vol. xxii of the *Journal*, raised the standard of the original school of thought afresh, and has been notably supported in so doing by Mr. Whitton and others, so vehemently and assuredly, that very many numismatists—at least of those who express any opinion at all upon the matter—seem to consider that the view that the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark on an Edward coin cannot be regarded as attributable to the reign of Edward V, unless it has also a boar's head on it, is now quite irrefutably established.

So decidedly, and definitely and confidently, is this view expressed, that I personally can only regard the situation as being analogous and comparable to that which obtained in France, in the middle of the eighteenth century, in regard to a wholly different controversy, when the cult of atheism and "free-thought" and the denigration of Christianity were so rampantly triumphant that philosophers and writers, such as Voltaire and Rousseau, roundly declared that Christianity had by that time become so utterly discredited that only the unlearned and the very simple could possibly adhere to it.

Mr. Blunt, apparently with the full approval and concurrence of other numismatists, has tersely crystallized the objections to the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark, when on Edward coins without a boar's head, being assigned to Edward V under certain headings to which, if I may, I will briefly refer.

I quote now from Mr. Whitton's article in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xxiv at pp. 175-8, where he fully sets out and endorses all Mr. Blunt's propositions:

"First, the unusual manner in which the accounts are treated suggests that the only bullion coined for Edward V was that received in May and June 1483. In this connexion, it may be recalled that Edward V acceded on 9th April 1483, that Richard was appointed Protector on 5th May following, and that Edward was deposed on 26th June 1483. Thus, Edward as king was under Richard's tutelage for rather more than 7 weeks."

My first comment on this is: "So be it."

But what is the intended inference from this, the first, and presumably the foremost, of the arguments of the new school—if I may, for brevity's sake, so refer to numismatists of this way of thinking, though it is true that they are, in fact, by this expression of view reverting to a very much older school of thought which was till recently held by many of an intermediate school to be obsolete?

Now I respectfully, but strongly, submit that the very sheet-anchor of all the arguments of this new school, and its all-pervading foundation or background—to make use of rather mixed metaphors—may be summed up in the following quotation from Sir Charles Oman's text-book in which he says: "But when Richard of Gloucester had once assumed control, he immediately inserted his own boar's head on the coin of the realm. We may be sure that he would never have allowed pieces without that badge to appear. . . ."

With this ready and perhaps attractive and plausible, but, I submit, wholly erroneous, supposition—not to say obsession—firmly fixed in their minds as a preconceived idea which begs the entire question, the new school proceed—I suggest with all due respect and diffidence—to endeavour to make numismatic facts and evidence fit in with their preconceived suppositions and conclusions, and minimize—not to say disregard—any evidence adverse to their theories, whereas everyone must surely agree that theories should depend on facts and not the reverse. On p. 176 of vol. xxiv—the page immediately following the one from which I have just quoted Mr. Whitton's

approving citation of our learned President's five allegedly convincing reasons—we find Mr. Whitton proceeding to say: "there remain the 7 weeks before Edward's deposition, that is from May 5th to June 26th, as the only period during which money was struck for him. It seems almost certain that no coins would be struck during that time which did not bear the Boar's Head." I ask again, is it so certain, seeing that that is just the very identical thing which did in fact occur during the greater part—including the termination—of Richard's own undisputed reign a few months later?

Admitting, and fully agreeing that the white boar (not the blue boar, which was a badge of Richard's father and also of Edward III) was the special distinctive badge of Richard III, what grounds other than sheer unsupported conjecture are there for assuming that Richard (even supposing that he personally took any special interest in his coinage at all, and did not simply leave its details entirely to his mint-master) would, from motives of egotistical aggrandizement, desire to assert and vindicate his own individual personality, as it were, by insisting in a blatant manner upon the boar's head being impressed at the very earliest possible opportunity upon all coinage minted during his protectorship of Edward V, and/or even during the greater part of his own undisputed reign (this latter we definitely know that he did not do), and that he would wish to change or eradicate as quickly as possible badges or initial marks of a nature used by or in any way reminiscent of his brother Edward IV—namely, the rose and sun, whether separate and distinct or dimidiated, and to substitute the boar's head therefor?

In refutation of this fundamental and basic theory of the new school, which I respectfully submit inherently harbours certain actually quite inconsistent propositions, I would most earnestly ask for really adequate and unbiased consideration of the following points:

If Richard III really were moved by self-assertive feelings of this kind, and consequent relative antagonism to the use of his late brother's badges in any shape or form, surely he would have discontinued their use altogether? How does it come about that, not only on the admitted coinage of Edward V do we invariably find a dimidiated rose and sun initial mark on the reverse, along with the boar's head, whenever the latter is used on the obverse, but that—more striking and significant still—on all the coins of his own reign having his own name Richard upon them, of those which have come down to us—both angels and groats—the use of the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark upon both the obverse and the reverse is actually commoner and more frequent than the use of a boar's head initial mark on either side or both sides? Montagu himself very cogently and convincingly makes this point, and incidentally I may say that, when I last inspected specimens of Richard III angels at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, there were four specimens of Richard angels with the dimidiated rose and sun upon both sides, and there was not a single specimen with a boar's head upon either side.

Surely Montagu's suggestion that the dimidiated rose and sun was, to quote his actual words, "clearly by premeditated design" initiated by Hastings—the mint-master—or by the Lord Treasurer—to distinguish Edward V's coinage from that of his father, who had, at one time undoubtedly issued coins with separate rose and separate sun initial marks, is weighty and deserves consideration with the utmost respect. Mr. Lawrence so regarded it.

Montagu, as previously mentioned, regarded the cinquefoil initial mark as being the very last initial mark used on the coinage of Edward IV, and he roundly asserts that the contention of those numismatists who claim that the dimidiated rose and sun was the initial mark impressed on the last coinage of Edward IV "is"—I quote his actual words—"only surmise . . . and just one of those surmises which are open to the greatest suspicion, as it has been invented for the express purpose of defeating the attribution of the dimidiated rose and sun coins to the subsequent reign".

If only the new school could possibly be induced to restrain their preconceived ideas and open-mindedly to consider, for a short space of time, the possibility of Hastings or the Lord Treasurer having used the freshly designed mint mark of the dimidiated rose and sun to distinguish Edward V coins—when not combined with the use on the obverse of the boar's head—from those of Edward IV, could they not then realize and be prepared to admit that such supposition would completely dispose of the outstanding difficulty which confronts them regarding Richard's insistent use, and even apparent preference, both in Edward V's reign and his own, for the use of the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark, in general, rather than the boar's head initial mark?

If this could be considered, then no strangeness or difficulty, I submit, would be encountered by our learned Secretary, Mr. Winstanley, upon this point—I refer to his remarks in vol. xxv of the *Journal* at p. 83, where he expresses his surprise at the periodically persistent and the final use, at the end of Richard III's reign, of the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark on both sides of the coinage, and the actual cessation of the use of the boar's head altogether.

Reference should be made to his correlating paper in vol. xxiv at p. 185. Mr. Winstanley, I know, in his said expression of surprise is also referring to the alternating use in Richard III's reign of the boar's head and the dimidiated rose and sun, and in regard to this he says: "this use of i.m.s differs from the commonly accepted view of their function". Mr. Blunt, as his second point enumerated by Mr. Whitton on p. 175 of *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xxiv, says the "7 weeks between 5th May and 26th June seem too short a period to require two different pyx-period marks, if such they are, the dimidiated rose and sun and the boar's head".

Here, I suggest, one advocate of the new school of thought is answered, in part, by another advocate—our learned Secretary. As has been said by Sir Charles Oman, the years 1483 to 1486 were

chaotic, and many things, including coinage apparently, did not proceed according to rule and pre-existing standards and stereotyped plans. Mr. Winstanley indicates that it would appear that changes in initial marks were not synchronous in Richard III's reign with pyx-periods, and even if one would have expected them to be synchronous—and even Mr. Blunt in making his second point seems doubtful in this instance in regard to the matter—it is surely by no means extraordinary that we should have had two fresh initial marks in the space of 7 weeks, when those 7 weeks, or rather 11 weeks, including this particular 7 weeks' period, saw the following stirring events: the death of one king and the accession of another, the virtual deposition of that other, this latter event being followed soon after by his being murdered, which event was, of course, followed by the accession of a third king.

Further, this view as to the dimidiated rose and sun having been expressly designed by Hastings, or the Lord Treasurer, to distinguish Edward V, and later Richard III, initial marks from those on the coins of Edward IV would also remove the difficulty necessarily admitted by the new school, themselves, of having to assert that there was a continuous use of the dimidiated rose and sun mint-mark in four consecutive reigns, namely those of Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, and Henry VII, since the last-mentioned king also used the dimidiated rose and sun upon his coinage at the commencement of his reign. The continued use of one particular initial mark during three consecutive reigns is not usual, but its continued use during four requires considerably more plausible explanation and accounting for, and is much more unlikely.

On p. 176 of vol. xxiv—the next page after that on which Mr. Whitton recapitulates Mr. Blunt's five points and in support of the latter's conclusions—Mr. Whitton says: "during the period from April 9th to May 5th, it is probable that no coinage took place. The peculiar ruling of the accounts of the period, in the opinion of an Official of the Record Office suggests this. If this is so, there remain the 7 weeks before Edward's deposition, that is from May 5th to June 26th, as the only period during which money was struck for him."

In regard to this point, I think it most important to emphasize, as a humble protagonist of the intermediate school of thought, that it is no part of the argument of most of us that all or most, or even any Edward V coins without a boar's head on were minted between 9 April, when Edward succeeded his father Edward IV, and 5 May, when Richard assumed the Regency. Sir Charles Oman did, I am aware, suggest that all Edward coins with the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark on both sides were minted between 9 April and 5 May 1483, and that the Queen Dowager and the Lords of the Council, in anticipation of Richard's *coup d'état*, "hurried on the engraving of new dies, in order to show the name and title of the boy-king to the nation, by way of propaganda"—to quote Oman's exact words.

I for one wholly repudiate such a specious theory as that, and it is

no necessary corollary at all to the view that the dimidiated rose and sun was definitely an Edward V initial mark.

Professor Oman's theory, just referred to, is an entirely unnecessary millstone to hang round one's neck, and a striking instance of attempting to make facts fit in with somewhat bizarre, but ingenious, theory, which is obviously to be deprecated. To support a view of that kind would certainly be to deserve a touch of that ridicule which my famous namesake Matthew Arnold on one occasion bestowed upon his old university of Oxford when he described Oxford as being the home of lost causes, forsaken beliefs, and impossible loyalties.

I pass now to quite a different point. Mr. Blunt, at p. 214 of *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xxii, after referring to the previously mentioned figures of 434 lb. of silver and 49 lb. by weight of gold minted in Edward V's reign, proceeds to say: "some idea of how small the issue was can be obtained by comparing it with the average annual output since Edward IV's restoration in 1471, namely, 6,800 lb. of silver and 1,750 lb. of gold."

Is not this in itself a boomerang argument and one which tells, in reality, strongly in favour of the assignment of dimidiated rose and sun initial mark Edward coins to Edward V and not to Edward IV?

How long before Edward IV's death is it suggested that the dimidiated rose and sun superseded the cinquefoil initial mark—which was ordinarily, previously, regarded as his very last initial mark?

Unless it was in almost the very last few days of his reign—rather a tall supposition—it is difficult, not to say impossible, to account for the very great rarity of Edward dimidiated rose and sun initial mark coins when we are now told that the average annual silver coinage output in Edward IV's reign was the very considerable figure of 6,800 lb. in weight and 1,750 lb. in weight in gold.

How can one possibly, for example, reconcile this fact with the undoubted fact that the coins with this initial mark are so excessively rare that only two Edward dimidiated rose and sun initial mark pennies have come down to us and only about six halfpence?

Surely, here, we have an argument of the new school which is inherently and self-evidently inconsistent, unless it contends also that, perhaps, Edward IV died about twenty-four hours after his institution of the dimidiated rose and sun initial mark.

Finally we are told by the new school that the so-called supporting evidence of "die-links" is most convincing. The constant invocation and iteration of the phrase "die-links", as though there were some special wholly one-sided magic virtue in it, is—perhaps I may be forgiven for suggesting it—reminiscent of the dear old lady who was heard to declare that she found something exceedingly soothing and comforting in hearing the word "Mesopotamia".

I fear that I have no space to do justice to the detailed arguments of the new school, based upon so-called "die-links".

I can only in general answer to these last-mentioned arguments, but lest I should be accused of wholly ignoring them, which would

be foolish, I will in conclusion, by way of general answer, refer to them by quoting Mr. L. A. Lawrence—manifestly a far greater authority than I can possibly ever hope or pretend to be—where, in his note of reply to Mr. Blunt's paper of 1936, previously mentioned, he pointed out the inconclusive and necessarily ambiguous, and sometimes actually misleading character of certain coinage "die-link", arguments, since one has to recognize the fact of the notorious and well-known existence of what he terms "two-way mules".

And I have yet to hear or read any remarks or written note of any advocate of the new school dealing with the pellet under the bust, a link which appears on most but not all of the groats of Richard III and of Edward—I was about to say Edward V—but that would, of course, be begging the whole question. This awkward hurdle is usually conveniently by-passed by the new school.

On a specimen in my collection the pellet is quite clear and definite, and there is no boar's head initial mark upon it—only the rose and sun dimidiated. On another the lower portion of the bust is somewhat blurred, and one cannot say whether there was a pellet on it or not. On my two remaining Edward groats, each with a boar's head on, there is unfortunately similar blurring, so that one cannot speak confidently about their having had pellets on them or not originally. But my authority for stating that most Richard III groats and Edward V groats, as Dr. Brooke terms the latter, have pellets under the bust is Dr. Brooke himself, and Montagu enumerates the Edward groats as having pellets on in some cases but not in others.

I know for a fact that the late Mr. S. M. Spink considered that a pellet under the bust of an Edward groat, but without a boar's head on, was deemed to constitute a sort of link with Richard III. Certainly, so far as it goes, this die-link is, I submit, strongly adverse to the contentions of the new school.

THE COINAGE OF HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI IN HENRY'S NAME (*continued*)

By C. A. WHITTON

(c) CROWNS: SECOND COINAGE, 1526-44 (PI. VIII)

THE decision in 1526 to make gold coins of 22 ct. was destined to become historic. It was forced on Henry by the competition of foreign gold which had been current in this country since Chaucer's day and no doubt earlier. In Henry's time these rival pieces were chiefly French crowns and Spanish ducats. His first answer to them was the Crown of the Rose of 23 ct. valued at 4s. 6*d.*, which failed, but the Crown of the Double Rose of 22 ct. valued at 5s. was completely successful. The new coin was to play an important part in the evolution of our gold coinage and in the final supersession of the old angel and noble.

The illustrations of these coins (PI. VIII) based on Brooke's arrangement of them almost explain themselves. I have purposely displayed the obverse and reverse of the Crown of the Rose to show that this coin virtually corresponds in both type and legend with the Crown of the Double Rose, save that in the latter the king's name is omitted on the shield side. This is why the shield side, the obverse on the Crown of the Rose, came to be called the reverse on the Crown of the Double Rose. It was perhaps intended that on both coins the shield side, as on the French prototype, should remain the obverse, for Chaucer's Merchant knew the French coins as "shields",¹ though they were later called crowns—*écus à la couronne* and so *couronnes*. In modern times, therefore, not surprisingly, confusion has crept into the printed descriptions of the Crown of the Double Rose, and has been increased by Kenyon's differentiating between the crown and half-crown, because on the latter the king's name is transferred to the shield side. A safe and simple guide is to assume with Brooke and Ruding that on all these coins, crowns and half-crowns alike, the obverse type is the rose and the reverse the shield, but that one coin, the rare Crown of the Rose, is irregular.

One feature both crowns and half-crowns of this period have in common: all have the base of the crown over rose or shield decorated with three ornamental leaves. Later crowns and half-crowns show much variety in this respect.

Crown of the Rose

The story of the two known specimens will be found in *Brit. Num. Journ.* iv. 155, and *Num. Chron.*, 1921, p. 102. One is in the British Museum and one belongs to the American Numismatic Society. Novel features for English coins are the Arabic 8 after the King's name and the Roman letters, the latter doubtless copied from the rival coin and prototype of François I.

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, l. 278.

The elegant Lombardic H was retained, however, on one side of the English specimen and on both sides of the coin in New York. The stops are saltires.

Crown of the Double Rose

The initial marks known are four ; Rose, Lis, Arrow, and Pheon. At all periods the legends show unimportant variations ; the stops are always saltires.

I.m. Rose. Early coins show mixed Roman and Lombardic letters, later ones only Lombardic. These Roman letters, recalling those of the Crown of the Rose, help to establish the sequence of the coins (PI. VIII, 2-5). The initials HK, of Henry and Katherine of Aragon, are placed on the obverse only, beside the Rose. A mule occurs with obverse Rose, reverse Lis, and HK on both sides (PI. VIII, 6).

I.m. Lis. Some coins show an occasional Roman N in the legend (PI. VIII, 7, 8). All coins show HK on both sides, now struck from new and smaller puncheons. The aforementioned mule with obverse Rose is the only one known.

I.m. Arrow. The barbed form of the initial mark found on some early Arrow groats does not appear, but one obverse die shows the Arrow struck over the Lis (PI. VIII, 10). Lombardic lettering appears on all coins.

The initials of the king and three different queens (HK, HA, HI) appear in turn on both sides of these coins and, finally, those (HR) of Henry alone. The Arrow period can thus be approximately dated. Katherine of Aragon's divorce was finally pronounced in 1533. Since her initials on Arrow-marked coins are scarce, the mark probably began in about that year. The initials HA show that the Arrow was still in vogue in 1533-6, when Anne Boleyn shared the throne. Next, the initials HI show that the Arrow period lasted until 1536-7 when Jane Seymour was queen. The last Arrow coins show HR only.

There has in the past been some controversy as to which Katherine the initials HK denote. Brooke no doubt eventually accepted the view expressed by Mr. L. A. Lawrence¹ that both on Irish groats and English crowns the various initials, HK, HA, HI, represent the same persons, Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, and Jane Seymour, and that the coins with HR are the latest. Henry Symonds at one time held the view² that Irish groats with HR denoted the various consortless periods in Henry's life. This opinion was exploded by Brooke on the evidence of the coins,³ and history certainly supports Brooke and Mr. Lawrence. The divorce of Katherine of Aragon and the death of Anne Boleyn were alike premeditated by Henry and their dates known in advance, and the alacrity with which the initials of each were replaced by those of her successor perhaps reflects some of the triumphant satisfaction Henry is known to have displayed upon ridding himself of each of these wives in turn. But Jane Seymour's death,

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxi. 89.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1915, p. 192.

³ *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 260.

twelve days after the birth of her son, the future Edward VI, was as unexpected as it was untimely, so that Henry, with no immediate consort in view, not unnaturally placed on the coins his own initials HR, and perhaps the sobering presence of the initials of Katherine and Anne on so many of his coins induced him to regularize the practice.

There are no mules between Arrow-marked crowns and any others, but within the period of the mark muling is frequent; the following examples occur all of which save one Brooke has already recorded:

obv. HK, *rev.* HA

obv. HA, *rev.* HR (unpublished)

obv. HA, *rev.* HK

obv. HR, *rev.* HI

obv. HK, *rev.* HI

It may be added that the initial K resembles R and has often been so misdescribed, and vice versa. However, the new mule with *obv.* HA, *rev.* HR shows the letters clearly; it was discovered too late for inclusion in the plates and is illustrated below (Fig. 1). It belongs to Mr. R. C. Lockett.



FIG. 1

I.m. Pheon. This rare crown shows the *Hib Rex* title of the Base Coinage. There is one specimen in the British Museum and one in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Pl. VIII, 18). The coin corresponds to the profile groat with i.m. Pheon and the *Hib Rex* title, but no Pheon-marked crown is known with the title *Dominus Hibernie*. A more notable absentee is a crown with i.m. Sunburst. If, as I suppose, this mark was used between two Lis periods, then a Sunburst crown, if struck, would have borne the initials HK; if it was used subsequent to the Arrow, which the sovereigns render unlikely, it would have shown the initials HR.

CROWNS, BASE COINAGE, 1544-7 (Pl. IX, 1-7)

The crowns of this period are substantially as Brooke has listed them. All have obverse type rose, reverse shield. They show on the base of the crown a different ornamentation from the crowns of the Second Coinage. Instead of the three ornamental leaves they have one leaf flanked by two fleurs-de-lis. As we shall see, this design persisted into the reign of Edward VI but later underwent a further change.

The coins show the following varieties:

TOWER	SOUTHWARK		
<i>I.m. Annulet-with-pellet</i>	<i>I.m. S</i>	<i>I.m. Ⓔ</i> (Lombardic)	<i>I.m. E</i> (Roman)
Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. IX, 1).	Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. IX, 5).	Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. IX, 6).	Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. IX, 7, obv.).
Lombardic letters, sleeve stops (Pl. IX, 4).	—	—	—
—	Roman letters, saltire stops (Pl. IX, 7, rev.).	—	—

The series is much more fragmentary than the half-sovereigns and only the Annulet-with-pellet is common enough to show a sequence of letters or stops. The Lis mark is absent, but a new mark Roman E, unknown on other gold of Henry's lifetime, appears on crowns.

Both lettering and stops vary considerably, but the coins with i.m. Annulet-with-pellet, Lombardic letters, and trefoil stops are the most numerous. This perhaps furthers the suggestion already made that this mark was issued throughout the coinage from a separate workshop; not only is the series longer than the others but the workmanship shows the customary stages of deterioration. This strengthens the view that the better coins are those of the Fifth Coinage of 1545 and the others, including the Southwark coins and perhaps coinciding with the omission of *Rutilans*, are of the Sixth Coinage of 1546.

TOWER

I.m. Annulet-with-pellet. As with the half-sovereigns some coins are of neater work and show a small initial mark; these are probably early and perhaps of 22 ct. (Pl. IX, 1). Other coins, of coarser work, show a larger initial mark and are probably later. Some of them omit the word *Rutilans*, including a variety with an annulet on the inner circle usually in the "10 o'clock" position (Pl. IX, 2). It seems more convenient to regard the omission of *Rutilans* as a variant rather than forming a major division of the coins into Brooke's classes I and II, since the corresponding half-crowns cannot accurately be placed in these classes. The fact is that all crowns of Henry's lifetime, save the earlier ones with i.m. Annulet-with-pellet, omit *Rutilans*, but that crowns struck in his name after his death restore the word. Brooke records an Arrow-marked crown struck by Edward VI omitting *Rutilans*, but it is not in the British Museum nor can I find any record of it elsewhere. The half-crowns of both reigns, on the other hand, all show the word *Rutilans* save the coin with i.m. Ⓔ which is unusual in transferring the king's name to the obverse which reads *Henric 8 Rosa*, &c., while the reverse begins *Dei Gra*, &c.

A curious crown with i.m. Annulet-with-pellet is recorded in the Bruun sale (559, also Roth i. 258), omitting the king's name and show-

ing *Dei Gra*, &c., on both sides. This suggests that we have here a mule with a variety having i.m. Annulet-with-pellet and the legends transposed; this is unrecorded as a true coin. The only mule with another mark is that already noted with obverse i.m. Arrow and ER in the field.

SOUTHWARK

I.m. S. These coins are rare. A piece unrecorded by Brooke is in the Ashmolean Museum and has Lombardic letters with trefoil stops and the initial mark plainly shown on both sides (Pl. IX, 5). The only die hitherto published, a reverse (muled with obverse E), has mostly Roman letters and trefoil stops. The obverse with i.m. S omits *Rutilans*.

I.m. E. The mark is normally found on both sides (Pl. IX, 6), but a coin is recorded with i.m. E on obverse only. The lettering is Lombardic and I have found only trefoil stops, but the coin should exist with sleeve stops also. All obverse dies omit *Rutilans*.

The only mule with another mark is the rare piece of Edward VI and ER in the field with obverse i.m. Arrow. This is described later (Pl. IX, 10).

I.m. E. This mark is also rare and is found on obverse dies only, muled with reverse i.m. E and also reverse i.m. S (Pl. IX, 7). The letters are Lombardic and the stops trefoils. The legend omits *Rutilans*. The i.m. E was used again in Edward VI's reign.

The Bristol crowns may be here mentioned, though they receive fuller treatment elsewhere. Most of them show the distinctive Bristol lettering, but some have the Lombardic letters and trefoil stops of the London coins which are probably therefore roughly contemporary with them. The Bristol mint opened in April 1546.

CROWNS WITH INITIAL MARKS OF EDWARD VI, 1547-51 (Pl. IX, 8-14)

I propose to depart from Brooke and divide the coins to correspond with the half-sovereigns and his own division of the groats as follows:

TOWER. Coins with i.m.s Arrow, K, Grapple, Martlet (i.m. Lis not known).

SOUTHWARK. Coins with i.m. E.

Once more the design of the crown above rose or shield shows some innovation. Reference to Plate IX will reveal that the earlier crowns with i.m. Arrow (including those bearing Edward's name) have the old design of the central leaf flanked by two fleurs-de-lis, but on late Arrow crowns and most other coins the central leaf is replaced by a cross patty. On the coin with i.m. Martlet, however, the engraver reverted to the old design. The variation found on the coins with i.m. Arrow—and it is repeated on the half-crowns—bears out the previous suggestion that this mark persisted side by side with other marks.

The Southwark coin with i.m. E was not recorded by Brooke but appeared in the Montagu sale, ii. 740; and another specimen has recently been discovered by Mr. Albert Baldwin. All coins save those with Arrow are rare. The British Museum has no specimen with either K or Grapple, nor, as I have said, any coin omitting the word *Rutilans*. On the other hand, the crown which Brooke assigns to his group III, having ER in the obverse field (**Pl. IX, 10**), is clearly a mule having an obverse of the issue bearing Edward's own name with a reverse of Henry VIII with i.m. Annulet-with-pellet, and is scarcely proper to form a distinct group. Neither side shows the king's actual name but the initials ER are conclusive.

TOWER

I.m. Arrow. The initial mark is found on both sides or on obverse only. The stops are at first lozenges, but on late coins pellets, and the legends normal save on one of these late pieces where they are transposed and show the king's name (omitting his numeral) on the shield-marked reverse (**Pl. IX, 9**). Included in this period are the rare crowns with Edward's name and ER in the field. The true coin, which may be unique, has lozenge stops and also the king's name transferred to the reverse, and so now becomes uniform with the half-crowns. This is why the mule just mentioned with a reverse of Henry's having i.m. Annulet-with-pellet does not show the king's name at all.

I.m. K. The initial mark is found on the reverse only; the stops are lozenges. The coins are of finer work than the rest of the crowns. Two specimens are recorded, one in Mr. Lockett's collection (**Pl. IX, 11**), the other belonging to Mr. H. Hird. The coins show the same reverse die but different obverse dies.

I.m. Grapple. The initial mark is clear on the obverse but the reverse is obscure; the stops are pellets. The coin shown (**Pl. IX, 12**) is from a cast in the British Museum of what may be a unique specimen. It reads *D G*; other crowns of the period read *D GR*.

I.m. Martlet. The initial mark is found on both sides and the stops are pellets (**Pl. IX, 13**). The coins are rare.

SOUTHWARK

I.m. E. There are apparently two varieties, both unrecorded by Brooke. One, noted in Montagu ii. 740 (Bruun 599 may be the same coin), has i.m. E on obverse only, lozenge stops, and the legends normal with obverse reading *Henric 8 Rutilans* [sic], &c. The other has the i.m. E on both sides but the legends transposed (**Pl. IX, 14**), with obverse reading *Di Gra*, &c., and reverse reading *Henric 8 Rutilans Rosa (Sine) Spi*. The stops on this coin are square pellets, so that it is perhaps the later of the two varieties. We have just noticed a parallel transposition on late crowns with i.m. Arrow, so that this is perhaps additional evidence of the continuity of these two marks.

HALF-CROWNS

SECOND COINAGE, 1526-44 (Pl. IX, 15, 16 ; Pl. X, 1-7)

The half-crowns are less numerous and less complete than the crowns from which they also show sundry divergences in detail. For the king's numeral an Arabic 8 is used, and the initials in the field are not crowned. The principal change, however, is the transference of the king's name from the obverse to the shield-marked reverse, which led Kenyon to form his unworkable plan of transposing these terms. I have here conformed to Brooke's use of them. The stops are still saltires.

I.m. Rose. The coins include a variety unknown among the crowns ; it omits the initials in the field on both sides and shows *Rex* in full. The design of the inner rose is also different. Normal coins follow the crowns in showing HK beside the rose on obverse. The earliest coins again show some Roman letters and again read *Rex*, perhaps an old die, with HK added, and Pl. IX, 15 and 16 show a common reverse die of this type combined with two different obverses, with and without initials. A mule occurs with reverse i.m. Lis, usually struck over i.m. Rose with HK added to the die.

I.m. Lis. As with the crowns the coins occasionally show Roman N (Pl. X, 2), but usually only Lombardic letters. The initials HK now appear on both sides. The only mule is that with obverse i.m. Rose (Pl. X, 1).

I.m. Arrow. The coins show HK (unrecorded by Brooke) or HI in both fields, some dies showing the letter I flanked by pellets. No mules occur. On the coin with HK the reverse i.m. Arrow is struck over Lis from the same die as that of a true Lis coin (Pl. X, 3 and 4). The initials HA are not known on a half-crown.

I.m. Pheon. The initials HR appear on this rare coin which shows the *Hib Rex* title (Pl. X, 7). This is the only half-crown with these initials or with this mint mark, for no Pheon-marked coins are known reading *Dominus Hibernie*. Their absence, and that of any half-crowns with i.m. Sunburst, may be regarded as cumulative evidence that neither crowns nor half-crowns with these marks were struck.

THIRD COINAGE, 1544-7 (Pl. X, 8-14)

The half-crowns of this coinage form similar divisions to the crowns, those with the marks of Henry VIII and those with the marks of Edward VI. All coins have obverse type rose, reverse shield.

Half-crowns with the Initial Marks of Henry VIII

All half-crowns coined before the death of Henry VIII show the crown above the rose or shield decorated, so far as can be seen (Pl. X), with a central ornamental leaf flanked by two fleurs-de-lis. The following coins occur :

TOWER	SOUTHWARK	
<i>Annulet-with-pellet</i>	<i>I.m. S</i>	<i>I.m. &</i>
Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. X, 8).	Lombardic letters, trefoil stops. Roman letters, trefoil stops (Pl. X, 13).	Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. X, 14).
Mixed Roman and Lombardic letters, trefoil stops.	—	—
Lombardic letters, saltire stops. (Pl. X, 9, rev.).	—	—
Lombardic letters, sleeve stops. (Pl. X, 10, rev.).	—	—
Roman letters, lozenge stops (Edw. VI, Pl. X, 12).	—	—

Once more some division of the mint is indicated and again the most complete series is that with Annulet-with-pellet; it includes also the variety with an annulet on the inner circle, though none which omits *Rutilans*. The only coin which omits this word is the Southwark coin with i.m. & which also shows the king's name transferred to the obverse (Pl. X, 14). The only mule recorded is one with obverse Annulet-with-pellet and a reverse of Edward VI's time, with i.m. Arrow and HR in the field (Pl. X, 15). The coin with i.m. Annulet-with-pellet and lozenge stops was probably struck under Edward VI.

I have seen no Bristol half-crowns with the London lettering.

TOWER

I.m. Annulet-with-pellet. The variants are shown in the above table. Once more the neater coins show a small initial mark and are perhaps of 22 ct. (Pl. X, 8). Of the coarser coins some with an Annulet on the inner circle (Pl. X, 11), in one case apparently an Annulet-with-pellet, have the usual trefoil stops. The coins with Roman letters and lozenge stops were probably struck in Edward's reign.

SOUTHWARK

I.m. S. Most of these rare coins have Roman letters (Pl. X, 13), including the ornamental H found on some early half-sovereigns with this mark, but a coin in the Ashmolean Museum has Lombardic letters both sides and the usual trefoil stops.

I.m. &. These coins, also rare, are unusual in showing the king's name transferred to the obverse and *Rutilans* omitted (Pl. X, 14). As with the crowns the sleeve stops one would look for with i.m. & are not yet recorded.

Half-crowns with Initial Marks of Edward VI, 1547-51
(Pl. X, 15-22)

Reference to Plate X will show that the design of the crown above rose or shield is in the main the same for both crowns and half-crowns, i.e. on late coins the cross patty replaces the central ornamental leaf. One coin, with i.m. Arrow inverted (Pl. X, 17), is anomalous; the crown over the rose on the obverse omits the two fleurs-de-lis.

The known groups and marks are the same as those of the crowns. Once more i.m. Lis is absent, and this is perhaps additional evidence that Lis is the latest mark of the series, i.e. that this type of crown and half-crown was abandoned before the Lis period began. As with the half-sovereigns a mule with obverse Annulet-with-pellet, reverse Arrow, again shows the affinity between the two marks. There are some vagaries in the legends of the half-crowns which are noted below. All the known marks are represented in the National Collection. The word *Rutilans* is apparently never omitted.

TOWER

I.m. Arrow. The mark is found on both sides or on reverse only. The stops are normally lozenges or round pellets, but saltires appear on a coin showing, like certain groats, i.m. Arrow inverted, and like them the monogram E for Z (Pl. X, 17). Although the lettering is Roman, yet Lombardic H is preferred to adorn the field. On some coins the legends show divergence from the normal, one coin omitting the king's numeral and another showing the word *Rutilans* on both sides, the reverse beginning *H D G* (Pl. X, 16). One normal reverse die is muled with an obverse showing i.m. Annulet-with-pellet (Pl. X, 15). A cast of a coin at the British Museum shows rather unexpectedly the query-shaped abbreviation mark after the king's name when it is normally a comma.

Included in this period are the rare coins in Edward's name (on the shield marked reverse) which like the crowns and half-sovereigns were struck simultaneously with those in Henry's name (Pl. X, 18).

I.m. K. The initial mark, extremely rare, is on reverse only and the stops lozenges. Lombardic H appears in the field (Pl. X, 19).

I.m. Grapple. The initial mark, also rare, is on obverse only, the stops pellets, and Roman H appears in the field (Pl. X, 20).

I.m. Martlet. The initial mark, a rare one, is on both sides; the stops pellets or none. Roman H appears in the field (Pl. X, 21).

SOUTHWARK

I.m. E. The initial mark is on obverse or reverse; the stops on early coins are lozenges, on late, round pellets. In the field both Roman and Lombardic H are found (Pl. X, 22). The coins are rare.

LISTS

SECOND COINAGE (1526-44). All coins have saltire stops

CROWN OF THE ROSE; i.m. Rose; wt. $53\frac{409}{127}$ grs.; 23 ct.; value 4s. 6d. (Pl. VIII, 1); mainly Roman letters.

Obv. Shield crowned; *Henric 8 Dei Gra Rex Agl Z Fra' C'.*

Rev. Rose on cross, H and lion¹ in angles; *Henric Rutilans Rosa Sine Spina.*

CROWN OF THE DOUBLE ROSE; wt. $57\frac{21}{87}$ grs.; 22 ct.; value 5s.

Obv. Rose; *Henric VIII Rutilans Rosa Si(n)e Spina (Spia, Spi).*

Rev. Shield; *Dei G R Aglie (Agl) Franc (e) Dns Hibernie (Hiberni, Hiberie).*

Initials in field crowned, on obverse or on both sides.

(i) I.m. Rose; HK on obverse only; variant: mixed Roman and Lombardic letters (Pl. VIII, 2-5).

(ii) Mule; *Obv.* i.m. Rose, *rev.* i.m. Lis; HK both sides (Pl. VIII, 6).

(iii) I.m. Lis; HK both sides; variant: Roman N in legend (Pl. VIII, 7-9).

(iv) I.m. Arrow; variants:

1. HK both sides (sometimes with *obv.* i.m. Arrow over Lis (Pl. VIII, 10).

2. *Obv.* HK, *rev.* HA (Pl. VIII, 11).

3. *Obv.* HA, *rev.* HK (Pl. VIII, 12).

4. HA both sides (Pl. VIII, 13).

5. *Obv.* HK, *rev.* HI (Pl. VIII, 14).

6. HI both sides (Pl. VIII, 15).

7. *Obv.* HA, *rev.* HR (see p.).

8. *Obv.* HR, *rev.* HI (Pl. VIII, 16).

9. HR both sides (Pl. VIII, 17).

(v) I.m. Pheon; HR both sides.

Obv. *Henric 8 Rutilans Rosa Sie Spin.*

Rev. *Dei G Aglie Franc Z Hiberie (Hiberei) Rex* (Pl. VIII, 18).

BASE COINAGE (1544-51)

CROWNS. Wt. 48 grs.; 22 or 20 ct.; value 5s. Obverse type, rose, reverse type, shield; each with hR or HR on either side. Normal legends. (Lombardic lettering.)

Obv. *Henric 8 (Rutilans) Rosa Sine Spina (Spine)* (seldom in full).

Rev. *Dei (Di, D) Gra (G) Agl (I) Fra (nc) Z (Et) Hib (Hiber) Rex.*

TOWER, *Henry VIII.* I.m. Annulet-with-pellet, Lombardic letters; stops, trefoils (Pl. IX, 1-3) or sleeves (Pl. IX, 4); one reverse die used as a mule with Edward VI with ER in the field (Pl. IX, 10). Variants:

1. *Rutilans* omitted (Pl. IX, 3).

2. " " but Annulet on inner circle (Pl. IX, 2).

3. Roman H in field (Pl. IX, 1).

TOWER, *Edward VI.* First Coinage (1547-51); as the last crowns of Henry VIII, but also of 20 ct., with Roman letters, and all normally reading *Rutilans*; HR in field on both sides.

I.m. Arrow (both sides or on *obv.* only); stops, lozenges or pellets (Pl. IX, 8); variants:

1. Coins in Edward's name and ER in field; *obv.* *Rutilans*, &c. (Pl. IX, 10 *obv.*); *rev.* *Edward 6 D G Ag Fr Z Hib Rex* (Murdoch i. 458), also muled with *rev.* i.m. Annulet-with-pellet (see above).

2. Legends transposed, *obv.* (rose) *Dei Gra Agl Fra Z Hib Rex*, *rev.* (shield) *Henric D G Rutilans Rosa Sine Spi* (Pl. IX, 9, with omission of King's numeral).

3. Normal legends, but *Rutilans* omitted (so Brooke, p. 187, but no such coin or cast in B.M.).

I.m. K (*rev.* only); lozenge stops (Pl. IX, 11; Mr. R. C. Lockett).

¹ Through a slip Brooke's first edition says "lis".

I.m. Grapple (on obv. and perhaps rev.), *D G*, stops, round pellets (**Pl. IX, 12**, from a cast at B.M.).

I.m. Martlet both sides; stops, round pellets (**Pl. IX, 13**).

SOUTHWARK, *Henry VIII*

1. I.m. S; trefoil stops (**Pl. IX, 5**); one rev. die has Roman letters and saltire stops (**Pl. IX, 7**).
2. I.m. \mathfrak{A} both sides or on obv. only, trefoil stops (**Pl. IX, 6**).
3. I.m. *obv.* E, trefoil stops, *rev.* S, saltire stops (**Pl. IX, 7**).
4. I.m. *obv.* E, *rev.* \mathfrak{A} trefoil stops (Murdoch i. 432; Ready 543).

SOUTHWARK, *Edward VI*

1. I.m. E on obv. only; *Henric 8 Rutils* [sic], &c. (Montagu ii. 740).
2. I.m. E both sides, legends transposed, *obv.* *Dei Gra*, &c., *rev.* *Henric 8 Rutilans Rosa* (*Sine*) *Spī*; square pellet stops (Mr. A. H. F. Baldwin, **Pl. IX, 14**).

HALF-CROWNS

SECOND COINAGE (1526-44). All coins have saltire stops.

Wt. $28\frac{4}{7}$ grs.; 22 ct.; value 2s. 6d. Normally Lombardic letters.

Obv. Rose; *Rutilans Rosa Sine Spina* (*Spia*).

Rev. Shield; *Henric 8 Di Gra* (*Di G*, *D Gra*) *Rex* (*R*) *Agl Z Fra* (*Franc*, *France*, *Fr*, *F*).

Initials in field uncrowned.

- (i) I.m. Rose; variants:
 1. No initials in field, mixed Roman and Lombardic letters; *Rex* (**Pl. IX, 15**).
 2. HK on obv. only, either mixed Roman and Lombardic letters (**Pl. IX, 16**, same rev. die as **Pl. IX, 15**), or all Lombardic letters.
- (ii) Mule; *obv.* Rose, *rev.* Lis (over Rose); HK both sides (**Pl. X, 1**).
- (iii) I.m. Lis; HK both sides (**Pl. X, 3**); variant: Roman N (**Pl. X, 2**).
- (iv) I.m. Arrow; variants:
 1. HK both sides (**Pl. X, 4**, *ex* Rashleigh 796, *rev.* Arrow over Lis, same rev. die as **Pl. X, 3**).
 2. HI both sides, some with pellet before and after the letter I (**Pl. X, 5, 6**).
- (v) I.m. Pheon; HR both sides; *obv.* *Rutilans Rosa Sine Spina*, *rev.* *Henric 8 D G Agl F Z Hib Rex* (**Pl. X, 7**).

BASE COINAGE (1544-51). Wt., 24 grs.; 22 or 20 ct.; value 2s. 6d.

Obverse type, rose, reverse type, shield, with hR or HR on either side, with legends normally (Lombardic or Roman letters).

Obv. *Rutilans Rosa Sine Spina* (abbreviated).

Rev. *Henric 8 D G Agl Fr Z Hib Rex*.

TOWER, *Henry VIII*. I.m. Annulet-with-pellet (both sides or on obv. only); variants:

1. Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (**Pl. X, 8**); variant: Annulet or Annulet-with-pellet on inner circle in "10 o'clock" position (**Pl. X, 11**).
2. Lombardic or mixed letters, saltire (**Pl. X, 9**) or sleeve stops (**Pl. X, 10**).
3. Lombardic letters; *obv.* Crowned rose, *Dei Gra*, &c.; hR by rose; *rev.* Crowned shield, *Dei Gra*, &c.; HR by shield (Roth i. 258; Bruun 559).
4. Roman letters, trefoil or (Edward VI) lozenge stops (CG for DG, **Pl. X, 12**).

TOWER, *Edward VI*. First Coinage (1547-51), as the last coins of Henry but all of 20 ct. and with Roman letters; legends as on Henry's coins.

Mule: *Obv.* Annulet-with-pellet, *rev.* Arrow; Roman letters and lozenge stops on both sides (**Pl. X, 15**).

I.m. Arrow (both sides or on rev. only), stops saltires, lozenges, or round pellets; hR in field. Variants:

1. ER in field both sides, lozenge stops; *rev.* legend reads *Edward 6 D G Ag Fr Z Hi Rex* (**Pl. X, 18**).

2. I.m. Arrow inverted, saltire stops Spinis, and monogram *Ʒ* for *Z* (Pl. X, 17).
The mark is found also muled with the normal Arrow.
 3. Rev. legend *H D G Rutilans Rosa Sine Sp.* HR in field; pellet stops (Pl. X, 16).
 4. Rev. legend (*Henric D G Ag Fr*, &c. (omitting numeral)).
 5. Rev. showing *E* over *h* in field (B.M.).
- I.m. *K* (obv. only); stops, lozenges, *hR* in field (Pl. X, 19).
I.m. Grapple (obv. only); stops, lozenges; HR in field (Pl. X, 20).
I.m. Martlet (both sides); stops, pellets; HR in field (Pl. X, 21).

SOUTHWARK, *Henry VIII*

1. I.m. *S* (both sides); Lombardic or Roman letters, trefoil stops (Pl. X, 13).
2. I.m. *Ʒ* (both sides); Lombardic letters; trefoil stops; legends, with *Rutilans* omitted, *obv. Henric 8 Rosa Sine Spin*; *rev. Dei Gra Agl Fra Z Hib Rex* (Pl. X, 14).

SOUTHWARK, *Edward VI*. I.m. *E* (either side or both); stops, lozenges or round pellets; *hR* or *HR* in field (Pl. X, 22).

(d) ANGELS AND HALF-ANGELS; GEORGE NOBLES AND HALF-NOBLE
(Pls. XI, XII)

First Coinage

A notable feature of this coinage is the fewness of the initial marks. Only three marks occur, the Pheon, the Castle, and the Portcullis. In this respect Henry VIII continued the practice of his father, in whose last nine years likewise virtually only two marks were used, the Crosslet and the same Pheon. Indeed, their very fewness suggests that they are not merely periodic marks, and perhaps foreshadows the practice which we have seen from the half-sovereigns was later adopted, that of associating these marks with various personages.

The vogue of the Pheon soon came to an end and Henry VIII's Pheon-marked angels, like the corresponding groats, are rare; there are two in the British Museum, as against thirty-four with i.m. Castle and twenty-five with i.m. Portcullis.¹ Indeed, these last two marks are very common, and such angels were coined in abundance for there was as yet no cloud on Henry's economic horizon. The Castle and Portcullis are perhaps little more than royal compliments. If Evans is right in associating the Castle with the Tower of Castile,² it may be that this mark was adopted to celebrate the king's marriage, in June 1509, with Katherine of Aragon and Castile. The Portcullis was adopted, as we shall see from the silver, probably shortly after the capture of Tournai in 1513; it was, of course, the badge of the king's Beaufort grandmother and had now become a Tudor emblem by adoption.

ANGELS

I.m. Pheon. The notable difference in these coins from their Pheon-marked predecessors is that they read *Henric VIII* (Pl. XI, 1). The Pheon-marked angels of Henry VII omit the king's numeral. On his

¹ But the Portcullis is probably the commoner mark.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 121.

son's coins this now appears as viij, with pellets between the digits. The only variation that occurs is in the legend which ends *FR* or *F*.

I.m. Castle. The variation on these coins is more extensive. The legends differ slightly and the king's numeral shows sometimes viij and sometimes viii, which was finally adopted. Pellets may again appear between the digits.

But the principal variation occurs in the i.m. Castle itself; the following differences are known:

1. Castle unadorned (**Pl. XI, 3**).
2. A pellet before the Castle on obverse or reverse or both (**Pl. XI, 2**).
3. Castle between saltires (**Pl. XI, 4, rev.**).
4. Castle flanked by towers ("Castle with H", **Pl. XI, 4, obv.**).

Muling between these varieties is extensive. A perhaps unfinished die omits the H and rose on the reverse.

The initial mark "Castle with H" is quite possibly a characteristic Renaissance "conceit". Close examination shows that this Castle (**Pl. XI, 4, obv.**) has a much broader central tower (in every case) than the plain i.m. Castle (**Pl. XI, 4, rev.**). There is no question therefore of an old puncheon being refurbished; it is entirely new. Unworn examples reveal the flanking towers with windows and ornamental stonework. There can be little doubt that the towers were, in compliment to the king, deliberately designed to resemble his initial H and its blending with the Castle itself was felt to be a happy and appropriate reference to his marriage. For the king was immensely popular and there was as yet no shadow on his domestic happiness.

I.m. Portcullis. Of the twenty-five specimens at the Museum sixteen show the mark unadorned and on nine a saltire is placed before it on the obverse. Other known variants are the omission of the chains, the absence of a distinct rudder on the ship, and on one die the omission, probably accidental, of the rose beside the cross on the reverse (**Pl. XI, 7**).

ANGELETS

These coins, in later issues called half-angels, show no pieces with i.m. Pheon, but both Castle and Portcullis are known.

I.m. Castle. Of the eight specimens at the British Museum six show the mark unadorned on both sides, and of these four omit the king's numeral (**Pl. XII, 1**), the others showing viij (units undotted); one shows a pellet before the obverse i.m. and the numeral viij (units dotted, **Pl. XII, 2**); one shows the Castle with Towers ("Castle with H") between saltires on both sides and the numeral viij, with pellets between the digits (**Pl. XII, 4**).

I.m. Portcullis. There are nine specimens at the British Museum. All show the chains on the portcullis, but one omits the king's numeral (**Pl. XII, 6**), which on the others is viii (with or without dots on the units). But the most interesting coin is one muled with a reverse die of Henry VII showing i.m. Rose and rosette stops (**Pl. XII, 5, ex**

Hazlitt 1063). This is the only known instance of muling in London coins of the First Coinage of Henry VIII. On dies omitting the numeral the abbreviation mark after the king's name is a comma instead of the normal query mark. At least one die shows no abbreviation mark.

The Second Coinage

ANGELS

Angels of this coinage are distinctly rare, to the student disappointingly so, for they contribute little to his knowledge. Only two initial marks are recorded, Sunburst and Lis.¹ The coin with i.m. Sunburst is in the British Museum and may be unique; it came from the Houghton (Cambs.) find, in 1877 (*Num. Chron.*, N.S. xvii. 163). One coin at the Museum shows the Lis on obverse struck over another mark now obscure. This may be the Sunburst, since Lis was probably used both immediately after and before the Sunburst and the lettering too suggests this. Otherwise it might possibly have been the Rose, since angels and half-angels figure in a pyx trial of 1526-7 when i.m. Rose was almost certainly in operation. Though no Rose-marked angels are known they may, therefore, yet turn up. There is, moreover, an excellent contemporary copy of one in the British Museum.

All the angels of this period, whether with i.m. Sunburst (**Pl. XI, 8**) or Lis (**Pl. XI, 9**), read *Henric VIII, &c.*, and end *Angl Z F* (*Fra, France*); in the Base Coinage (23 ct.) where the initial mark is again Lis, they read *Henric 8, &c.*, and end *Hib Rex*.

HALF-ANGELS

The coins all have i.m. Lis and are extremely rare (**Pl. XII, 8**). One is in the British Museum and Mr. Lockett has another from the same pair of dies. The legend again reads *Henric VIII, &c.*, and ends *Angl Z Fra*, in contrast with *Henric 8, &c.*, and *Hib Rex* in the Third Coinage. The stops are saltires. A mule is recorded (e.g. *Numismatic Circular*, Dec. 1900) having an obverse die of the Third Coinage reading *Henric* with a reverse showing the distinctive saltire stops of the Second Coinage. I have not seen this coin, but it may possibly be the piece illustrated in **Pl. XII, 9** showing the annulet stops of the Third Coinage struck over the saltires of the Second on an old die.

The dearth of all fine gold of the Second Coinage is explained by the rivalry of the new crown gold and the more convenient piece of 5s. into which most of the bullion brought to the mint was converted. Indeed, after 1533 fine gold, though included in the indentures, was hardly coined at all; as we have said, small amounts of it are recorded in 1536-7, i.e. fairly late in the Arrow period, and again in 1540-1, presumably the Pheon period. Therefore, though neither of these marks is known on an angel of this coinage, both may conceivably turn up.

¹ This order is conjectural; the lettering on both sides is the same. The question will be further considered with the silver coins.

Angels, Half-angels, Quarter-angels, Base Coinage, 1544-7

The angels, half-angels, and the new quarter-angels were all presumably coined between May 1542 (at first secretly) and March 1545 when the coinage of gold of 23 ct. ceased. It is evident from the accounts that by far the greater quantity of this gold was coined after 1 June 1544, and presumably most of the angels were struck between then and March 1545. It is fairly certain that no coinage of angels took place after this. All gold struck by Henry after April 1546 was no purer than 20 ct. fine. It may be that the authorities had some scruples about making angels of such base gold, but more probably they were guided by economic considerations. Nevertheless, a curious incident has revealed that the coinage of angels was not entirely absent from the tortuous mind of one man, the Bristol Master Sharington, for Symonds records that when Chamberlain came to "straighten out the tangled skein left by his predecessor" he found among sundry items of bullion at the Bristol mint 43 lb. weight of angels struck in *silver*.¹ Whatever was the purpose of these pieces, and it is difficult to imagine that it was an honest one, there seems no reason to suppose that Chamberlain would have allowed any of them to survive. A silver gilt angel illustrated in *Brit. Num. Journ.* xii. 89 is clearly an imitation, alien to any official mint in England.

ANGELS

Only one initial mark, the Lis (Pl. XI, 10-13), was used, but presumably an additional privy mark was supplied by the large annulet, the so-called "gun-hole" which most, but not all of these angels, display upon the ship. On most coins an annulet is also placed to the left of the angel's head; this too, however, is occasionally omitted (Pl. XI, 10).

Three forms of stops are found, saltires and two varieties of trefoils (one perhaps being broken saltires), and the legend on all shows the normal *Hib Rex* on obverse and the usual angel legend on the reverse, generally ending in *Rede*.

HALF-ANGELS

The half-angels, all with i.m. Lis, are scarce. The following features distinguish them from the pieces of the Second Coinage:

1. The reading *Hib rex*.
2. Annulet stops on the reverse.
3. Usually an annulet, or rarely, three annulets, on the ship.

Some reverse dies have no annulet on the ship: one of these, however, shows the annulet stops on the reverse struck over saltires, on an altered die of the Second Coinage (Pl. XII, 8 and 9, same reverse die). The annulet stops, therefore, were apparently of some importance to the coin. The obverse of this coin, reading *Heric*, has already been noted as appearing on a supposed mule with the Second Coinage.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 338.

The reverse die would seem to have been preserved at the mint for some eleven years.

The coin with three annulets on the ship (PI. XII, 10) has i.m. Lis of unusual shape, found also on a quarter-angel, a penny, and one of the groats. As will appear later, this has some bearing on the classification of the last-named coins.

QUARTER-ANGELS (PI. XII, 13, 14)

These coins, a new denomination, are remarkable also for their novelty in continuing the obverse legend on the reverse, which itself has no specific legend. The coins all have i.m. Lis and show saltires or slipped trefoils (which resemble broken saltires) for stops, and also reveal two different figures of the angel; one is the traditional, rather stolid, figure of the saint, clad in armour, with feet firmly planted; on the other, the angel, a new and more animated figure, is clad in a tunic and stands in a less constrained attitude. Some of the former show a Roman N on one or both sides of the coin. The legend shows the king's titles almost in full, with the Roman numeral VIII.

George Nobles and Half-noble (PI. XII)

NOBLES

These rare coins are known only with i.m. Rose. They show very little variation though several pairs of dies are known. The coining of them, a somewhat artificial last attempt to maintain a gold piece of 6s. 8d., was doubtless discontinued when the practical advantages of the new 5s. crown piece became more fully realized.

It is a curious anomaly that St. George appears on what is now held to be the reverse of the coin (PI. XII, 14, 15). But it seems likely that the die showing St. George, since he gave his name at once to the piece, was intended for the obverse and Ruding so describes it. The confusion arose, as in the case of the crowns and half-crowns, from a desire among numismatists to associate the obverse with the king's name. There is still some hesitation, and despite the descriptions of the text-books, illustrations generally show the saint first, and, in any case, the ship was traditional to the reverse type of the angel. To try to upset established custom would, however, be unpractical, and, as the coins are unique in their design, pointless.

Most coins, and also the Half-noble, show the word *Signo* abbreviated, adapting a contemporary manuscript fashion, to *Sig* followed by a very small *o*. Two obverse dies, however, use for this purpose the query-shaped abbreviation mark found after the king's name, the upper part of which resembles the letter *o*. One die reads *Signo* in full. On all coins the king's numeral is omitted.

HALF-NOBLE

This unique coin shares the characteristics of the nobles but has, save for Lombardic H, Roman lettering with the unusual *y* in *Hybe* (PI. XII, 16).

LISTS

FIRST COINAGE (1509-26; 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs.)

ANGEL. Wt. 80 grs.; value 6s. 8d. Lombardic letters: *Henric VIII Di Gra Rex Agl Z Fra* (*Fr, F*) and *Per Cruce Tua Salva Nos Xpe Red* (*Rede, Redet*); saltire stops.

- (i) I.m. Pheon; king's numeral viij, divided by pellets (**Pl. XI, 1**).
- (ii) I.m. Castle; king's numeral viij, units sometimes undotted, sometimes also divided by pellets; variants:
 - 1. I.m. plain (**Pl. XI, 3**).
 - 2. I.m. between saltires (**Pl. XI, 4, rev.**).
 - 3. Pellet before i.m. (**Pl. XI, 2**).
 - 4. I.m. Castle with towers ("Castle with H", **Pl. XI, 4, obv.**).
 - 5. Reverse omitting H and rose (*Num. Circ.*, May 1909).
- (iii) I.m. Portcullis; king's numeral viii (units sometimes undotted); variants:
 - 1. I.m. plain (**Pl. XI, 6** countermarked with the arms of Zeeland).
 - 2. Saltire beside *obv.* i.m. (**Pl. XI, 5**).
 - 3. I.m. without chains (Montagu, v. 240).
 - 4. Rose omitted on reverse (**Pl. XI, 7**).
 - 5. No rudder to ship.

ANGELET. Wt. 40 grs.; value 3s. 4d. *Henric (Henrc) (VIII) Di Gra Rex Agl, Al (Z)* and *O Crux Ave Spes Unica (Unn(i)ca)*; saltire stops.

- (i) I.m. Castle; variants:
 - 1. King's numeral omitted (**Pl. XII, 1**).
 - 2. Normal numeral viij (**Pl. XII, 3**).
 - 3. Pellet before *obv.* i.m. (**Pl. XII, 2**).
 - 4. I.m. Castle with towers ("Castle with H", **Pl. XII, 4**).
- (ii) I.m. Portcullis; variants:
 - 1. King's numeral omitted (**Pl. XII, 6**).
 - 2. Normal numeral viii (**Pl. XII, 7**).
 - 3. *Rev.* i.m. Rose, with rosette stops, a die of Henry VII (**Pl. XII, 5**).
 - 4. *Henrc*.
 - 5. *Unnica* (different dies).
 - 6. *Unnca*.

SECOND COINAGE (1526-44; 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs.)

GEORGE NOBLE (*c.* 1526-9). Wt. $71\frac{1}{8}$ grs., 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs.; value 6s. 8d. Saltire stops, Lombardic letters.

Obv. Ship, &c. HK above; *Tali Dica Sigo (Signo) Mes Fluctuari¹ Neqvīt (Neqt)*.

Rev. St. George, &c., *Henric D(Di) G R Agl Z Franc (Aglie Z Fra) Dns Hibernie (Hiberni, Hiberie, Hiberi, Hiber)* (**Pl. XII, 14, 15**).

HALF-GEORGE NOBLE. Wt. $35\frac{5}{8}$ grs. (the only specimen known weighs 36.9 grs.), 23 ct. $3\frac{1}{2}$ grs., value 3s. 4d.; saltire stops.

Obv. Ship, &c. HK above; *Tali Dica Sigo Mes Fluctuari Neqt*.

Rev. St. George, &c.; *Henric D G R Agl Z Fra Dns Hybe* (mainly Roman letters, **Pl. XII, 16**, British Museum).

ANGEL. Wt. 80 grs., value 7s. 6d. *Henric VIII D G R Agl Z Fra* and *Per Cruce Tua Salva Nos Xpe Rede*; saltire stops.

- (i) I.m. Sunburst (**Pl. XI, 8**).
- (ii) I.m. Lis (**Pl. XI, 9**).

HALF-ANGEL. Wt. 40 grs., value 3s. 9d. *Henric VIII D G R Agl Z Fr* and *O Crux Ave Spes Unica*; saltire stops.

I.m. Lis, one pair of dies (**Pl. XII, 8**).

¹ Sometimes quoted as *fluctuare*, as in the original hymn; post-Augustan Latin recognizes both forms.

BASE COINAGE (1544-7)

ANGEL. Wt. 80 grs. 23 ct., value 8s. *Henric 8 D G Agl Fra Z Hib Rex* and *Per Cruce Tva Salva Nos Xpe Rede*; stops, saltires or trefoils. An annulet to left of the angel's head and on the ship (Pl. XI, 11, saltires, Pl. XI, 12, 13, trefoils).

I.m. Lis; variants:

1. No annulet by head (Pl. XI, 10).
2. No annulet on ship (Pl. XI, 10, 12).

HALF-ANGEL. Wt. 40 grs., value 4s. *Henric 8 D G Agl Fr Z Hib Rex* and *O Crux Ave Spes Unica*; stops *obv.* saltires, *rev.* annulets.

I.m. Lis; variants:

1. Mule with *rev.* of Second Coinage showing saltire stops.
2. No annulet on ship (Pl. XII, 9 an altered *rev.* die showing annulets over saltires).
3. Annulet on ship (Pl. XII, 11).
4. Three annulets on ship (Pl. XII, 10).

QUARTER-ANGEL. Wt. 20 grs., value 2s. *O Henricus VIII (Di, Dei) Gra Agl(ie) R Francie Et Hibernie Rex*; stops, saltires or trefoils, sometimes resembling saltires.

I.m. Lis; variants:

1. Angel of early style, in tunic, feet bestriding the dragon, some coins with Roman N (Pl. XII, 12).
2. Angel of new style, feet close together (Pl. XII, 13).

PART 3. THE LONDON SILVER OF HENRY VIII

(a) FIRST COINAGE, 1509-26, AND SECOND COINAGE, 1526-44
(Pls. XIII, XIV)

The essential features of the silver of the First Coinage under the indenture of 6 August 1509 are:

The groats (48 grs.) and half-groats bear the portrait of Henry VII which was perhaps still a treasured novelty not lightly to be discarded. The reverses show the shield type, now permanent on these coins. The abbreviation mark after the king's name and his numeral on both groats and half-groats is the query-shaped manuscript symbol for *-us*.

The pence, all of the sovereign type, also bear the shield reverse, but the halfpence show a stylized bust with arched crown and the old cross and pellets. The abbreviation mark after the king's name is usually obscure but is apparently a comma.

The rare farthings were perhaps not struck until 1523, when the new design was prescribed showing the Portcullis as the obverse type and the rose the reverse.

On all coins the stops are saltires.

The half-groats and pence of this coinage are scarce; the need for these pieces was presumably supplied chiefly by the Ecclesiastical coins, of which, moreover, large numbers struck by Henry VII were no doubt still in circulation.

The initial marks employed are three, the Pheon, the Castle, and the Portcullis. The Pheon continued the last mark of Henry VII and was evidently soon replaced; only rare groats (and angels) with this mark are known. The Pheon probably lasted only a few months; the

next mark, the Castle, probably remained in force for several years. No silver coins copy the practice, used on some gold dies, of emphasizing the i.m. Castle with flanking towers resembling a Roman H.

We have no clue to the precise date when the Castle period ended and the Portcullis began, but the latter is the commonest mark and was probably in force for at least the ten years preceding the reforms of 1526. A faint echo of its introduction reaches us soon after the capture of Tournai in 1513. A rare obverse groat die shows the i.m. Portcullis struck over a crowned¹ Gothic **6**, the mark of the later, English style of Tournai groats. These latter were presumably struck soon after the earlier Tournai groats of continental style and manufacture dated 1513. It is a fair inference that the Portcullis period began at latest soon after that date, for the overstruck die is apparently an early one. Tournai was restored to France in 1518.

A very remarkable feature of the First Coinage is that among London silver coins muling is unknown, though possibly being linked in the Ecclesiastical coinage with Henry VII. The lettering throughout is Lombardic.

Groats (48 grs., **Pl. XIII, 1-5**)

The coins read *Henric VIII Di Gra Rex Agl Z Fra* (*Fr, F*); the reverse is normal, with all coins reading *Adiutore*. Letter variations are almost undiscernible. The initial marks are three, Pheon, Castle, and Portcullis.

I.m. Pheon. The coins are very rare (more so than the corresponding angels); the king's numeral is viij (**Pl. XIII, 1**).

I.m. Castle. The coins are fairly common; many obverse dies show a pellet before the initial mark (**Pl. XIII, 2**, obv.) or a saltire on either side of it. The king's numeral is viij.

I.m. Portcullis. These are the commonest groats. Sometimes, especially on reverse dies, the initial mark lacks the chains normally attached to the Portcullis. On rare obverse dies we find before the initial mark a pellet, as on the Castle dies, but more commonly the pellet is found transferred to the obverse legend, before *Gra* (**Pl. XIII, 3 and 4**).

I have referred to the groat showing the i.m. Portcullis stamped over the **6** of the later Tournai groats. One is illustrated in the Parsons sale, lot 414. A more interesting piece showing the same, and perhaps the only, obverse die of the kind was illustrated and described by Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton in *Brit. Num. Journ.* xvi. 119 (see also **Pl. XIII, 5**). The remarkable feature of this coin is that the cross-ends on the reverse enclose an ornamental trefoil. This perhaps shows, in an experimental stage, a characteristic feature of the Second Coinage groats, viz. the saltire in the forks of the reverse. It may justly be called a trial piece.

The king's numeral is viij on a few early dies including that with

¹ The crown on the Tournai mint-mark, Mr. Carlyon-Britton has reminded me, is arched; the portcullis mark is surmounted by an open crown.

overstruck 5; later the dots on the digits are omitted or the numeral is written viii (with or without dots).

Half-groats (24 grs., **Pl. XIV, 6**)

The only London half-groats known of the First Coinage show i.m. Portcullis, either on both sides or on obverse only. On the reverse the chains are generally omitted. None apparently have either a pellet or saltires before the initial mark. The legend is similar to that on the groats save that the French title is usually crowded out.

Pence (12 grs., **Pl. XIV, 18, 19**)

Sovereign pence are known with i.m.s Castle and Portcullis, on the obverse only and read *Henric Di Gra Rex Agl.* The former mark is the rarer. The cross-ends on the reverse are pierced. The king's numeral is omitted, so that coins of Henry VII with i.m. Pheon or no i.m., which also omit the numeral, have been wrongly attributed to Henry VIII. The lettering on these latter is unmistakably that of Henry VII.

Halfpence (6 grs., **Pl. XIV, 23**)

Coins are known with i.m.s Castle and Portcullis, on obverse only. The former are rare. The cross-ends on the reverse are pierced. The king's numeral is again omitted, and halfpence of Henry VII with no initial mark have, like the pence, been attributed to Henry VIII. The legend is similar to that of the pence, with a variant *Ag* for *Agl.*

Farthings (3 grs., **Pl. XIV, 26**)

These are among the rarest of our silver coins; the few known specimens have i.m. Portcullis on obverse in addition to showing this emblem as their obverse type. The rose is displayed on the reverse in the centre of the long cross, thus excluding the old pellets. The legend is *Henric Di Gra Rex*. The cross-ends on the reverse are pierced.

THE SECOND COINAGE, 1526-44

The principal contrasts with the First Coinage are:

1. The new portrait, showing Henry VIII himself in profile.
2. The abbreviations *D G R* in the legend of groats and half-groats.
3. The ornaments of the crown changed from three ornamental leaves to a cross patty and two fleurs-de-lis.
4. The saltires in the cross-ends on the reverse of groats and some half-groats.
5. The introduction into the legend of the pence and smaller coins of the motto (*Rutilans*) *Rosa Sine Spina*.

The abbreviation marks after the king's name and numeral remain the same as in the First Coinage, i.e. query marks on groats and half-groats, commas on smaller coins.

The initial marks found are, probably in this order: 1526-42, without Irish title, Rose, Lis, Sunburst, Lis (resumed?), Arrow, Pheon;

1542-4, with Irish title, Pheon, Lis, the latter at present known only as a mule, both ways, with Pheon.

Groats (42 $\frac{2}{3}$ grs., **Pl. XIII, 6-17 ; XIV, 1-5**)

I.m. Rose. The coins show three different portraits: (1) with heavy jowl (**Pl. XIII, 6**); (2) a scarce type, with a Greek profile, showing an unbroken line from brow to nose, and a rather pointed chin (**Pl. XIII, 8**); (3) the common type showing a Roman nose and slighter jowl; this portrait became stereotyped (**Pl. XIII, 9**).

On the earliest groats with the first portrait some care was lavished; they are fine pieces with mostly Roman lettering and the cross-ends of the reverse are filled with an ornate floral design (**Pl. XIII, 7**). Such pieces are very rare; the dies are found also muled with normal pieces. The Roman letters were gradually replaced by Lombardic, the last to be retained being a Roman D which was also inverted to supply the Lombardic C. The flower in the cross-ends too was soon replaced by a saltire. Many of the coins with the first portrait, like some of those with the second, retain the old legend, *Di Gra, Di G, D Gra* and occasionally *Rex*, while *Franc* is often shortened to *Frac* or *Fra*.

With the third stereotyped portrait, and the legend settling down to *D G R Agl Z Franc*, or often *France* (a now common variant), the coinage becomes abundant. On the reverse, late coins revert to *Adivtoe* so common in Henry VII's time. An informative letter variant on late coins is a letter H with a flat-topped serif (**Pl. XIII, 11**) which, found also on some York groats of Wolsey, shows them to be contemporary, and so helps to date the Rose-marked issue as approximately from 1526 to 1529. Another feature on late coins is a letter M with the last stroke broken, a defect which, as it is found also on some Lis-marked groats, probably helps to place these as the next coins struck.

Mules are found both ways with i.m. Lis, though more rarely with obverse Rose, reverse Lis (**Pl. XIII, 10**).

I.m. Lis. The Lis-marked groats are the commonest of the Second Coinage and are among the most abundant of our medieval coins (**Pl. XIII, 12, 15**). A few reverse dies omit the initial mark. The earliest coins have the flat topped H and the broken M of the last Rose-marked coins; a few too read *Adivtoe*, another obvious link with the Rose. As the issue progressed many minute changes are discernible in the letter-punches, suggesting that the number of dies was very large. Some of these link up with the Sunburst, others with Arrow, and others, again, with Pheon. But so faithfully were the letter-punches reproduced that no clear catena can be traced, and the muling between the different initial marks has led to the somewhat blunt explanation that the Lis was used at more than one period of this coinage. I have discussed this matter more fully below.

Rare coins show the Lis muled both ways with the Arrow (**Pl. XIII, 16**); other mules, less rare, show the Pheon on obverse or reverse (**Pl. XIV, 1, 2**). One reverse die omits the initial mark and this, too, is found combined with obverse i.m. Pheon. Finally, very rare coins

with the Irish title show the Lis muled both ways with Pheon (**Pl. XIV, 5**), all on pieces struck from puncheons and on flans prepared for the Third, full-face, Coinage (i.m. Lis) which in its early stages shows, too, an apparent Second Coinage reverse with saltires (instead of Annulets) in the forks. These coins will be discussed again later.

I.m. Sunburst. With Sunburst no mules are found, but, notwithstanding, I think this mark intervened during the period of the Lis. Both Lis and Sunburst, however, ended before 1533, when the Arrow probably began.

The Sunburst coins are scarce. There are 7 in the British Museum, compared with about 50 with i.m. Rose and about 50 with Lis. They show little variation, though most dies read *Fra*. The letter *α* on all Sunburst groats I have seen, and it appears on other denominations, shows a cross bar so faint (it is in lower relief and lies in the upper half of the letter) as to be almost invisible save on worn coins (when this lower relief is reached) so that the letter resembles a *α* (**Pl. XIII, 13, 14**). I have traced the same letter on certain Lis dies¹ (**Pl. XIII, 12**) and oddly, perhaps a belated survival, on a Pheon reverse die muled with the Lis, and on some half-groat dies of York of Archbishop Lee. Lee came to York in 1531, and it might be that the first period of the Lis ended, and the Sunburst began, soon after this date. The Lis period was then apparently resumed until the Arrow period began about 1533. I return to this and kindred points later.

I.m. Arrow. A feature of a few early coins is an initial mark showing the arrow-head with distinct barbs like a Pheon, and this same mark is sometimes found struck over the Lis on old dies (**Pl. XIII, 17**). This mark, however, was soon discarded and such coins are scarce.

The later Arrow groats are abundant, though not so common as the Lis or the Rose-marked groats. The early coins read *Agl*, the later *Aglie*, but there are no other notable variants. As I have said, Arrow is muled both ways with Lis, but one groat perhaps shows obv. Arrow, rev. Pheon (over Arrow), the only known instance, if so, of muling between these two marks or of this overstriking. As already stated, the Arrow period probably began in 1533 and lasted at least until 1536-7.

I.m. Pheon. All coins with this mark read *Agl*. They are of two different types. The earlier, without the Irish title, presents few variants, but mules occur both ways with i.m. Lis, including one reverse die already noted omitting this mark. The later type, the rare groat with the Irish title (**Pl. XIV, 4**), though ostensibly of the Second Coinage, was struck between 1543 and 1544 from the puncheons made, apart from the portrait, for the Third Coinage, which the larger flan also foreshadows. Some coins are combined with i.m. Lis on dies (**Pl. XIV, 5**) which, from their fabric, also clearly date from 1543-4.

I.m. Lis. Reference has already been made to these coins. The occurrence of this mark with the Irish title, though mules only with

¹ I have listed these dies as coming just before the Sunburst, but they may come just after.

Pheon are known and true coins still to seek, confirms Mr. Parsons's view¹ that the Lis was revived at the end of the Second Coinage to link it with the Third. The mule with reverse i.m. Lis is illustrated (Pl. XIV, 5). It is not recorded by Brooke because he did not distinguish this late use of the Lis, but it has been known for some time. The coin with obverse Lis, reverse Pheon is a recent discovery and is illustrated below (Fig. 2). As I have already said, these coins with the



FIG. 2

Irish title were perhaps issued to screen the real design of the king. While maintaining the appearance of legality with the issue of a small number of groats and half-groats of 11 oz. 2 dwt. (and a few crowns and half-crowns of 22 ct. gold), he was secretly coining and storing most of the bullion received into base money.

Half-groats (21½ grs., Pl. XIV, 7-17)

These coins differ from the groats in showing only one bust; in fact, so far as can be judged, the same essential figure of the king appears on all half-groats of the Second Coinage whether of the London or ecclesiastical mints. All half-groats contract the French title to *Fra*, *Fr*, or *F* and on the reverse read *Adiutoe*; otherwise the legend follows that of the groats. None of London save perhaps those with i.m. Lis are common coins. For the last time the ecclesiastical coins were supplying the needs of currency.

I.m. Rose. The initial mark is found on both sides or on obverse only. Rare early coins copy the groats by showing mixed Roman and Lombardic letters (Pl. XIV, 7), but no reverses show the floral cross-ends. A saltire appears in the forks as follows:

1. On reverses which show any Roman letters.
2. On reverses with no initial mark and Lombardic letters.

The saltire seems to be omitted from the forks when the reverse initial mark is present and the letters are Lombardic.

The coins are muled both ways with i.m. Lis; coins with i.m. Lis on obverse sometimes show this mark stamped over the Rose.

I.m. Lis. The i.m. Lis is found on both sides or on obverse only. The coins, like the corresponding groats, are commoner than the rest. Some reverses, both with and without the initial mark, show a saltire

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxv. 69.

in the forks. Some scarce reverses, again with or without the initial mark, show a Roman M in *Mev*, a feature shared also with some Arrow and the rare Sunburst half-groats. Muling appears to exist only as already shown, both ways, with i.m. Rose (PI. XIV, 10, 11).

I.m. Sunburst. Two coins are recorded from one obverse and two reverse dies, showing the initial mark on obverse only and the Roman M in *Mev* (PI. XIV, 15). There is a saltire in the forks on the reverse. No mules or overstrikes are known. One specimen is in the Hunterian Museum, the other is in the late Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection.

I.m. Arrow. The initial mark is found on both sides or on obverse only. The early type of mark with barbs is apparently unknown. Some reverses show i.m. Arrow struck over Lis, and some have Roman M in *Mev*. The coins are scarce (PI. XIV, 14, 16). No mules are known.

I.m. Pheon. No coins are known corresponding to the groats without the Irish title; of the rare late coins ending *Hib Rex* (PI. XIV, 17) two specimens are recorded. They show the i.m. Pheon on both sides.

Pence ($10\frac{2}{3}$ grs., PI. XIV, 20-2)

Coins of the sovereign type are known with i.m.s Rose, Lis, Sunburst, and Arrow, always on obverse only. All have pierced cross-ends on the reverse¹ and all read *H D G Rosa Sine Spina* (abbreviated). The lettering is always Lombardic. Coins with i.m. Rose are rarer than those with Lis or Arrow. A curious piece at the British Museum (not a brockage) has two obverses both with i.m. Lis. The coin with i.m. Sunburst is perhaps unique (PI. XIV, 21); it was in the collection of Mr. L. A. Lawrence. No London pence are common; it was the Durham mint which supplied most of the pence of the period.

Halfpence ($5\frac{1}{3}$ grs., PI. XIV, 24, 25)

The legend is similar to that on the pence, but the coins still follow the old pattern of cross and pellets on the reverse. The cross-ends are no longer pierced but form a plain cross patty.

I.m. Rose is very rare and has Lombardic N on reverse. A specimen was recorded in the Longbottom sale 223 and I have seen one other.

I.m. Lis. Coins are known with either Lombardic or Roman N on reverse (PI. XIV, 24).

I.m. Sunburst. Two or three specimens are known; they show Roman N on reverse (PI. XIV, 25).

I.m. Arrow. These coins, like the Lis, are not uncommon. The pieces I have seen show Roman N on reverse, but Lombardic N is also recorded.

Farthings ($2\frac{2}{3}$ grs., PI. XIV, 27, 28)

The farthings, all extremely rare, include a type unrecorded by Brooke. Two coins in the British Museum may each be unique of its

¹ These pierced cross-ends helped to expose the fraudulent alteration of one of these coins to resemble a fine sovereign penny of Edward VI (see Murdoch 527 and Wheeler 328). Genuine sovereign pence of Edward VI have open forks.

kind. One of these with i.m. Arrow (**Pl. XIV, 28**) follows the pattern prescribed in 1523 to show a Portcullis as the obverse type and a Rose as the reverse, but the other, with a doubtful initial mark (**Pl. XIV, 27**), apparently breaks the law of 1523 by showing on the reverse not a Rose but a Cross with a single pellet in each angle. No known specimen shows the legend complete, but the obverse always shows traces of *Rutilans Rosa*, &c., while the reverse shows an abbreviation of the king's name and titles. The cross-ends on all coins form a plain cross patty.

The Initial Marks of the Second Coinage

Brooke in the lists in *English Coins* (p. 185) gives the initial marks as Rose, Lis, Arrow, Sunburst, and Pheon. Elsewhere (p. 176) he says that the Lis was used twice during this coinage and that the full list of marks in order was Rose, Lis, Arrow, Sunburst, Lis, Pheon. Mr. H. A. Parsons has recently suggested¹ that the second Lis came after the Pheon, at the end of the coinage. I think neither of these views expresses the facts, or all the facts, correctly. Mr. Parsons also adduces evidence from the sovereigns of the Second Coinage, but this, I submit, must now be reconsidered in the light I have thrown on these pieces.

The difficulties connected with the initial marks are twofold:

1. The uncertainty of the precise position of the Sunburst.
2. The use of the Lis on muled coins at widely separated periods.

First, as regards the Sunburst: hitherto its position has been conjecturally established by a process of elimination. It is generally argued that Sunburst cannot come between either Rose and Lis or Lis and Arrow because of muling between these pairs of marks and overstriking by Lis over Rose and by Arrow over Lis; hence, it is alleged, the first three marks must have been Rose, Lis, Arrow, with presumably Sunburst coming next, leaving the revived Lis and Pheon, or as Mr. Parsons thinks, Pheon and lastly Lis, to conclude the coinage.

There are, however, plenty of examples to prove that muling between two marks does not preclude the possible intervention of a third. Thus, *ceteris paribus*, it is not impossible for Sunburst to come between Rose and Lis, or between Lis and Arrow. But in the case of Lis and Arrow, the sovereigns, showing the order to be Sunburst, Lis, Arrow, rule out the intervention at least between Lis and Arrow. There remains the possible order, Rose, Sunburst, Lis. The acceptance of this order would remove a major difficulty, but it is contrary to the evidence of the coins. The lettering shows (as Mr. L. A. Lawrence² long ago suggested) that the Rose was undoubtedly the first mark, and in fact the evidence of the mules that the Lis came next is supported by the continuity of certain letter punches on some Rose- and Lis-marked groats, notably a closed Lombardic F, a flat-topped H, and a broken M; the probability is increased by the spelling *Adivtoe* found on groats with these two marks but not elsewhere. The evidence supplied by over-

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxv. 64.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 51.

striking now becomes stronger ; some half-crowns and half-groats show Lis struck over Rose.

However, the internal evidence of the coins will take us no further ; the Lis issue was a very large one and a number of different letter-punches were needed for the many dies employed. As the groats particularly increase in numbers the letters become a less reliable guide to the chronological order of the coins. Yet with the Rose and Lis established as the first two marks, the evidence of the sovereigns proves beyond reasonable doubt, as I have shown, that the order of another three consecutive marks was Sunburst, Lis, Arrow. Thus the whole series probably ran : Rose, Lis, Sunburst, Lis, Arrow, followed later by the Pheon. The Pheon, moreover, for some unexplained reason, is sometimes found muled with the Lis.

The actual use made of the Sunburst in the silver I believe to have been as follows : the Sunburst mark, as is clear from its rarity, was for some reason prematurely discontinued ; as an emergency measure it seems likely that the Lis dies it had superseded were brought back into service. If I may anticipate the discussion of our second difficulty, this could explain why the earlier and later Lis dies are indistinguishable.¹

The second difficulty concerns the use of the Lis at widely separated periods. The Lis-marked groats, the most representative pieces, are as follows :

1. Rose/Lis or Lis/Rose mules.
2. True coins with Lis both sides.
3. Lis/Arrow or Arrow/Lis mules ; also coins showing Arrow struck over Lis.
4. Lis/Pheon or Pheon/Lis mules, without Irish title.
5. Pheon/Lis and Lis/Pheon mules, with Irish title.
6. Mules, so called, with obverse of Third Coinage (full face) and reverse of Second Coinage, with i.m. Lis both sides.

The first three of the above groups call for no further comment. I am regarding the second group as one coinage, not so much divided as interrupted by the Sunburst. The later groups, however, are clearly abnormal. Brooke's view that there was, after the Arrow, a late period of true coins with i.m. Lis without the Irish title seems to me illusory. The coins merely show that *mules* between Pheon and Lis exist. We cannot identify post-Arrow true coins with i.m. Lis. This view is borne out by at least two coins in the British Museum ; a Lis/Pheon muled groat is struck from the same obverse die as a true coin with Lis both sides. This would presumably have been claimed by Brooke as a true coin of his later Lis, but it does not differ materially from scores of similar groats in the Museum's trays, some of which must be true coins of the earlier Lis. All the mules I have seen of this type show Lis dies of a style previously employed.

The crowns, too, support the view that there was no late Lis period

¹ Mr. Carlyon-Britton has reminded me of a parallel late in the reign of Henry VII when the Rose appears briefly between two issues of Greyhound.

of true coins after the Arrow. If there had been, then such late crowns with i.m. Lis would certainly have borne the initials HR, which became permanent during the Arrow period, and not those of a consort. But all known crowns with i.m. Lis bear the initials HK and were clearly struck during one and the same early period.

The Pheon/Lis or Lis/Pheon mules reading *Hib Rex*, as the illustrations show (Pl. XIV, 1-5), bear only a specious resemblance to their predecessors, whether true Pheon coins or mules with Lis. This, however, is easily explained, for they were made from puncheons and flans prepared for the Third Coinage.

The last group, no. 6, showing a full face obverse but apparently a Second Coinage reverse with saltires in the forks, shows on the reverse a Lis puncheon not found on any true groats of the Second Coinage. We cannot be sure, in fact, that these are not the first true groats of the Third Coinage, and the occurrence of this particular i.m. Lis on several pieces of the Third Coinage lends colour to this view.

Reviewing the initial marks as a whole, the persistent recurrence of the Lis and the brief use of the Sunburst are certainly remarkable and may be due to something more than mere economy, but it is probably vain to look for a logical explanation of such irregularities.

(b) THE ECCLESIASTICAL COINAGE OF HENRY VIII (Pls. XV, XVI, XVII)

For numismatists the essential importance of the Reformation is that it brought to an end the ecclesiastical coinage. During the last years of the reign of Henry VII, indeed, the bishops' privilege had for a time been in abeyance, but on the accession of his son we find all three of the bishops' mints, at Canterbury, York, and Durham, striking money without apparent restraint. With the reforms of Wolsey in 1526 the ecclesiastical money became more abundant than ever; then within a few years it came to an abrupt conclusion.

The precise date when the bishops' privilege came to an end is unknown. I have already shown that it probably terminated in November 1534. At Canterbury the last-documented date is January 1534, when Tillesworth was appointed master of the mint under Archbishop Cranmer to make the usual pieces of 2*d.*, 1*d.*, and $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* Thomas Cranmer had been consecrated on 30 March 1533 and the coins bearing the well-known initials TC (*Thomas Cantuariensis*) and his mark of the Catherine wheel¹ are the last of the ecclesiastical mint of Canterbury. At York and Durham the latest-recorded evidence of coinage is a little earlier; at York Archbishop Edward Lee received dies until at least April 1532, and at Durham Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall until June 1530. Each of them was the last incumbent to coin money in his diocese and the probability is that at all three mints coinage came to an end at

¹ Hawkins's remark, that Cranmer adopted the wheel "in compliment" to the queen whose divorce he pronounced, is curious. The wheel commemorating the torture of St. Catherine has probably no reference to Katherine of Aragon. Grueber repeated the fiction that Cranmer "espoused" the cause of Queen Katherine.

much the same time. These conclusions, and their probable historical origin, have already been succinctly stated by Brooke.¹ They were further considered in my introductory remarks.

In the following pages the coins of each diocesan mint are treated separately, i.e. the Canterbury, York, and Durham mints are discussed each in its entirety from 1509 to 1534. In type and fabric, save for their special episcopal and mint marks and some variation in the cross-ends, the coins closely follow the pattern of contemporary pieces of London.

Canterbury

HALF-GROATS. *First Coinage*, 1509–26 (Archbishop Warham, **Pl. XV**, 1–5)

All coins show the portrait of Henry the Seventh and read *Henric VIII Di Gra*, &c.

A new coin, unrecorded by Brooke or Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton,² has i.m. Rose on obverse and reverse and only differs from the last Canterbury half-groat of Henry VII in showing the king's numeral as VIII. The reverse is identical with the last Canterbury reverse of Henry VII, that is, with no archbishop's initials displayed (**Pl. XV**, 1). Thus it does not differ in type from the last coin of Henry VII and is no doubt the first Canterbury half-groat of Henry VIII's reign. It may indeed be regarded as a mule, *obv.* Henry VIII, *rev.* Henry VII.

The next coin is doubtless that given by Brooke, class I, with WA (*William Archiepiscopus*) over the shield and i.m. Martlet, for as Mr. Carlyon-Britton² has pointed out, this coin shows some reverse dies with i.m. Martlet struck over the Rose, possibly old dies of Henry VII to which Warham's initials have been added. These two coins make it clear that the introduction of the archbishop's initials was a gradual process. It did not, and was not likely to, synchronize exactly with the accession of Henry VIII. For a short time the old type of Henry VII was used also by his son both at Canterbury and, as we shall see, at York.

Then comes another coin which Brooke omits. It has i.m. Cross Fitchy³ on both sides (**Pl. XV**, 3) and had already appeared in the R. Carlyon-Britton (169) and Parsons (415) sales. The reverse shows WA now placed beside the shield and the legend reads *Posvi*, &c. Brooke knew this coin only with reverse i.m. Lis (**Pl. XV**, 4) and the legend *Civitas Cantor*, that is, as a mule between his two classes. From this it seems certain that the order of initial marks of Brooke's second class should be reversed, and that the complete list of the half-groats of the First Coinage should be as follows:

I, with *Posui*, &c.; i.m. Rose, no initials; i.m. Martlet (on rev. over Rose), WA over shield; i.m. Cross Fitchy, WA beside shield.

¹ *English Coins*, pp. 176–7; Tillesworth's appointment is there dated June 1534, but H. Symonds in *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 149, gives January 1534.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.* xviii. 50.

³ The cross is in reality not Fitchy but a well-shaped Latin (long) cross; see **Pl. XV**, 4.

II, with *Civitas Cantor*, all with WA beside shield; *obv.* Cross Fitchy, *rev.* Lis; Lis; Pomegranate.

The change of reverse legend was accompanied by an aesthetic improvement; a smaller shield now leaves more room for the archbishop's initials.

All pieces of the First Coinage are rare, save those with i.m. Pomegranate.

HALF-GROATS. *Second Coinage*, 1526-34 (Archbishops Warham and Cranmer, **Pl. XVI, 1-11**)

The coins which all show Henry's own portrait and usually read *Henric VIII D G R*, &c., are the well-known and abundant pieces having normally WA or TC beside the shield, and reading *Civitas Cantor*. The initial marks of Warham as given by Brooke are Cross Patonce, T, and the "Uncertain mark". Mr. Carlyon-Britton thinks this last may be a seeded Pomegranate, but it is certainly not a cross altered, as Brooke thought possible, to T. Former numismatists described it variously as a Rose or a Pomegranate or a Pomegranate placed sideways, any of which when worn it might resemble. When unworn the mark shows a rectangular outline apparently superimposed on a kind of floral design. Pending some more convincing suggestion I have called it tentatively "Warham's mark" (see, e.g. **Pl. XVI, 4 rev.**).

Once more it seems likely that Brooke's order should be changed, and the case is further complicated by the discovery of another new coin, again from the collection of Mr. Lockett; it has *obv.* i.m. Warham's (Uncertain) mark, *rev.* i.m. Rose (**Pl. XVI, 1**). The Rose has appeared in previous descriptions of these Canterbury half-groats, but always with some doubt; on Mr. Lockett's coin both emblems are perfectly clear.

An examination of many coins has proved beyond reasonable doubt that all those with Warham's mark are early, and most probably, save for the Rose, preceded the other marks. Warham's mark alone shows, on some coins, the early G of the First Coinage; it also shows on all coins an early L (found also on the Rose-marked and some Lis-marked half-groats of London), whereas coins with Cross Patonce show this L and also two later L's, the last of which is also found on all coins with i.m. T and on Cranmer's coins with i.m. Wheel (and on London coins with i.m. s Lis and Arrow). Calling these three L's, L₁, L₂, and L₃ (see drawings below and **Pl. XVI**), we find Warham's mark shows L₁

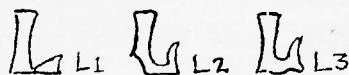


FIG. 3

only, Cross Patonce all three L's (**Pl. XVI, 5, 6, 8**), and i.m. T and i.m. Wheel show L₃ only. The sequence is clear: Rose, Warham's (Uncertain) mark, Cross Patonce, T, followed by Cranmer's Wheel. The

placing of the Rose first is, however, necessarily arbitrary as the mark apparently occurs on the reverse only. But there is perhaps another pointer to the early position of this curious coin; it may be that the i.m. Rose is the contemporary London mark placed on it in error.

The establishment of this order leads to an apparent paradox. Some of the coins with Warham's (Uncertain) mark omit the archbishop's initials on the reverse—a variant which Brooke, perhaps inadvertently, does not mention (PI. XVI, 2)—and the ready and natural explanation of this phenomenon is that these were *Sede Vacante* coins, Warham having died in 1532, struck by the king pending the transference of the see to Cranmer in 1533. But if this were so one would expect to find, not the earliest obverses of the coinage used for the purpose, but the latest. But it is virtually certain that the latest coins are those with i.m. T, and such obverses are never found without initials on the reverse. Moreover, the obverses of coins without WA on the reverse include some particularly early dies, showing the reading *DI G* for *D G* and an occasional Roman D, E, or N, together with a reversed Roman D for C. All these are well-substantiated characteristics of early coins of the period and occur on the earliest London groats and half-groats, and crowns and half-crowns. The proper and safer inference seems to be that for some unknown reason Warham's initials were at one period omitted from the half-groats, and that this period was at the beginning of his coinage.

The theory that there was a *Sede Vacante* coinage on the death of Warham is, as it happens, rendered more improbable by historical evidence. It is known that on Warham's death Henry made all possible haste to secure his replacement by Cranmer as his willing instrument in the divorce proceedings. Professor Pollard writes: "Henry usually gathered a rich harvest during the vacancy of great bishoprics, but now Canterbury was to be filled without delay, and the King even lent Cranmer 1,000 marks to meet his expenses."¹ Warham died in August 1532 and Cranmer became archbishop-elect in January 1533 and was consecrated on 30 March 1533. Such a brief vacancy renders it likely that Henry wished to further Cranmer's immediate enjoyment of his privileges.

Two minor points about Warham's coins are that the obverse Cross Patonce is used very commonly with reverse i.m. T, too commonly perhaps for mere economy, and that the letter T is sometimes plain, sometimes ornamental.

The coins of Cranmer are as described by Brooke and the full list of the half-groats should read:

Warham: WA beside shield; i.m. *obv.* Warham's (uncertain) mark, *rev.* Rose (PI. XVI, 1).

WA beside shield; i.m. Warham's mark (WA sometimes omitted PI. XVI, 2).

„ „ „ i.m. Cross Patonce (PI. XVI, 5, 6).

„ „ „ i.m. *obv.* Cross Patonce, *rev.* T (PI. XVI, 7, 8).

„ „ „ i.m. T (PI. XVI, 9).

¹ *Henry VIII*, p. 296.

Cranmer: TC (*Thomas Cantuariensis*) beside shield; i.m. Wheel (both sides or obverse only, **Pl. XVI, 10, 11**).

A blundered legend on a half-groat of Warham reads *Civitor*, an error curiously repeated on a half-groat of York.

PENCE. *First Coinage*, 1509–26 (Archbishop Warham; sovereign type, *Henric Di Gra*, &c., **Pl. XVII, 1, 2**)

Brooke omits to mention a coin of Warham recorded in the Walter's sale, 1913, lot 526, a specimen of which is now in the collection of Mr. C. E. Blunt. It shows i.m. Martlet and the initials WA *above* the shield (**Pl. XVII, 1**). This is obviously the earliest penny of the period, so that Brooke's list should be amended as follows:

- I. WA over shield; i.m. Martlet.
 - II. WA beside shield; i.m. Pomegranate.
- All coins have pierced cross-ends on the reverse.

PENCE. *Second Coinage*, 1526–34 (Archbishops Warham and Cranmer; *H D G Rosa*, &c., **Pl. XVII, 3–6**)

Brooke omits to mention any pence of Warham at all. This was clearly an oversight, for such a coin had already been mentioned in Grueber's *Handbook*. Pence of Warham are known with the following initial marks, all bearing WA beside the shield: Warham's (Uncertain) mark, Cross Patonce, T (**Pl. XVII, 3, 4, 5**). An interesting variation from the normal pattern is that all Warham's pence of this coinage have open forks.

Pence of Cranmer are as stated by Brooke, with i.m. Wheel and TC beside the shield. They revert to the normal pattern with pierced cross-ends. All Canterbury pence are rare.

HALFPENCE. *First Coinage*, 1509–26 (Archbishop Warham; *Henric Di Gra*, &c., **Pl. XVII, 2**); *Second Coinage*, 1526–34 (Archbishops Warham and Cranmer; *H D G Rosa*, &c., **Pl. XVII, 22–4**).

These pieces, all rare, are substantially as stated by Brooke.

William Warham, 1509–33

First Coinage. The only coin has i.m. Pomegranate and WA beside the bust; the flan is rather larger than that of the Second Coinage and usually shows enough of the obverse legend to identify the coin. The cross-ends on the reverse are pierced as on the pence (**Pl. XVII, 21**).

Second Coinage. The coins are struck on smaller flans which probably caused Hawkins and Brooke to omit any record of an initial mark. But one coin (**Pl. XVII, 23**) shows apparently i.m. T and it seems legitimate to suppose that the other marks found on the pence and half-groats were also used, i.e. Warham's (Uncertain) mark and the Cross Patonce.

The cross-ends normally show a plain cross patty, but the piece illustrated with i.m. T is additionally interesting in having the pierced

cross-ends of the First Coinage. It is in this respect quite unlike other halfpence of this coinage and is probably a mule with obverse of the Second Coinage and reverse of the First.

Thomas Cranmer, 1533-4

The initial mark on Cranmer's halfpenny, with TC beside the bust, is the Wheel (Pl. XVII, 24). The mark is named by Hawkins but omitted by Brooke. Ruding (Pl. VII, 12) illustrates, and Hawkins cites, a halfpenny with i.m. Portcullis and the initials TC added, presumably a concoction or a misread piece.

York

HALF-GROATS. *First Coinage, 1509-26* (Archbishops Bainbridge and Wolsey, Pl. XV, 6-16)

All coins show the portrait of Henry VII and read *Henric VIII Di Gra, &c.*

Brooke's arrangement of these half-groats seems to call for some revision. At the foot of p. 183 of *English Coins* he attributes to the *Sede Vacante* period, on the death of Archbishop Bainbridge in 1514, a coin with i.m. Martlet, and on the reverse keys below the shield, but no hat or initials (Pl. XV, 6, 7). This attribution seems strained and illogical. Coins of precisely the same design struck a few years before under Henry VII have been readily accepted as pieces of Bainbridge; sometimes the initial mark was the same as now, the Martlet, sometimes the Rose. There seems no reason for supposing that Bainbridge would not continue to strike similar coins under Henry VIII also, at least at first. At the Canterbury mint, as we have just seen, this is exactly what the Archbishop was doing. Moreover, of the York coins now under consideration one obverse die (Pl. XV, 6) shows the overstriking of Martlet over Rose peculiar to this period of the change of kings. The reverse die differs in no respect from those of Henry VII with this i.m. Martlet. It seems therefore a fair inference that these scarce pieces are the first York half-groats of Henry VIII and that we have at York the same phenomenon as at Canterbury, namely, that the first coin is virtually a mule with obverse of Henry VIII and reverse of Henry VII. Furthermore, since only two months elapsed (July-September 1514) between the death of Bainbridge and the appointment of Wolsey, the coins of this vacancy would be even rarer than those Brooke attributed to it. I suggest that no coins were struck during this vacancy and that the half-groats of Archbishop Christopher Bainbridge should read as follows:

- I. I.m. Martlet; keys below shield; no hat or initials, *Posui, &c.*
- II. As Brooke I; i.m. Martlet, XB beside shield; no hat or keys, *Posui, &c.*
- III (?) As Brooke II; i.m. Martlet; hat and keys below shield; no initials, *Posui, &c.*

The omission of the keys from the coin with XB seems rather remarkable. The coin of group II is not in the British Museum and I can find none recorded save by Brooke. Since it is said to bear the cardinal's hat it cannot have been struck before 1511 when Bainbridge was elected cardinal, but it may possibly, as Brooke himself says, have been struck by Wolsey. Moreover, failing more certain attestation of the coin it seems not impossible that a perhaps indistinct i.m. Star may have been mistaken for the Martlet.

The coins of Wolsey are substantially as recorded by Brooke except that he omits to distinguish between two quite different forms of the i.m. Star. This six-pointed star is formed with both plain and wavy rays. The latter form is heraldically termed the "estoile", but I have in the lists preferred the more self-explanatory term "Radiant Star". The mark also appears on some Durham pence. The full list of Wolsey's marks on First Coinage half-groats is as follows:

- I. *Posui Deum*, &c.; i.m. Radiant Star (Pl. XV, 9, a rare coin); hat and keys, no initials.
- II. *Civitas Eboraci* (Pl. XV, 10-15); i.m.s Radiant Star, Plain Star, Pansy, Escallop, Cross Voided (a scarce mark); hat and keys, no initials.
- III. *Civitas Eboraci*; i.m. Cross Voided; hat and keys, TW beside shield (Pl. XV, 16).

The order of the marks is indicated by a coin which shows Escallop struck over Pansy, and a mule with obverse Cross Voided, reverse Escallop (Pl. XV, 14).

On coins with i.m. Pansy and i.m. Escallop and on some with i.m. Plain Star a pellet is placed at either side of the crown of the Cardinal's hat.

GROATS. *Second Coinage, groats and half-groats*, 1526-34 (Archbishop Wolsey; *Sede Vacante*; Archbishop Lee; Pl. XV, 17-21; Pl. XVI, 12-16)

With the Second Coinage the interest in the coins becomes more dramatic through the addition of Wolsey's famous groat. This coin shows two initial marks, the Cross Voided and the Acorn, and mules both ways between the two. From the internal evidence of the letter-punches it seems clear that the coins with i.m. Cross Voided are the earlier. These coins show, for instance, the earlier H with a flat-topped serif, contemporary with some London groats with i.m. Rose. No coins with i.m. Acorn seem to show this letter.

A scarce variety of each mark, Cross Voided and Acorn, omits the saltire in the forks of the reverse (Pl. XV, 18, 20).

Mr. H. A. Parsons recently suggested that the Acorn was the earlier mark¹ since certain groats with i.m. Cross Voided which omitted the initials TW (Pl. XV, 19) were struck, he argued, during the *Sede Vacante* period which supervened on Wolsey's death. But attractive

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxv. 67.

though this theory may be, the coins do not support it. The coins with Cross Voided incontestably show the earlier work; if there were *Sede Vacante* coins one would have expected them to show the later i.m. Acorn. Moreover, a serious obstacle to regarding these coins without TW as *Sede Vacante* pieces is that they still retain the offending "holy hat". Mr. Parsons's explanation given for its retention is not convincing. He supposes that though the initials were removed, the hat being "closely woven into the design" was left to show that the mint was being worked "partly for the king's profit". This view seems to beg the question, for it seems likely that the king's receiver would certainly take all the revenue to which he was entitled. The cardinal's hat, the ostensible cause of Wolsey's indictment on this heading, remains a most difficult feature to explain away. Finally, if *Sede Vacante* coins were struck we should expect them to have included above all the ubiquitous half-groats of the period; but no such half-groats, i.e. without initials, are recorded. This is the third instance in which quite independent obstacles have arisen to show that coins without the archbishop's mark cannot reliably be considered to mark a *Sede Vacante* period.

The list of York groats should therefore remain in the order given by Brooke: Cross Voided, Acorn.

The Cross Voided, continued from the First Coinage, is a rather striking mark. Its use perhaps reflects Wolsey's well-known love of display. It was his practice when he moved abroad to have borne before him two large crosses, his Cross of York and his Cross as *Legatus a latere*. One or both of these may perhaps be seen in the Cross Voided.

HALF-GROATS. *Second Coinage, 1526-34* (Archbishop Wolsey; *Sede Vacante*; Archbishop Lee; **Pl. XVI, 12-16**)

Thomas Wolsey, 1526-30. These coins are as described by Brooke, with Cross Voided as the only mark, but some coins show a pellet in one quarter of the Cross (**Pl. XVI, 13**). It is curious that apparently the Acorn was not used on a half-groat. One coin with i.m. Lis and the *Posui* legend shows the initials TW fraudulently inserted beside the shield. On another a blundered legend reads *Civitor* as at Canterbury.

Sede Vacante, 1530-1. The coin of this period with i.m. Key and no initials seems to be one of the few unexceptionable pieces which can be classed as *Sede Vacante* (**Pl. XVI, 14**).

Edward Lee, 1531-4. The half-groats of Archbishop Lee are fairly plentiful; they have i.m. Key and EL or LE beside the shield (**Pl. XVI, 15, 16**). A piedfort exists with LE beside the shield; it weighs 88½ grs.

PENCE AND HALFPENCE. *First Coinage, 1509-26*

No York pence or halfpence are known of this coinage, though a supposed penny was included in lot 746 of part ii of the Montagu sale. From the description, however, it may equally well have been a coin of Henry VII.

PENCE. *Second Coinage*, 1531-4 (Archbishop Lee, **Pl. XVII, 7**)

Brooke again gives no York pence of this period, but Mr. Lockett has a coin of Archbishop Lee with i.m. Key and EL beside the shield (**Pl. XVII, 7**). There is apparently no penny of Wolsey, nor a *Sede Vacante* penny of 1530-1.

HALFPENCE. *Second Coinage*, 1526-34 (Archbishop Wolsey; *Sede Vacante* (?); Archbishop Lee; **Pl. XVII, 25-7**)

Thomas Wolsey, 1526-30. There are two coins with i.m. Cross Voided. One is undoubtedly a halfpenny of Wolsey and has TW beside the bust (**Pl. XVII, 25**). The other piece with a key below the bust is discussed below.

Sede Vacante (?), 1530-1. Once more in the case of this halfpenny with i.m. Cross Voided, no initials, but a key below the shield, there seems to be legitimate doubt as to the classification of a piece as *Sede Vacante* (**Pl. XVII, 26**). Only a few years previously, in Henry VII's reign, Archbishop Savage had struck a coin of precisely the same design. It seems illogical therefore not to suppose that the design was suitable also for an episcopal coin under Henry VIII. Furthermore, the half-groat attributed to this *Sede Vacante* period bears the i.m. Key and we might reasonably expect the halfpenny or any other coin of the same period to bear the same initial mark. But this halfpenny bears the Cross Voided which seems to have been emphatically the mark of Wolsey.

Edward Lee, 1531-4. The coins usually show EL beside the bust (**Pl. XVII, 27**), but a variant, unrecorded by Brooke, and now in Mr. Lockett's collection, shows presumably LE. It came from the Longbottom sale (230) and has L to left of the bust, though the letter on the right is obliterated. Of the coins with EL Ruding (Suppl. **Pl. IV, 19**) shows one with Roman E but all the coins I have seen show Lombardic E.

Durham

PENCE. *First Coinage*, 1509-26 (Bishops Ruthall and Wolsey, **Pl. XVII, 8-12**)

Thomas Ruthall (1509-23). Coins were struck with i.m. Lis and TD (*Thomas Dunelmensis*)¹ above the shield, or beside it either above or below the horizontal quartering line, and also with i.m. Radiant Star (**Pl. XVII, 11**) with TD beside the shield below the line. This last is a new coin, unrecorded by Brooke. A piedfort at the Fitzwilliam Museum, probably with i.m. Lis, but worn, weighs 52.5 grs., and has TD beside the shield below the line.

Thomas Wolsey (1523-9). Brooke gives no Durham pence of the First Coinage, but lot 528 in the Walters sale of 1913 illustrates a coin,

¹ He also signs *Thomas Duresme*.

now Mr. Blunt's, with i.m. Spur Rowel and DW (? *Dunelmensis Wolsey*) beside the shield. This was presumably struck by Wolsey. Similar specimens are in Durham Cathedral (there is a cast in the British Museum) and in the collection of Mr. E. J. Winstanley. The coins, save those of Ruthall with i.m. Lis, are rare.

Second Coinage, 1526-34 (Bishop Wolsey; *Sede Vacante* (?); Bishop Tunstall; **Pl. XVII, 13-20**).

Thomas Wolsey, 1526-9. An unusual coin of Mr. Winstanley's is a mule with the obverse just noticed of the First Coinage and i.m. Spur Rowel, and a reverse of the Second Coinage, with i.m. Trefoil and TW beside the shield (**Pl. XVII, 13**). The reverse with i.m. Trefoil also occurs muled with obverse i.m. Crescent, a mark which does not seem to occur on any reverse, and with obverse i.m. Plain Star. The Plain Star only, not the Radiant Star, appears on coins of Wolsey. The order of his marks seems to be Trefoil, Crescent, Star, though Brooke placed Crescent first, all with TW beside the shield and the cardinal's hat below. All the coins, save some of the mules, are fairly common.

The cross-ends on the reverse of Wolsey's pence of the Second Coinage show a variation similar to that on the contemporary Canterbury pence. Coins with reverse i.m. Trefoil or no reverse initial mark show either pierced cross-ends (e.g. **Pl. XVII, 16**) or open forks (e.g. **Pl. XVII, 13**). Coins with i.m. Star show pierced cross-ends only.

Sede Vacante (?), 1529-30. There seems little reason to dispute the attribution to the *Sede Vacante* period of the scarce coin with i.m. Star or Radiant Star and no initials. Wolsey resigned the see in 1529 and Tunstall succeeded him in February 1530. The coins have pierced cross-ends.

Cuthbert Tunstall, 1530-4. Tunstall's coins show both Plain and Radiant Star; they are fairly common. A piedfort with his initials CD beside the shield weighs 46 grs. All the coins have pierced cross-ends; sometimes the cross-ends enclose a saltire, but usually the flan is too small to be sure of this.

As regards the change in the theme of the bishops' initials inaugurated by Wolsey, the letters DW were possibly chosen to avoid confusion with those of his predecessor Ruthall, since both were called Thomas. The introduction of the letters TW and with them the omission of the traditional D of the Durham mint were doubtless deliberate on Wolsey's part, and with the insertion of the cardinal's hat brought the coins into line with his York pieces—perhaps a characteristic piece of egotism. But the variety in the ecclesiastical coins throughout their history shows that the bishops had always been individualists; their power had been great and undisputed. In Wolsey the parade of the episcopal power seems to have reached a climax; I have referred to the Voided Cross on his York coins. By the irony of date it was the overbearing cardinal who first set Henry in the way to destroy that power for ever.

LISTS

COINAGE OF LONDON

GROATS

First Coinage. Wt. 48 grs. Portrait of Henry VII; *Henric VIII Di Gra Rex Agl Z Fra* (*Fr. F*) and *Posvi*, &c. Open forks on reverse.

- (i) I.m. Pheon; king's numeral viij (**Pl. XIII, 1**).
- (ii) I.m. Castle; king's numeral viij; variants:
 - 1. I.m. plain.
 - 2. Pellet before obv. i.m. (**Pl. XIII, 2**).
 - 3. Obv. i.m. between saltires.
- (iii) I.m. Portcullis; king's numeral viij or viii (dots on some omitted); variants:
 - 1. I.m. plain (**Pl. XIII, 3**).
 - 2. I.m. without chains (**Pl. XIII, 3-5, rev.**).
 - 3. Pellet before obv. i.m. (**Pl. XIII, 4**, Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
 - 4. Pellet before *Gra* (**Pl. XIII, 3 and 4**).
 - 5. Obv. i.m. over Gothic **G** (**Pl. XIII, 5**).
 - 6. Rev. with trefoils in forks (**Pl. XIII, 5**).

Second Coinage. Wt. 42 $\frac{2}{3}$ grs. Profile portrait of Henry VIII; *He(n)ric VIII D G R* (*Di Gra Rex, D Gra R, Di G R*) *Agl Z Franc* (*France Franc, Fra*) and *Posvi*, &c. Saltire in forks on reverse.

- (i) I.m. Rose; variants:
 - 1. Bust with heavy jowl, sometimes with mixed Roman and Lombardic letters, *Di, D Gra*, &c. (**Pl. XIII, 6, 7**).
 - 2. Bust with pointed chin and Greek profile, *Di G, D Gra* (**Pl. XIII, 8**, Mr. R. C. Lockett).
 - 3. Bust with Roman nose (now stereotyped, **Pl. XIII, 9**).
 - 4. Half-rose in cross-ends, usually with some Roman letters (**Pl. XIII, 7**).
 - 5. *Adivtoe* (**Pl. XIII, 9**).
- (ii) Mule; Rose/Lis (**Pl. XIII, 10**).
- (iii) Mule; Lis/Rose, sometimes with *Adivtoe*' (**Pl. XIII, 11**).
- (iv) I.m. Lis; variants:
 - 1. Lettering of late rose-marked coins, sometimes with *Adivtoe*' (**Pl. XIII, 10, rev.**).
 - 2. Lettering similar to Sunburst coins, including **Q**—like **Q** (**Pl. XIII, 12**).
- (v) I.m. Sunburst, all with **Q**—like **Q**; variants:
 - 1. *Fra* (several dies, **Pl. XIII, 14**).
 - 2. *Franc* (**Pl. XIII, 13**).
- (v a) I.m. Lis; as above but late lettering, the i.m. resumed (?) upon expiry of Sunburst (**Pl. XIII, 15**).
- (vi) Mule; Lis/Arrow (**Pl. XIII, 16**, Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
- (vii) Mule; Arrow/Lis (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
- (viii) I.m. Arrow; variants:
 - 1. I.m. barbed Arrow, sometimes over Lis, *Agl* (**Pl. XIII, 17**, Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
 - 2. Normal Arrow, *Agl* later *Aglie*.
- (ix) Mule; Lis/Pheon (**Pl. XIV, 1**).
- (x) Mule; Pheon/Lis (**Pl. XIV, 2**).
- (xi) Mule; Arrow/Pheon (?) over Arrow (C. A. W.).
- (xii) I.m. Pheon; variants:
 - 1. Legend *Agl Z Franc(e)* (**Pl. XIV, 3**).
 - 2. Larger flan, legend *Agl Fra Z Hib Rex*, lettering as Third Coinage (**Pl. XIV, 4**).
- (xiii) Mule; Pheon/Lis, larger flan, reading *Hib Rex*; rev. i.m. Lis and letters of Third Coinage (**Pl. XIV, 5**).
- (xiv) Mule; Lis/Pheon, reading *Hib Rex*, similar type to no. xiii (C. A. W.).

HALF-GROATS

First Coinage. Wt. 24 grs. Portrait of Henry VII; *Henric VIII Di Gra Rex Agl (Z Fr, F)* and *Posvi*, &c. Open forks on reverse.

- (i) I.m. Portcullis, both sides (Pl. XIV, 6) or on obv. only; king's numeral viij or viii (without dots).

Second Coinage. Wt. $21\frac{1}{2}$ grs. Profile portrait of Henry VIII; *Henric VIII D G R Agl Z F (Fra Fr)* and *Posvi*, &c.

- (i) I.m. Rose, both sides (Pl. XIV, 8) or on obv. only; variants:
 - 1. Roman letters (Pl. XIV, 7).
 - 2. Saltire in forks.
 - 3. I.m. on obv. only (Pl. XIV, 9).
- (ii) Mule; Rose/Lis (Pl. XIV, 10).
- (iii) Mule; Lis (often over Rose)/Rose (Pl. XIV, 11).
- (iv) I.m. Lis, both sides (Pl. XIV, 13) or on obv. only; variants:
 - 1. I.m. on obv. only (Pl. XIV, 12).
 - 2. Saltire in forks (Pl. XIV, 10).
 - 3. Roman M on rev.
- (v) I.m. Sunburst on obv. only *Agl Z F*; Roman M on rev. saltire in forks (Pl. XIV, 15, Mr. R. C. Lockett, *ex* R. Carlyon-Britton 178).
- (vi) I.m. Arrow, both sides or on obv. only; open forks; variants:
 - 1. I.m. Arrow over Lis (Pl. XIV, 16, obv., XIV, 14, rev.).
 - 2. Roman M on rev. (Pl. XIV, 14).
- (vii) I.m. Pheon both sides; known only reading *Agl Fra Z Hib Rex*; open forks (Pl. XIV, 17, Mr. R. C. Lockett, *ex* R. Carlyon-Britton 182).

PENCE (all of sovereign type)

First Coinage. Wt. 12 grs. *Henric Di Gra Rex Agl (Al) (Z)* and *Civitas London*; rev. shield, pierced cross-ends, Lombardic letters.

- (i) I.m. Castle (Pl. XIV, 18).
- (ii) I.m. Portcullis (Pl. XIV, 19).

Second Coinage. Wt. $10\frac{2}{3}$ grs. *H D G Rosa Sine (Sie)*, *Spina (Spia)* and *Civitas London*; rev. shield, pierced cross-ends.

- (i) I.m. Rose (Pl. XIV, 20).
- (ii) I.m. Lis.
- (iii) I.m. Sunburst (Pl. XIV, 22, Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
- (iii a (?)) I.m. Lis (resumed?).
- (iv) I.m. Arrow (Pl. XIV, 21).

HALFPENCE (all have bust with arched crown with cross and pellets on rev.)

First Coinage. Wt. 6 grs. *Henric Di Gra Rex (Agl Z) (Agl)* and *Civitas London*; pierced cross-ends.

- (i) I.m. Castle.
- (ii) I.m. Portcullis (Pl. XIV, 23).

Second Coinage. Wt. $5\frac{1}{3}$ grs. *H D G Rosa Sine (Sie)*, *Spina (Spia)* and *Civitas London*. long cross patty and pellets. Lombardic letters.

- (i) I.m. Rose, Lombardic N on reverse.
- (ii) I.m. Lis; Lombardic (Pl. XIV, 24) or Roman N on reverse.
- (iii) I.m. Sunburst, Roman N on reverse (Pl. XIV, 25).
- (iii a (?)) I.m. Lis (resumed on expiry of Sunburst?).
- (iv) I.m. Arrow, Roman N on reverse.

FARTHINGS

First Coinage. Wt. 3 grs. I.m. Portcullis; types, *obv.* Portcullis, *rev.* Rose on long cross, saltire stops; *Henric Di Gra*; *Civitas London* (Pl. XIV, 26). Lombardic letters.

Second Coinage. Wt. 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ grs. Mainly Lombardic letters.

- (i) I.m. Lis (?) types, *obv.* Portcullis, *Rutilans Rosa*; *rev.* Long cross with one pellet in each angle; *H D Gracia* (legend doubtful, Pl. XIV, 27).
- (ii) I.m. Arrow; types, *obv.* Portcullis, *Rutilans Rosa*; *rev.* Rose on long cross; *He . . . D G . . . AC* (?) (Pl. XIV, 28).

ECCLESIASTICAL COINAGE

Canterbury

HALF-GROATS

First Coinage, 1509–26. *Henric VIII Di Gra Rex Agl* (Agl Z Z F Fr); portrait of Henry VII, Lombardic letters.

Archbishop William Warham, 1509–26 (*ob.* 1532).

I. *Posvi*, &c.

- (i) No initials; i.m. Rose (Pl. XV, 1, Mr. E. J. Winstanley, also Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
 - (ii) WA over shield; i.m. Martlet, on *rev.* sometimes over Rose (? WA added to die of Henry VII, Pl. XV, 2).
 - (iii) WA beside shield; i.m. Cross Fitchy (Pl. XV, 3, Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
- II. *Civitas Cantor*; all with WA beside shield.
- (i) I.m. *obv.* Cross Fitchy, *rev.* Lis (Pl. XV, 4, a mule with *obv.* of group I (iii)).
 - (ii) I.m. Lis (illus. *B.N.J.* iv. 351).
 - (iii) I.m. Pomegranate (Pl. XV, 5).

Second Coinage, 1526–34. *Henric VIII D(i) G (Gra) R Agl Z Fra* (Fr?, F) and *Civitas Cantor*; portrait of Henry VIII.

Archbishop William Warham, 1526–32.

Normally WA beside shield.

- (i) I.m. *obv.* Warham's (uncertain) mark (*Di G*), *rev.* Rose (Pl. XVI, 1, Mr. R. C. Lockett).
- (ii) I.m. Warham's (uncertain) mark (Pl. XVI, 4); variants:
 1. Some Roman letters (Pl. XVI, 3).
 2. WA omitted on *rev.* (Pl. XVI, 2).
 3. Saltire in forks (Pl. XVI, 2, 3).
 4. I.m. on *obv.* only.
- (iii) I.m. Cross Patonce (Pl. XVI, 5, 6).
- (iv) I.m. *obv.* Cross Patonce, *rev.* T (T plain or ornamental) (Pl. XVI, 7, 8).
- (v) I.m. T (Pl. XVI, 9).

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, 1533–4 (*ob.* 1556).

- (vi) TC beside shield; i.m. Wheel, both sides or *obv.* only (Pl. XVI, 10, 11).

PENCE

First Coinage, 1509–26. *Henric Di Gra Rex Agl* (Al) (Z); *Civitas Cantor*.

Archbishop William Warham, 1509–26 (*ob.* 1532).

- (i) WA over shield; i.m. Martlet (Pl. XVII, 1, Mr. C. E. Blunt).
- (ii) WA beside shield; i.m. Pomegranate (Pl. XVII, 2).

Second Coinage, 1526–34. *H D G Rosa Sie Spia* [sic]; *Civitas Cantor*.

Archbishop William Warham, 1526–32.

- (i) I.m. Warham's (uncertain) mark (Pl. XVII, 3, Mr. R. C. Lockett)
- (ii) I.m. Cross Patonce (Pl. XVII, 4, Mr. R. C. Lockett).

- (iii) I.m. T (**Pl. XVII, 5**, Mr. R. C. Lockett).

All have open forks.

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, 1533-4 (ob. 1556).

- (iv) TC beside shield; i.m. Wheel (**Pl. XVII, 6**). A variant recorded shows TD (C reversed) beside shield. All have pierced cross-ends.

HALFPENCE

First Coinage, 1509-26. Henric Di Gra Rex Agl; Civitas Cantor (cross and pellets).

Archbishop William Warham, 1509-26 (ob. 1532).

- (i) WA beside bust; *rev.* pierced cross-ends; i.m. Pomegranate (**Pl. XVII, 21**).

Second Coinage, 1526-34. H D G Rosa Sie Spia [sic]; Civitas Cantor (Cross and pellets).

Archbishop William Warham, 1526-32.

- (ii) WA beside bust;

(a) I.m. T; a mule with *rev.* of the First Coinage with pierced forks (**Pl. XVII, 23**).

(b) I.m. doubtful, perhaps Warham's (uncertain) mark, or Cross Patonce, *rev.*, when true coins, long cross patty (**Pl. XVII, 22**).

Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, 1533-4 (ob. 1556).

- (iii) TC beside bust; i.m. Wheel; *rev.* long cross patty (**Pl. XVII, 24**).

York

HALF-GROATS

First Coinage, 1509-26. Henric Di Gra Rex Agl, Al (Z); portrait of Henry VII.

Archbishop Christopher Bainbridge (1508-14; Cardinal, 1511).

- I. *Posvi*, &c.; keys below shield, but no initials or hat; i.m. Martlet, sometimes over Rose (Mr. E. J. Winstanley, **Pl. XV, 6, 7**).
- II. *Posvi*, &c.; XB beside shield; no hat or keys; i.m. Martlet (**Pl. XV, 8**).
- III. (?) *Posvi*, &c.; hat and keys (but no initials) below shield; i.m. Martlet. Possibly a coin of Wolsey's (not in B.M.; see Montagu, ii. 746, with i.m. perhaps misread).

Archbishop Thomas Wolsey, 1514-26 (ob. 1530).

- I. *Posvi*, &c., hat and keys (but no initials) below shield; i.m. Radiant Star (**Pl. XV, 9**).
- II. *Civitas Eboraci*; hat and keys (but no initials) below shield.
 - (i) I.m. Radiant Star ("Estoile", **Pl. XV, 10**).
 - (ii) I.m. Star (**Pl. XV, 11**); some have a pellet at either side of the crown of the hat.
 - (iii) I.m. Pansy (**Pl. XV, 12**); pellet at either side of the crown of the hat.
 - (iv) I.m. Escallop (**Pl. XV, 13**); pellet at either side of the crown of the hat.
 - (v) I.m. *obv.* Cross Voided, *rev.* Escallop (**Pl. XV, 14**, Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
 - (vi) I.m. Cross Voided (**Pl. XV, 15**).
- III. *Civitas Eboraci*; hat and keys below, TW beside shield; i.m. Cross Voided (**Pl. XV, 16**).

GROATS

Second Coinage, 1526-34. Henric VIII D G R Agl Z Franc(E), Fra, Fra'c; Civitas Eboraci; portrait of Henry VIII.

Archbishop Thomas Wolsey, 1526-30.

TW beside shield, hat below.

- (i) I.m. Cross Voided (**Pl. XV, 17**); variants:
 - (a) TW omitted (**Pl. XV, 19**, Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
 - (b) No saltires in forks (**Pl. XV, 18**).
- (ii) I.m. *obv.* Cross Voided, *rev.* Acorn (**Pl. XV, 20**).
- (iii) I.m. *obv.* Acorn, *rev.* Cross Voided.
- (iv) I.m. Acorn (**Pl. XV, 21**); variant: no saltire in forks (**Pl. XV, 20 rev.**).

HALF-GROATS

Henric VIII D (Di) G R Agl Z Fra (Fr, F); Civitas Eboraci; portrait of Henry VIII.
Archbishop Thomas Wolsey, 1526-30.

- (i) TW beside shield, hat below; i.m. Cross Voided (Pl. XVI, 12). Variant: pellet in one-quarter of initial cross (Pl. XVI, 13); a blundered coin reads *Civitor*.

[*Sede Vacante* (?) 1530-1.]

- (ii) No initials or hat; i.m. Key (Pl. XVI, 14).

Archbishop Edward Lee, 1531-4 (ob. 1544).

- (iii) EL beside shield; i.m. Key (Pl. XVI, 15).

- (iv) LE beside shield; i.m. Key (Pl. XVI, 16; a piedfort (LE), weighs 88½ grs.).

PENCE

(*First Coinage*: none known, Montagu, ii. 746, was possibly a coin of Henry VII.)

Second Coinage, 1526-34. *H D G Rosa Sie Spia [sic]; Civitas Eboraci*.

Archbishop Edward Lee, 1531-4 (ob. 1544).

- (i) EL beside shield (Pl. XVII, 7, Mr. R. C. Lockett).

HALFPENCE

(*First Coinage*: none known.)

Second Coinage, 1526-34. *H D G Rosa Sie Spia [sic]; Civitas Eboraci* (cross and pellets).

Archbishop Thomas Wolsey, 1526-30.

- (i) No initials, key below bust; i.m. Cross Voided (Pl. XVII, 26, perhaps *Sede Vacante*, 1530-1).

- (ii) TW beside bust; i.m. (?) Cross Voided (Pl. XVII, 25).

True coins have rev. with long cross patty.

Archbishop Edward Lee, 1531-4 (ob. 1544).

- (iii) EL beside bust; i.m. Key (Pl. XVII, 27, Ruding, Suppl. Pl. iv, 19, shows Roman E but coins known show Lombardic).

- (iv) LE beside bust (Mr. R. C. Lockett).

All have rev. with long cross patty.

Durham

(PENCE only)

First Coinage, 1509-26. *Henric Di Gra Rex Agl (Al) (Z); Civitas Durram*

Bishop Thomas Ruthall, 1509-23.

- (i) TD over shield; i.m. Lis (Pl. XVII, 8).

- (ii) TD beside shield, above or below horizontal; i.m. Lis (Pl. XVII, 9, 10).

- (iii) TD beside shield, below horizontal; i.m. Radiant Star ("Estoile", Pl. XVII, 11, C. A. W.).

Bishop Thomas Wolsey, 1523-6.

- (iv) DW beside shield, hat below; i.m. Spur Rowel (Pl. XVII, 12, Mr. C. E. Blun, *ex Walters*, 1913, 528, same obv. die as Pl. XVII, 13).

All coins have pierced cross-ends.

Second Coinage. *H D G Rosa Si(n)e Spi(n)a; Civitas Durram*.

Bishop Thomas Wolsey, 1526-9 (res.).

TW beside shield, hat below; i.m.:

- (i) *Obv.* Spur Rowel (*First Coinage*), *rev.* Trefoil, *rev.* with open forks (Pl. XVII, 13, same obv. die as XVII, 12, Mr. E. J. Winstanley).

- (ii) Trefoil both sides, *rev.* with open forks; or on *obv.* only; *rev.* with pierced cross-ends or open forks (Pl. XVII, 14).

- (iii) *Obv.* Crescent, *rev.* Trefoil; *rev.* with pierced cross-ends (Pl. XVII, 15).

(iv) Crescent noted on obv. only; rev. with pierced cross-ends or open forks (**P1. XVII, 16**).

(v) *Obv.* Star, *rev.* Trefoil; rev. with pierced forks (C. A. W.).

(vi) Star, both sides or on obv. only; rev. with pierced cross-ends (**P1. XVII, 17**).
Sede Vacante (?), 1529-30.

(vii) No initials or hat; i.m. Star (**P1. XVII, 18**) or Radiant Star ("Estoile"); the i.m. has been noted on obv. only; rev. has Lombardic M.

All reverses have pierced cross-ends.

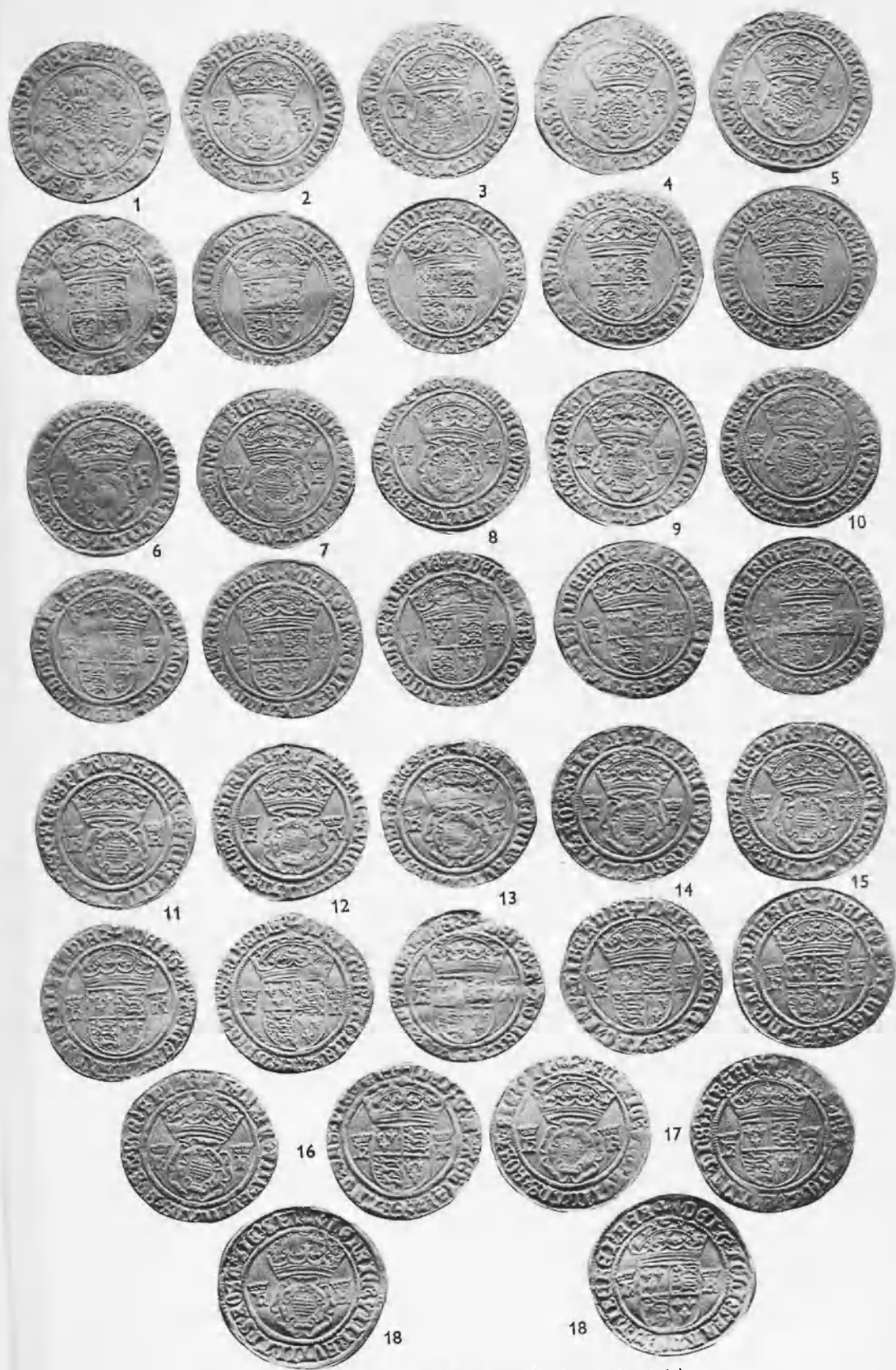
Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall, 1530-4 (*ob.* 1559).

(viii) CD beside Shield; i.m. Star both sides or on obv. only, Lombardic M (**P1. XVII, 20**) or Roman M on rev.; a piedfort (Fitzwilliam Museum) weighs 46 grs.

(ix) CD beside shield; i.m. Radiant Star ("Estoile") on obv. only, Lombardic or Roman M on rev. (**P1. XVII, 19**).

All reverses have pierced cross-ends, sometimes enclosing a saltire.

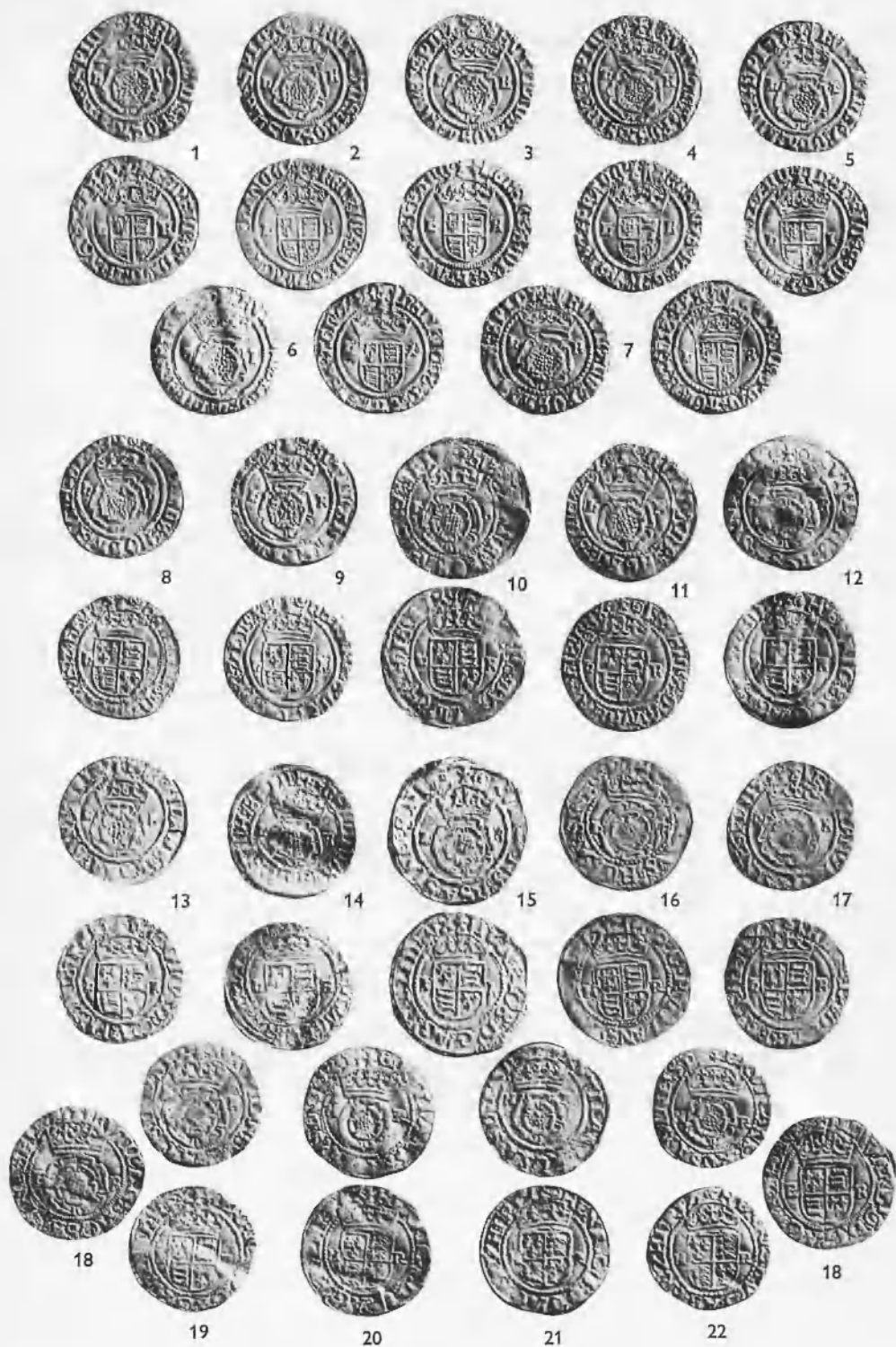
(To be concluded)



CROWNS OF HENRY VIII, 1526-44 (1)



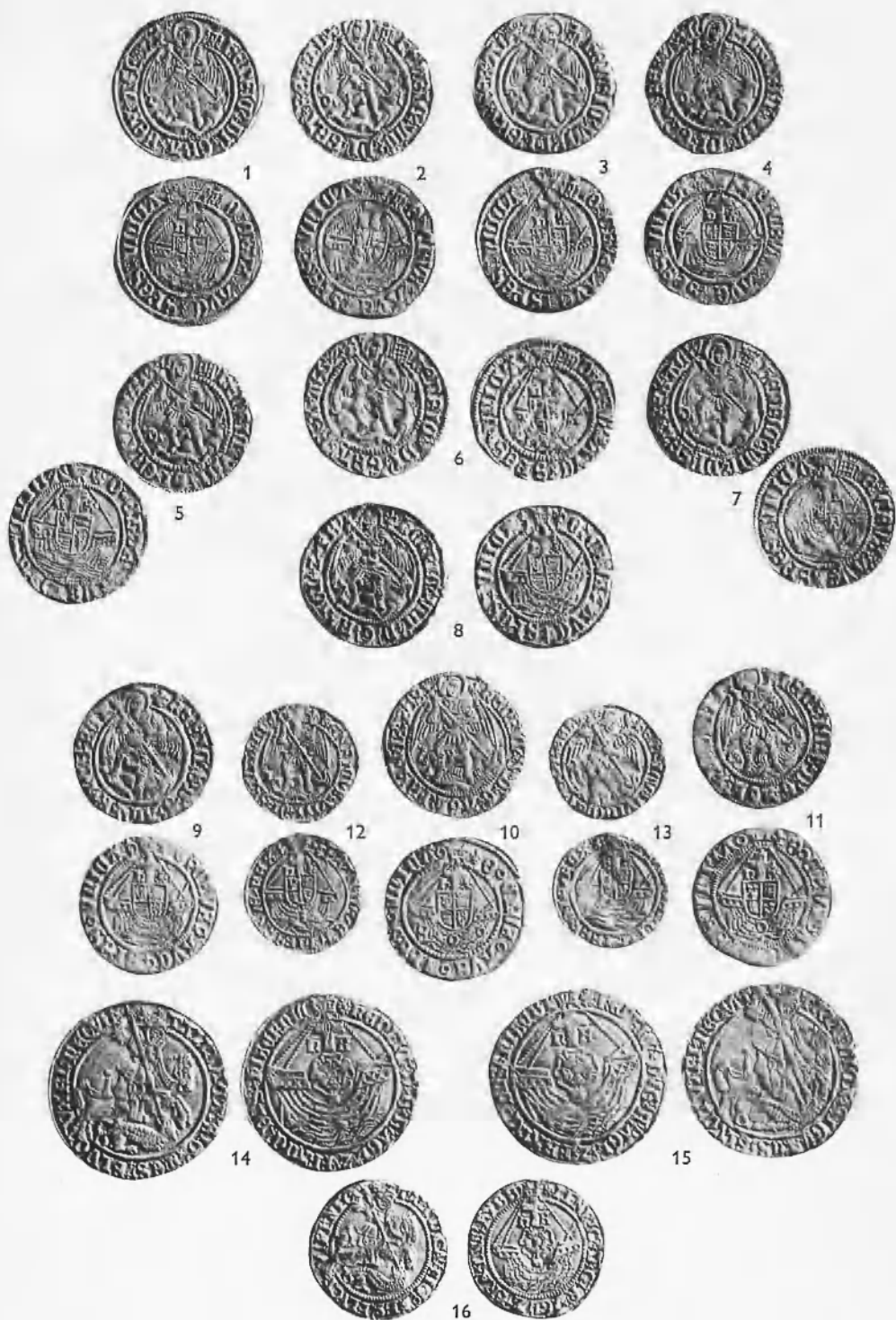
CROWNS (ii), HENRY VII AND EDWARD VI
 HALF-CROWNS (i), HENRY VIII



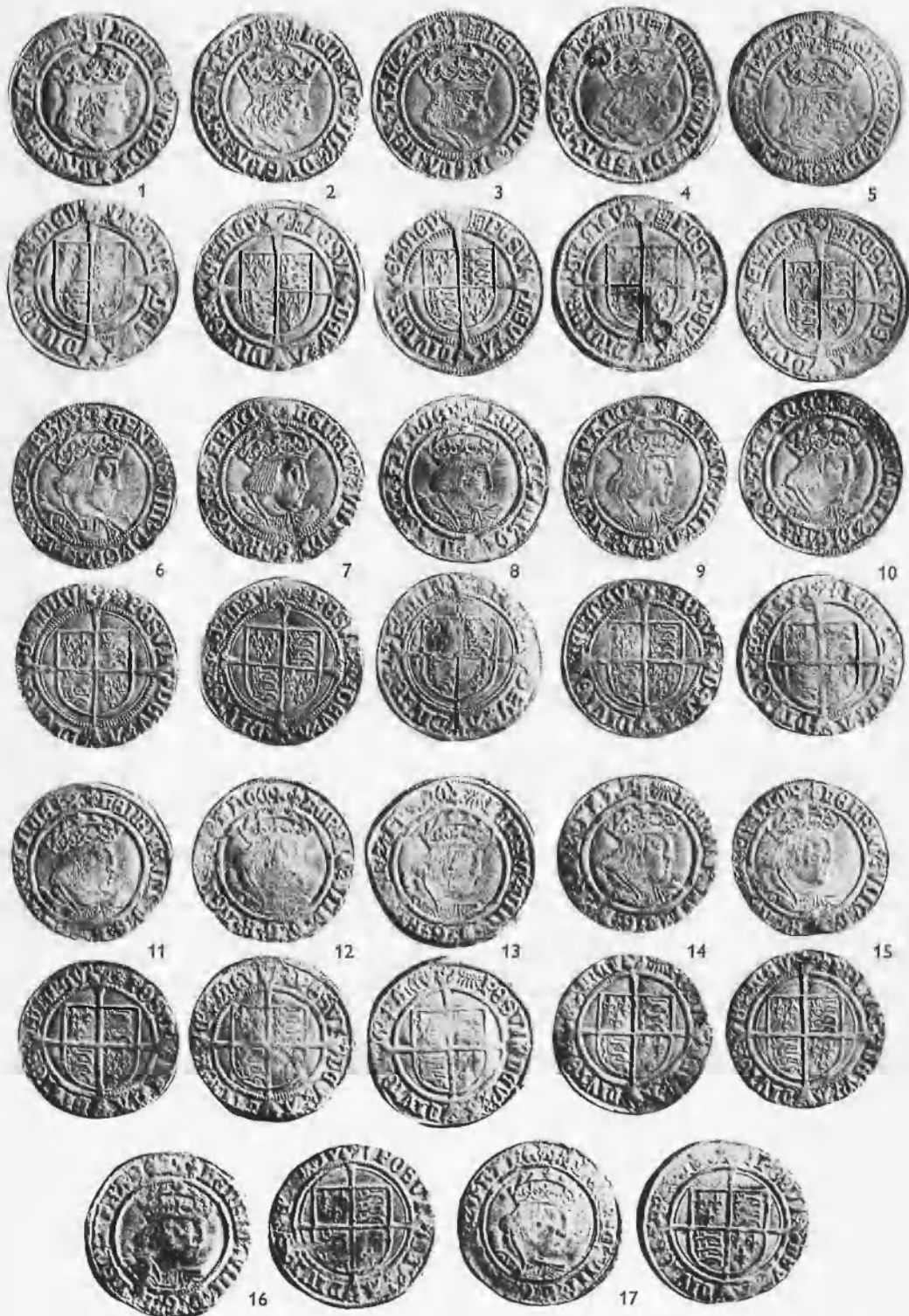
HALF-CROWNS (ii), HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI

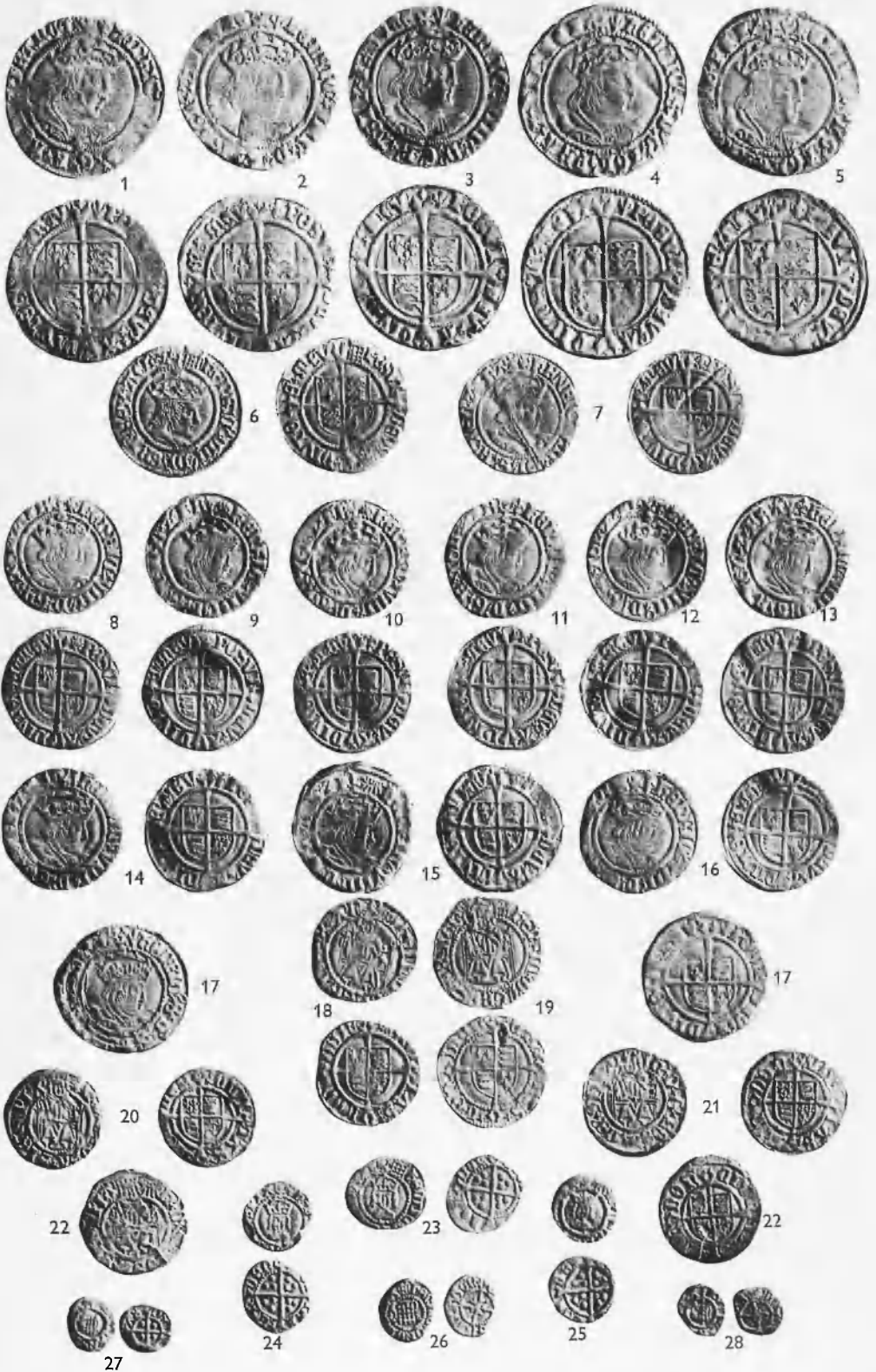


HENRY VIII ANGELS

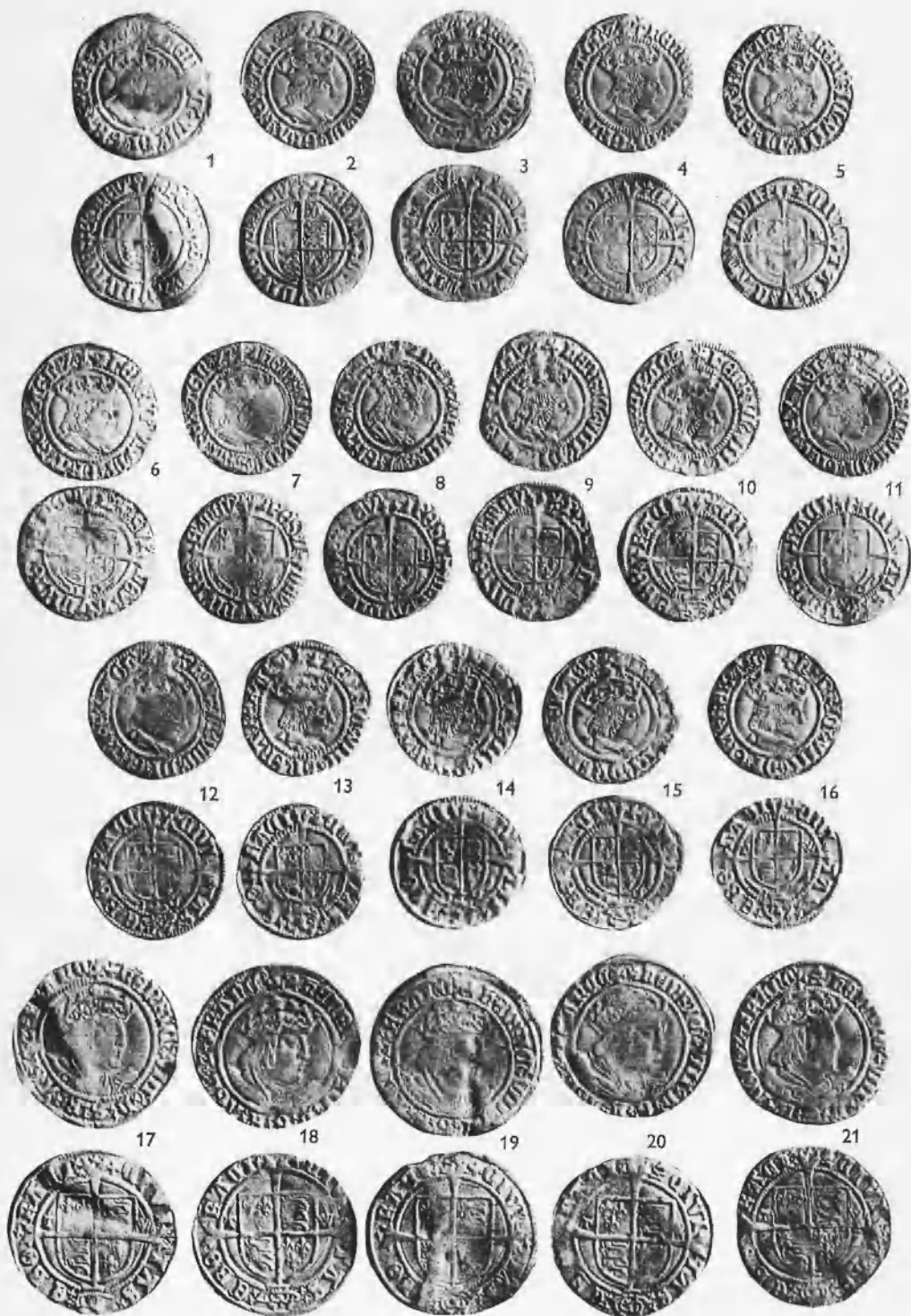


HENRY VIII, HALF-ANGELS, GEORGE NOBLES AND HALF

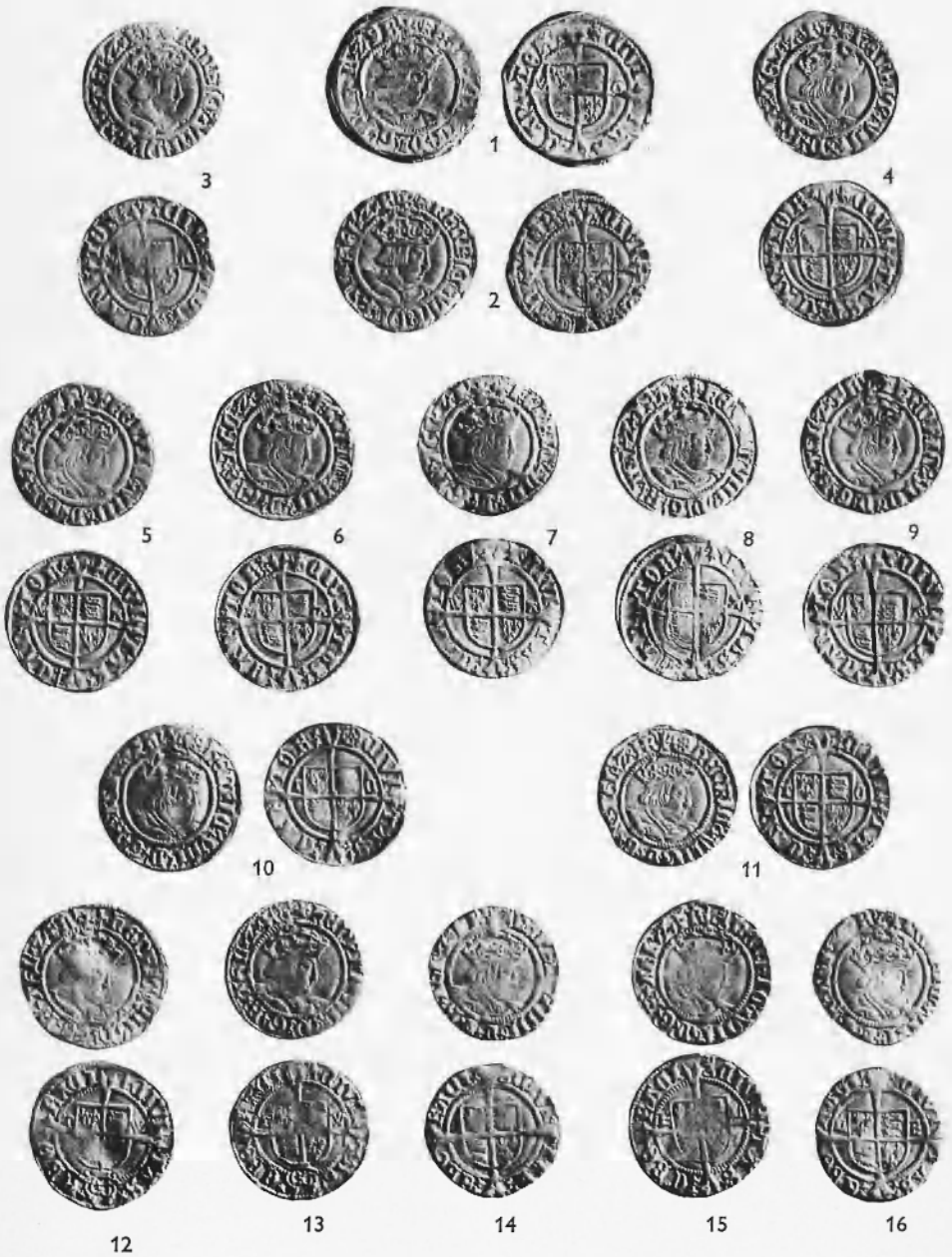


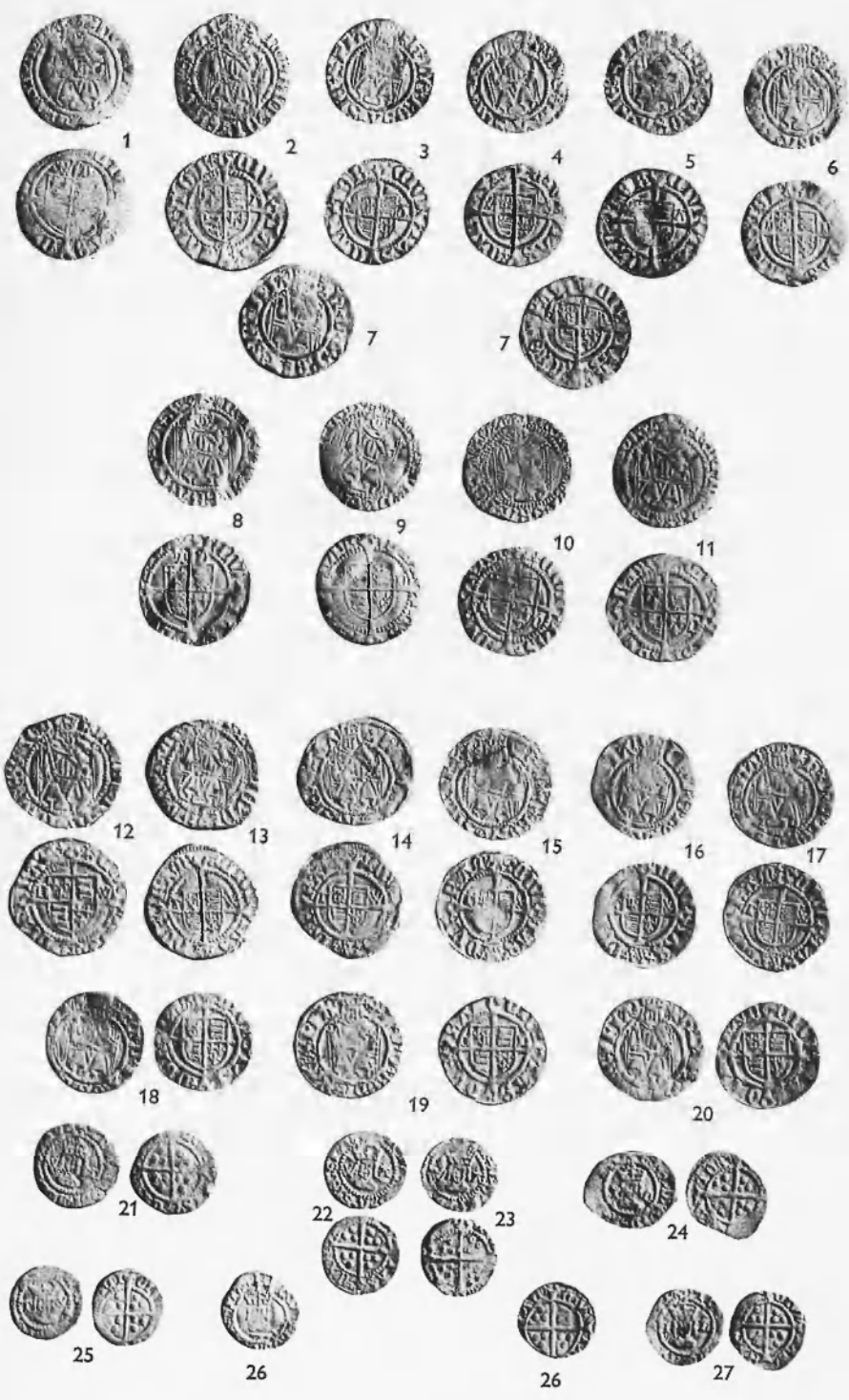


HENRY VIII, FIRST AND SECOND COINAGES, GROATS TO FARTHINGS, LONDON



HENRY VIII, ECCLESIASTICAL COINS (i)





MISCELLANEA

A COIN OF THE DOBUNI

I AM grateful to Mr. John Gardner, F.S.A., for permission to publish a debased silver coin of the Dobuni, found while excavating a Romano-British site at Brockham End, O.S. 6-inch, Somerset VII, *NE.* and *SE.*, 2.2 inches from the top edge and 6 inches from the right edge, marked *Roman villa, site of.* Digging took place in 1939 and from 1946 to 1948. The coin was unstratified. Pottery dated from the Flavian period to the fourth century, but two small sherds of Early Iron Age "A" were also found.

The coin is of small module, 12 mm. maximum diameter, weight 9.75 grains. It appears to be uninscribed, and to contain very little, if any, silver. *Obverse:* Remains of a head showing the eye, nose, and mouth to the right, and before the face a crescent and other ornamental marks. *Reverse:* A horse galloping right in natural style, above it a retrograde s flanked by two inverted crescents, and behind the horse another s, not retrograde but more elongated. A fairly close parallel is Evans, Pl. N. 6 for the reverse, and for the obverse Evans, Pl. F. 9. Neither parallel is exact. The s ornament, which should not be taken as an inscription, may be seen in an earlier example of the Dobunic silver coinage, Evans, Pl. F. 5. The naturalistic style of the horse probably derives from Belgic influence, and the coin may perhaps be dated to the first half of the first century A.D. It is considerably worn, and while it may be a stray loss, would not be out of place on an early Roman site.

H. DE S. SHORTT

A NEW TYPE FOR ALFRED



A NEW type for the coinage of Alfred is something of a numismatic event—one, I believe, that has not occurred since the discovery of the great Cuerdale hoard in 1840. In this instance the new coin is also significant because it offers evidence for the relationship—one must not arbitrarily assume sequence, for the types do not always appear to have been issued consecutively—of Alfred's types.

The coin, a penny, was found in the course of the excavation of an Anglo-Saxon site at Southampton in 1949 and has been acquired by the British Museum. I owe it to the courtesy of Mr. Carson that it was brought to my notice. It is unfortunately so corroded that a cast of it cannot safely be taken and the moneyer's name, even, is

doubtful. But the type of both obverse and reverse is clear. Commander Mack has kindly done a drawing of the coin.

The obverse shows the King's head diademed, facing right, the bust reaching to the edge of the coin. The inscription so far as it is visible reads —L FERD REX, ∇ ... beginning to the left of the head.

The reverse shows a cross reaching to the edge of the coin and voided in the centre with a large lozenge containing a cross saltire. In the quarters are traces of the letters of the moneyer's name, made the more difficult to read by the fact that the coin is chipped as well as corroded. The word MON ∇ ET ∇ is clear; the only letters of the moneyer's name that one can read with a fair degree of certainty are the initial E and an E beginning the second half of the name. The second letter might be D or \mathfrak{D} , the third I or L; the fifth is undecipherable, and the sixth (and last) appears to be ∇ but might be E.

The weight, in view of the condition of the coin, has little significance.

To deal first with the obverse, it will be seen that the type is that of Alfred's first issue according to the *British Museum Catalogue* and Brooke's classification. This is the type that was also struck by Alfred's predecessor Æthilred I, by Burgred of Mercia, and by Archbishop Ceolnoth of Canterbury, and which was significantly absent from the Cuerdale hoard. It is often found of apparently base silver, as are the Burgred coins, and may on that account have gained an ill reputation that resulted in its withdrawal when the quality of the current issue had improved. The reading (E)lferth is unusual, indeed I do not remember to have seen it elsewhere, but ELFERED occurs occasionally.¹ The Saxon title, for such one must assume the word beginning with ∇ to be, is not normally found on coins of Alfred's first type, but occurs on *B.M.C.* type 5 (Brooke 5).

The reverse is of this rare type, *B.M.C.* 5, and it remains only to attempt to identify the moneyer. The range is restricted by our having the initial letter reasonably certainly established. Of the moneyers beginning with E who struck both types (1 and 5) we have Eadwulf and Ethelred. The first can clearly be ruled out and the second does not well fit the letters that can be seen. But a moneyer Ethelere occurred on two coins in the Beeston Tor hoard of type 1, and it seems likely that this is the man we have to do with here. If the second letter is, as is possible, a \mathfrak{D} and the third an L, we may complete the name E \mathfrak{D} LERE. This cannot be regarded as certain, but appears the most likely interpretation on the slender evidence available.

In later series, one would call this coin a "mule" and use it as evidence in building up a sequence of types. Generally in the early Anglo-Saxon series this would be a false premiss as it is quite clear that a variety of types was often issued concurrently. The seventeen (or more) types issued in the short reign of Ceolwulf I (821–3) prove this. By the time of Alfred's accession, however, the types had become stabilized—his predecessor in his five years' reign issued but one type—and although later in Alfred's reign there appears to have

¹ Cp. *B.M.C.* ii, p. 57, no. 172.

been a reversion to some extent to the older practice, it may well be that *B.M.C.* type 1 was, for a short time, his only type and that later it was superseded by type 5 and a variety of other types, many represented today by single specimens, as is the case with Brooke types 2, 3, and 4.

In this instance, therefore, the word "mule" would seem justified.

C. E. BLUNT

THE MEDALLIC JETTON OF PERKIN WARBECK



THE purpose of this note is to place on record one or two further facts regarding the rare silver pieces sometimes, though it would seem erroneously, called groats, a detailed description of which is given in *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i, p. 21. In considering whether they should rather be called jettons or medals, it is worth noting that Barnard¹ points out that it was in the Burgundian Low Countries, whence it is generally accepted that these pieces emanate, that the historical jetton originated. He cites two struck in the 1430's and draws attention to the vogue they enjoyed there in the sixteenth century. We may perhaps best employ his own phrase of medallic jettons for these Warbeck pieces.

The pieces are anonymous, but have generally been accepted as being associated with Perkin Warbeck on account of the date they bear, 1494, and of the fact that they carry the royal arms of England and, as legend on one side, a version of the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast, a seeming threat to Henry VII, and on the other the Latin equivalent of 'O Lord, save the King', which may be assumed to refer to the pretender.

The association of these pieces with Warbeck is considerably strengthened by a description that James Gairdner gives in his *Richard III*² (p. 290) of a seal of Warbeck's. This, it will be seen, bears a general resemblance to the obverse of the jettons; it shows, says Gairdner, a shield quartered, bearing in the first and fourth quarters the lilies of France, and in the second and third three leopards, the whole covered with a crown closed-in. Within the

¹ Barnard, *The Casting Counter*, p. 40.

² Published by the Cambridge University Press.

circle of the crown are lilies and crowned leopards holding ostrich feathers over them. The document to which this seal was attached is dated 24 January 1495 (1494 old style) and is signed 'Rychardus Angleterre, manu propria'. By it Warbeck makes over, in the event of the failure of his issue male, to Maximilian, King of the Romans and his heirs, all his rights in his own Kingdom of England and France, his Duchy of York, his Lordship of Ireland, and his Principality of Wales.

I have had to speak in the past tense of the seal being attached to the document, for when, after some inquiry, I traced the original to the State Archives in Vienna, it was only to learn that the seal had become detached and could not be found. This is the more to be regretted as no reproduction of it appears to exist.

Another feature which points to the pieces being medals or jettons rather than coins is that all appear to be from the same dies. The ten specimens of which either photographs or casts were available to me are undoubtedly so. A reproduction of the specimen in the Vienna collection I have not seen. As potential currency for an invading army the product of one pair of dies would be of little use.

In one respect the *Medallic History* has fallen into a slight error when it states that the weight is about that of an English groat. The groat at this time weighed 48 grains, whereas the average weight of the Warbeck pieces is about 60 grains. Correction of this error serves of course to strengthen the medallic attribution. On the other hand, undue importance should probably not be attached to the gilding of the British Museum specimen, a feature which is used to support the medal theory, for, so far as I know, it is the only specimen so treated.

The date of 1494 on these pieces has caused some doubt as to their being rightly associated with Warbeck inasmuch as his "invasion" took place in July 1495. It is clear, however, that it had been planned to take place some months earlier, that is, in the year 1494 old style, and the *Cambridge Modern History* (i. 468-71) explains that the project was upset by the arrest of Stanley who was executed by Henry VII on 16 February 1494-5.

Only one other point remains to be made. The specimen of this rare piece in the Fitzwilliam Museum was bequeathed to the University as long ago as 1589. It would be interesting to know how the piece was then described, but my friend Mr. Shrubbs tells me that unfortunately no such description has survived.

C. E. BLUNT

A SHIP TYPE OF CHARLES II

THOMAS SIMON's silver trial-piece for his angel coinage of 1660 has been illustrated several times, but there is one point about the type and its derivatives that still needs clarification. I mean the ship on the reverse, which is, I believe, the only case of an identifiable ship-

portrait on the English coinage. The descriptions of the pieces selected for discussion are as follows.

1. A thin silver cliché (*rev.* only), a trial-piece for Simon's angel of 1660. AMOR POPVLI PRAESIDIVM REGIS. Port broadside view of a three-masted warship under mainsail and main topsail. Quartered English arms on mainsail and C II R on topsail. The hull has two complete tiers of gun ports, and a carved quarter gallery. The ensign at the stern has a St. George's Cross in canton.¹



FIG. 1

2. Pattern farthing, "Dominion of the Seas" coinage, 1662-5. *Obv.* CAROLVS • A • CAROLO Rose, thistle, and harp, crowned and arranged in form of cross. *Rev.* QVATVOR • MARIA • VINDICO. A much smaller and more detailed portrait of the same ship, under all canvas except mainsail, lateen mizzen, and spritsail-topsail. Royal yards with furled sails are fitted above the fore and main top-gallant sails. There are two tiers of gun-ports. The ship flies a large square flag at each masthead, with a pendant below, and similar pendants at fore and main yardarms, peak of lateen, and under spritsail-topmast. Ensign and jack are also flown.² The characteristics of this vessel are (1) her large size and magnificence, (2) the presence of royal yards and sails, an unusual fitting at that date.

The second of these two coins is undoubtedly based on the first, but it embodies many improvements in the technical representation; Simon's original design is a compromise between the old heraldic style of the sixteenth century and a new feeling of realism. The farthing is obviously engraved from a picture, or from first-hand knowledge of ships, and is a meticulous copy.

One other representation of the same ship can be added. This is the Great Seal of James, Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, made after the battle of Lowestoft in 1665. It is the farthing on a large scale.³

From this information we must conclude that the vessel illustrated was one of extraordinary size and power, the last word in technical progress, and carrying royal sails, a fitting unknown at that time

¹ *Num. Chron.* 4 ix (1909), p. 297; *Brit. Num. Journ.* iii (1938-41), p. 443, Pl. II, 9, and Pl. VI, 5; Folkes, *Gold Coin*, p. 155, 12 (Pl. XIII, 12), footnote (b).

² Montagu, *Copper Coins*, p. 48, 14; *British and Foreign Naval Medals relating to Naval and Maritime Affairs* (National Maritime Museum, Greenwich), 1937, p. 176, 1a.

³ Engraved by Vertue (1780 edn.). Compare also Simon's medal of the Declaration of Parliament, 1642. *Med. Ill.* (1), p. 294, 110 [Pl. xxv, 7]. This may be the first portrait of the Sovereign.

except in one French warship. We have not far to look for such a vessel. The *Sovereign of the Seas*, of 100 guns and 1,637 tons, was built for Charles I by Phineas and Peter Pett and launched at Woolwich, by a coincidence, in the year 1637. She fulfilled all the conditions of the coin-type, being the largest and most powerful ship of her time. Infinite pains were taken to make her beautiful with carvings and gilt, and she is known to have been fitted with royal

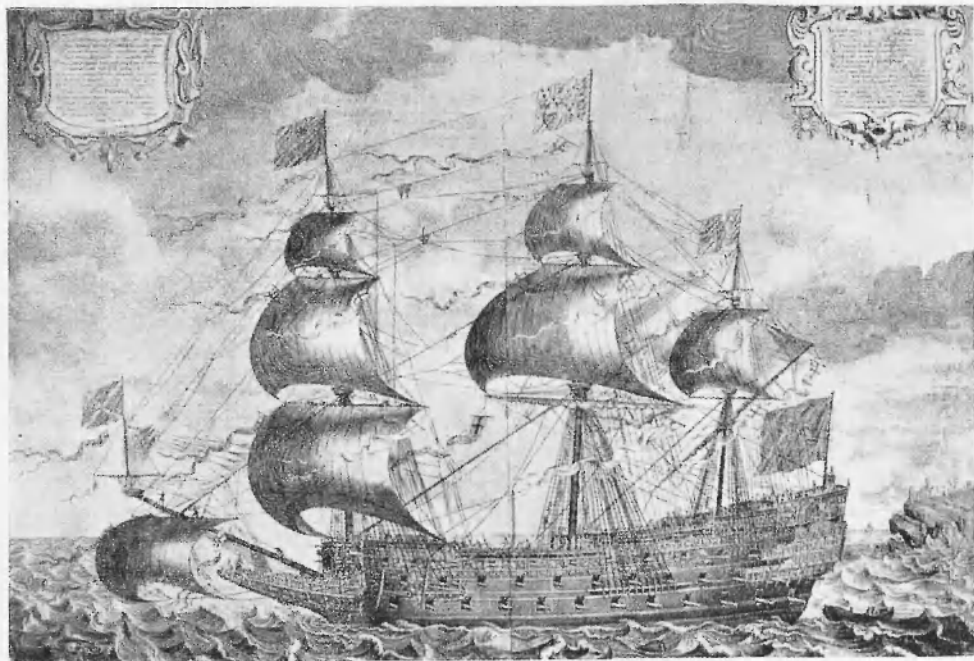


FIG. 2

sails. It has been unkindly said of her that she was the most useless ship afloat, owing to her great size, but in spite of this handicap, she earned a great reputation in the Dutch Wars. The *Sovereign* was the first of a series of ships ordered under the "Ship-money" programme, and Charles in authorizing her construction showed his realization of the need for a strong fleet, capable of redeeming his early failures at Cadiz and La Rochelle.

Naturally the *Sovereign's* launch excited attention in the public mind and the playwright Thomas Heywood extolled her in a rare pamphlet, published in 1638. He spoke of the ship

Whose brave top-top-top Royal nothing bars
By day to brush the sun, by night the stars,¹

and, most important of all, an engraving of the ship in full sail was made before her launch by John Payne.² This engraving agrees

¹ Thomas Heywood, *A True Description of his Majesties Royall and Most Stately Ship called the Sovereign of the Seas, built at Wolwich in Kent, 1637*, publ. by I. Okes, London, 1638.

² Callender, *Peter Pett and the Sovereign of the Seas*, published for the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, 1930, pp. 12 ff.

down to the smallest detail with the Pattern Farthings of 1662-5 [Fig. 2]. There can be no question that the latter were carefully copied from Payne's engraving. The hull shown on Simon's trial-piece also agrees with Payne, and so do the Duke of York's Seal and the gold Touchpieces of Charles II-Anne.

Simon's warrant for the angel is dated 18 September 1660; during the years 1659-60 the *Sovereign* had been completely rebuilt at Chatham, and in July and August 1660 she was fitting for sea. While there she was visited by the king, who complemented Peter Pett, her original builder, on his work of reconstruction. About this time a painting of her stern and a wash-drawing of her hull were made. The latter agrees well in general characteristics with both angel and farthing.¹

With all this evidence in mind it is reasonable to conclude that Simon was told to produce a design which would call attention to the royal visit to Chatham to inspect the reconstructed *Sovereign*, a symbol of English sea-power. The "Dominion of the Seas" coinage which so annoyed Louis XIV was another manifestation of Charles's desire to carry on the revival of sea-power begun by his father and exploited by Cromwell.

One type of farthing has the inscription ISTA FAMA PER AETHERA VOLAT on the edge; the Latin is faulty, but ought to mean "Her fame flies through the air". Combined with QVATVOR MARIA VINDICO (I claim the Four Seas), this must surely refer to the *Sovereign*.²

I have not yet seen a copy of Heywood's pamphlet, but I suspect that this quotation may come from his description of the *Sovereign*. The work is full of Latin tags and verses, some taken from Virgil and the Vulgate, others of Heywood's own invention. His knowledge of Latin often proved unequal to the task. Incidentally it is interesting to note that in the painting of the *Sovereign's* stern the inscription SOLI DEI GLORIAM appears on her taffrail. This provides another link with the coinage, this time with the obverse inscription SOLI DEI GLORIA on some pattern halfpennies of Charles (sometimes called tickets for the Touching ceremony) which have the ship reverse (Montagu, p. 41, no. 1).

The *Sovereign of the Seas* had a distinguished career; although she missed Lowestoft, she took part in six fleet actions during the Dutch Wars, and earned the nickname of "Golden Devil" from her opponents. Once she was nearly lost through running aground, coming out of the Thames, and in 1685 was rebuilt for a second time, her name being changed to *Royal Sovereign*. She continued in commission until 1696, when she was burned by accident at Chatham. Some of her timbers were probably used in the construction of her successor, the *Royal Sovereign* of 1701.

One last point. It is doubtful whether Simon himself engraved the dies for the pattern farthings of the "Dominion of the Seas" issue.

¹ Op. cit., pp. 16 f.

² Callender, op. cit., p. 8.

He concentrated on medals from 1660 until his death in 1665, and left the current coins to his rival in Charles's favour, Jan Roettier. The latter must have been responsible for copying Payne's engraving of 1637 so closely, but Simon first conceived the portrait of the *Sovereign of the Seas*.

J. D. A. THOMPSON

WILLIAM III 1697 HALF-CROWN OF THE YORK MINT, WITH AN EDGE
INSCRIPTION ANNO REGNI OCTAVO

IN *English Silver Coinage* 1649-1949, H. A. Seaby shows this edge dating with a high degree of rarity (R6) for the Exeter and Norwich mints, but the OCTAVO variety does not appear to have been recorded for the York mint.

The condition of the coin is average for the reign, and came into the possession of the present owner labelled "Sprowston".

Its first known owner was the Rev. E. F. Linton, M.A. Oxon., vicar of Sprowston, Norwich, from 1878 to 1888. Though interested in coins, he was not a collector, and it is unlikely that he bought it or acquired it from any well-known collection. Several worn copper coins of William III had been turned up by the spade in the vicarage garden, and it is probable that the coin here described was found in the same manner.

The Y below the bust on the obverse is of the usual type, and the shields are large with a hooked harp of seven strings on the Irish shield. The size of the shields and this type of harp are common to all the 1697 half-crowns examined, but there is considerable variation in the number of strings.

The British Museum and Messrs. B. A. Seaby kindly gave facilities for the inspection of the coins in their possession, and twenty-one 1697 half-crowns with the NONO edge inscription were examined, with the following findings:

<i>Mint</i>	<i>No. of strings</i>	<i>No.</i>
York	Eight	5
"	Seven	1
Norwich	Seven	1
"	Six	1
Exeter	Eight	1
"	Seven	1
"	Six	2
Chester	Eight	1
"	Six	1
Bristol	Nine	1
"	Six	2
London	Eight	2
"	Seven	1
"	Six	1

Three specimens, in which the strings were too worn to count, are omitted.

The only 1697 half-crown, with an OCTAVO edge dating in the British Museum is from the Norwich mint, and has a seven-stringed harp.

E. C. LINTON

AN UNPUBLISHED ANGEL OF EDWARD IV

At the Society's meeting on 26 April 1950 there was exhibited on behalf of Mr. Herbert Schneider a cast of an extremely interesting and hitherto unknown variety of the rare angel of Edward IV's first reign, and it is by Mr. Schneider's kind permission that this record of it is published.

Obv. EDWARD · DI · GRN · REX · ANGL · S · RRND · DNS · HI · BER ·

The archangel killing the dragon which is of an entirely new form with a second head at its tail, the mouth armed with sharp and clearly defined teeth.

Rev. I.M. Rose. PER CRUCE TVN · STLVN · NOS · XPISTE ·
REDEPTOR

Normal type for the early angels with rays of the sun from the mast-head. Large rose to left, large sun to right of the cross that springs from the shield. A small trefoil in the field on either side outside the ropes to the mast. [Pl. B. 8]

Edward IV introduced the angel under an indenture dated 6 March 1465 to meet the continuing need for a coin of 6s. 8d. that arose when the value of the noble was increased. The few varieties known of his first reign (that is, issued prior to 1470) are listed in this *Journal*, vol. xxii, pp. 197-8 and vol. xxv, p. 170. In the former paper attention was drawn to a hitherto unpublished variety in Lord Ellesmere's cabinet which was remarkable for the length of both legends. The obverse ended **HIBERNI** and the reverse was as on the coin described above. The rose beside the cross was large as on Mr. Schneider's coin but the sun was smaller. On a second coin, where the legends had been reduced to their more usual length, the size of the sun had been increased. These it was suggested were, in that order, the first two angels issued.

The coin now under review clearly falls into this early class of the 1465-70 angels. The full spelling **XPISTE** on the reverse links it with Lord Ellesmere's coin and the unusual form of the dragon clearly marks it down as an issue made while the type had still finally to be established. The coin can therefore be regarded as one of the earliest, and may possibly be the earliest, of the angel series, and Mr. Schneider is to be congratulated on making so important a discovery.

C. E. BLUNT.

REVIEWS

English Coins. By G. C. BROOKE. Third edition, 1950. Methuen & Co., Ltd.

A new edition of Brooke's *English Coins* has been prepared under the general editorship of the late Mr. C. A. Whitton and with the assistance of various members of the British Numismatic Society. The late Dr. J. G. Milne kindly supplied the following review.

The new edition of Brooke's *English Coins* is very welcome to the student, as a great deal of work has been done on most parts of the series since 1932, the results of which have been carefully summarized in the Supplement now published. At the same time this arrangement can only be regarded as a temporary solution of the problem of keeping the book, as a handbook, up to date: it is possible, though not convenient, to work backwards and forwards to one Supplement, with an eye on asterisks, but in course of time no doubt further Supplements will become necessary, and if they are issued on the same plan the task of tracing out the relations of a coin will be complicated. It would be better to divide Brooke's work into two parts, a history of the coinage and a list of known types: the former could stand as he wrote it, possibly with footnotes drawing attention to later discoveries or theories, while the list could be revised from time to time to incorporate additions. This would have the advantage, for the reader, of emphasizing the continuity of Brooke's argument; at present the thread is apt to be broken, and it takes some trouble to pick it up again.

Coin Collecting. By J. G. MILNE, C. H. V. SUTHERLAND, and J. D. A. THOMPSON. Oxford University Press ("Compass Books" Series).

THIS book should be greeted with an *expectate veni*, for it fulfils a long-felt need. A third of its thickness is illustrations, the rest compact scholarship, and all for a price within the reach of the "young collectors" for whom it is expressly intended, and whom the three authors (who represent the traditional and unwieldy divisions of the subject into "Greek", "Roman", and everything else—"Medieval and Modern") mean to turn into intelligent numismatists. They set about this in very different ways.

The author of the Greek section gives us a graceful little essay, conservative in chronology but radical in its treatment of the fundamental problems attending the birth of coinage. Some of the wisdom of his generalizations may be lost on omnivorous schoolboys, but it is hard to criticize so much quintessential learning in so little room. Nevertheless, I feel he misses the opportunity of familiarizing—"vulgarizing"—things Greek for his readers. Although he does appeal to their interest by mentioning the incidence of Greek coins in Britain, he might have said—and illustrated—less of the "masterpieces" and

more of Hellenistic "small change", which is easy to come by and often preserves the traditional civic types; so doing, he might have recruited more students of these under-studied issues.

The Romanist wisely concentrates on the ordinary and gives facts—just what those with prodigious memories and immature judgement enjoy! He has judiciously combined an historical "outline" with a work of reference, comparable to, but much more palatable than, the admirable chapter on coinage in Collingwood's *Archaeology of Roman Britain*—this is high praise. The chronology appears to be a ("typically Roman?") compromise between conservative and radical views.

The last author, with all the extra space at his disposal, is cramped by the sheer complexity of his subject. For him, it is not simply a question of concentrating on the essentials of a single evolution, but of something like showmanship—of selecting a few widely separated examples, and leaving the reader to fill in the gaps by his own experience. On the whole, he makes a very good and memorable display: the coins he sets up as signposts in the reader's mind do mark the turning-points in numismatic history. Britain (not England only, I am glad to say) fares better than the rest of the world, and has a very fair summary, while British associations are cunningly introduced into the other sections. The chapter on tokens, jettons, and such-like gives much information hard to find elsewhere.

This book will doubtless soon call for a reprint: a few points might be remembered for the next edition. The numerous mints of the Old English coinage, for instance, had really ceased by 1218, not 1279 (the reopening of extra mints in 1248 was an emergency arrangement, like those of 1280, 1300, 1464, and 1696). The list of English rulers, lifted out of Brooke, with all his doubtful hypotheses, ought to be acknowledged, if not in piety, at least in self-defence.

The plates are excellently executed, but whereas the Roman plates show a most typical and, therefore, useful series, there is not a single Greek bronze coin illustrated before the sub-imperial period. (I am glad there is an ordinary "owl" and "colt" shown, at least). One or two plate-descriptions need attention—e.g. the date of Louis the Pious (who was emperor of a great deal more than "Germany"), and several inscriptions—Lombardic type is dangerous to handle.

S. E. R.

OBITUARY

R. C. LOCKETT

RICHARD CYRIL LOCKETT spent the greater part of his lifetime in assembling his magnificent collection, which was one of the best ever formed in this country.

He commenced collecting as a boy, after the gift of a small cabinet containing a varied gathering of coins, which he kept intact nearly all his life; just before his end he gave many of them to a grandchild.

About 1906 the late Mr. C. A. Watters of Liverpool introduced him to my father and recommended at the same time that my father should help him build up a first-class collection of English coins.

From that time Mr. Lockett gave much serious time and thought to numismatics and was a large purchaser at all the important sales, especially so in the case of Rashleigh, Roth, Carlyon-Britton, Walters, Bruun, Huth, Morrieson, Lord Grantley. He purchased the Evans collection *en bloc* after the British Museum had made their selection; he also had the pick of the important Bearman and Webb collections which we had bought privately.

As so many distinguished collectors before him, he succumbed to the beauty and interest of Greek coins when I showed him the catalogue of the Pozzi collection in 1920, and gave me instructions to spend up to £8,000 at the sale. After such a fine start he bought at all the Greek coin sales and the perusal of *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum*, *Lockett Collection*, will show the taste and assiduity he devoted to his Greek series.

Between the wars he collected a few pre-1500 continental coins to show types from which many English coins were copied. When the Grantley collection came on the market during the Second World War he decided to make large additions to that series and bought largely, especially of Merovingian.

For many years he had admired my Roman silver portrait collection and started late in the war to collect Roman portraits in brass and succeeded in forming a very fine gallery.

His ancient British and Saxon to Charles II (hammered) are the finest ever to be in one collection, and include most of the great rarities.

Although Mr. Lockett would usually buy anything he particularly wanted, he was never greedy and would nearly always stand aside for a collector he knew was specializing. One notable instance was when he withdrew his commission for the Crondall hoard so that it could be bought for the nation.

Mr. Lockett was the author of the *Coinage of Offa* (1920) and the *Coins of Truro and Exeter* (1936), but his great interest was lending his coins to any student who wished to write, and his happiest moments were when his friends came to study and admire his collection.

He always said that I knew his collection almost as well as he did

himself, but why not? I had spent many hours of most weeks of my life in his coin room at Cadogan Place and never ceased to marvel at the grand display.

His many services to numismatics were amply rewarded in his view when he received the Sanford Saltus Gold Medal in 1947.

A. H. F. B.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1950

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS— <i>till 22 June</i>
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS— <i>from 28 June</i>
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.— <i>till 20 February</i>
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.— <i>from 22 February</i>
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946-50	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.
1932	CHARLES WINTER
1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON

1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON, B.A.
1944	<i>Not awarded.</i>
1947	R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
1950	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL 1950

President: CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL; E. C. CARTER, M.D., M.R.C.P.; MISS HELEN FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.; H. H. KING, M.A.; R. C. LOCKETT J.P., F.S.A.; H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Director: C. A. WHITTON, B.A.

Treasurer: F. ELMORE JONES.

Librarian: D. MANGAKIS.

Secretary: E. J. WINSTANLEY.

Council: LT.-COL. H. ALLCARD; ALBERT H. F. BALDWIN; G. V. DOUBLE-
DAY; COL. M. H. GRANT; SIR JOHN HANHAM, BT.; W. HURLEY;
COMMANDER R. P. MACK, R.N.; H. A. PARSONS; E. WILSON PECK;
P. H. SELLWOOD; C. B. SMITH; D. F. SPINK; J. CLIFFORD THOMP-
SON; J. D. A. THOMPSON; L. V. W. WRIGHT; CAPTAIN W. J. C.
YOUDE.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 JANUARY 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following resignations were reported: Mr. H. A. Parsons, Mr. T. Poole (Junior member), Mr. M. J. Lee, Mr. Wesander, Col. Stebbing, and Mr. H. Holmes.

Voting on the increased subscription took place and the motion to increase it from one to two guineas was carried unanimously.

Presentation

The three medals bearing the name AMETHYST were presented to the present H.M.S. *Amethyst*. The President announced that at the intended time of presentation, the Commanding Officer of H.M.S. *Amethyst* had been ill in hospital, but that this had not deterred him from receiving the medals with enthusiasm.

Exhibitions

By the PRESIDENT:

An unpublished satirical medal of the time of Queen Anne. The reverse suggesting the successful exploits of the British companies in India leading up to the formation of the British East India Company, or possibly the Treaty of Utrecht.

By MR. DAVID SPINK:

Commemorative medals, as follows:

1. The arrival of Princess Mary in Holland, 1642. By Sebastian Dadler.
2. Peace with Holland, 1654. By Sebastian Dadler.
3. Admiral Michael de Ruyter, 1666. By Christopher Adolfszoon.
4. James II, Naval Reward, 1685. By John Roettier.
5. Capture of Louisburg, 1758. By T. Pingo.
6. Defence of Gibraltar, 1779-83. Given by General Picton.
7. The Stephen Badcock Medal, 1899. Possibly the largest medal ever struck.
8. The Russian Emperor, Alexander I. One of the smallest medals struck.
9. Royal Cruising Club Medal, 1949. *Obverse*: reproduction of the Seal of Lord High Admiral, Lord Howard of Effingham, 1585.

Service medals, as follows: Waterloo Medal, 1815; Military General Service Medal, 1793-1814; Naval General Service Medal, 1793-1840; First Burma War, 1824-6; Crimea War, 1854-6; Egypt, 1882-9; British South Africa Company's Medal, 1890-7; Hong Kong Plague Medal, 1894; East and Central Africa, 1897-9; Ashanti, 1897-9; Natal, 1906; Naval General Service Medal, 1915; India General Service, 1936.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

1. A rare group of medals for gallantry: British Empire Medal (Civil Division); King's Police Medal (George VI); Colonial Police Medal (George VI). All awarded to Albert Edward Conquest, of the Palestine Police Force.
2. A very rare medal of Dutch origin with busts of William and Mary on obverse and reverse. Artist unknown. (*M.I.* 690/78.) Silver.

By CAPT. W. J. C. YOUDE:

An old Volunteer Medal of 1806, Royal Liverpool Volunteers, presented to his great-great-great grandfather.

By MR. W. SLAYTER:

1. The Dunbar Medal.
2. Pewter proof of the medal issued by the East India Company for the capture of Seringapatam, 1799.
3. Medal struck for the opening of Epping Forest by Queen Victoria in 1882.

ORDINARY MEETING

1 MARCH 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following were nominated for membership:

Dr. J. Lubran, Prospect House, Honley, nr. Huddersfield.

Mr. John Weibel, 85 Clare Court, Judd Street, London, W.C. 1.

The following resignations were reported: Mr. Roy V. Farman and Major Diggle.

The Agreement between the Warburg Institute for the housing of the Society's Library was produced and signed by the President and three members of the Council, all members present having agreed that this should be done.

Exhibitions

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

1. Henry I penny, *B.M.C.* type VII, of Oxford. *Obv.* H(Æ)NR(I)(R)EX. *Rev.* ALNOD:ON:(O)XIN. Wt. 21 gr.
2. Henry I round halfpenny of Winchester (?). *Obv.* HENRIC(R)EX around uncrowned head. *Rev.* GODPIN A(O)NPI. Cross potent with cross of pellets in angles. Wt. 9.75 gr.

By CAPT. YOUDE: Pennies of the Hereford mint, of Stephen's Civil Wars:

1. An early die, possibly 1136-38. *Rev.* . . . RE . . ON: HER . .
2. Unusual work and probably local adaptation. *Rev.* SIBERN ON HER.
3. Same dies, but badly struck. Perhaps 1138-39 between the two sieges.
4. Henry of Anjou. Type 1 (c), with reverse of Henry I. *Obv.* HENR *Rev.* SIB(ERN ON) HEREFOR. 1142-43.

Other mints of the period:

5. Lincoln. King's name removed by chisel work. *Rev.* REINALD ON (LIN) from the S. Kyne hoard.
6. Lincoln. "PERERIC". *Rev.* RAPVLE:ON:NICO.
7. Nottingham. Local die. *Rev.* SPEIN:ON:SNOT.
8. York. Robert de Stuteville.

Also the following:

1. Charles I sixpence of Coombe Martin. i.m. Crown.
2. Charles II sixpence of the second hammered coinage.

By MR. TAFFS: Coins of the Lincoln Mint:

1. Æthelred II. *B.M.C.* IV a. DRENG MO LINE
2. Æthelred II. *B.M.C.* IV a. VNBEIN MO LINE
3. Cnut. *B.M.C.* VIII. LEOFINE MO LINEO
4. Edward the Confessor. *B.M.C.* V. GODRIC ON LINEO
5. " " " " " GODRIC ON LINEOL
6. " " " " " OSFERD ON LIN
7. " " " " " XI. OSLAC ON LINEO
8. " " " " " OSLAC ON LINEOLNE
9. " " " " " ODGRIM ON LINEO
10. " " " " " XIII. ODGRIM ON LINEO
11. William I. *B.M.C.* VIII. IILF ON LINCOLN (Ulf)
12. William II. *B.M.C.* III. FOLCIERD ON LIN
13. Stephen. *B.M.C.* I. (G)LADEP(IN):ON LIN.
14. Henry II. 1st Issue, Cl. A. + :ON:LINEO.
15. Henry III. Cl. III. ANDREV ON NIC.
16. Edward I. Three varieties of the Lincoln mint.

By MR. BAGNALL: Pennies of the Lincoln and Hereford mints:

1. Alfred, type XIV. *Rev.* HERE.FERD.
2. Æthelstan, type III. *Rev.* BYRN HERE.
3. " " *V a. Rev.* ECGBERT MO HEREF.
4. " " *V c. Rev.* HUULAF MO HERFO
5. Æthelred II " VIII. *Rev.* ÆDELPI M.O HERE.
6. " " *V. Rev.* ÆDELPIG ON HERFO.
7. " " " *Rev.* DILION M-O HRE.
8. " " *IV a. Rev.* BYRHSTAN MO HRE.
9. " " *III a. Rev.* ÆLFGET M-O HERE.
10. Cnut, type VII. *Rev.* SUMERLIÐ MO LIN+
11. Edward the Confessor, type VII. *Rev.* ELFPI ON HEREFER
12. " " " *V. Rev.* LÆOFNOÐ ON HE+
13. William I, type VIII. *Rev.* LIFSTAN ON HRF+
14. " " " *Rev.* LIFSTAN ON HRFI.
15. " " " *V. Rev.* HEDEPI NO HERI.
16. William II, type II. *Rev.* ORDPI ON HREF. *ex* Bruun collection.
17. " " " *V. Rev.* LIFPINE ON HR. *ex* Drabble collection.
18. Henry I. Hereford?
19. " " type XV. *Rev.* EDRI(C) ON HERE.
20. Henry III, Lincoln.
21. " " *Rev.* hENRI OMhARA.

By MR. ELMORE JONES: Four pennies of Stephen, type I, by unpublished moneyers.

1. Worcester, moneyer Alard.
2. Hastings, " Wenstan.
3. Lincoln, " Arnwi.
4. Hereford (?), " Willem.

By COL. ALLCARD:

An Ancient British gold stater, Evans, B. 9. Found just north of Selsey, Sussex, in a mangold field by a farm labourer on Monday, 30 January 1950.

By MR. J. D. A. THOMPSON:

A gold medallion commemorating the capture of La Ville de Paris (110 guns), flagship of the Count de Grasse, at the battle off the Saintes, 12 April 1782. *Obv.* RODNEY. FOR EVER. LA VILLE DE PARIS. 12 April 82. A PROUD DAY FOR OLD ENGLAND. *Rev.* Top, blank space for an engraved name. LA VILLE DE PARIS. TO THE MAN WHO HAS HUMBLLED SPAIN, HOLLAND AND FRANCE. The events commemorated are: (1) the defeat of the Spanish Fleet off Cape St. Vincent, 1780; (2) the capture of the island of St. Eustacius from the Dutch, 1780; (3) the defeat of the French off the Saintes Islands, 12 April 1782. There appear to be five specimens known, some of them smaller than this one.

By MR. DOUBLEDAY:

A penny of William I, *B.M.C.*, type VIII, of Sandwich, in extremely fine condition. *Rev.* +IELFEM ON SANDP.

During a discussion on the exhibits, Mr. Elmore Jones observed that Capt. Youde's No. 4 was in his opinion a Henry I, type X, of Norwich, and likewise Mr. Bagnall's No. 18 a Henry I, type X, of Shaftesbury (moneyer Saricus).

Papers

MR. PETER SEABY read a paper on a "Round Halfpenny of Henry the First", possibly of the Winchester Mint, in which he compared it favourably with the middle types of Henry the First pennies, both in style and lettering.

CAPT. YOUDE then read a paper on "The Mint of Hereford for the Period of Anarchy during the Reign of Stephen", giving a detailed historical survey of contemporary local events and personalities. It is hoped to print these papers in the next number of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

22 MARCH 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The resignation of the Winchester Public Library was reported. The following were elected members: Dr. J. Lubran and Mr. John Weibel.

Exhibitions

By MR. BLUNT, in connexion with the paper. Sceatta, as follows:

B.M.C., Pl. II, No. 13; *B.M.C.*, Pl. IV, No. 15; *B.M.C.*, Pl. IV, No. 12; *B.M.C.*, Pl. II, No. 1; *B.M.C.*, Pl. III, No. II.

Probably Merovingian. Cross pommée and pellets and degraded standard type.

Merovingian: transitional to the denier, found at Blois. The coin illustrated in Belfort, No. 6628.

By MR. BAGNALL:

A collection of Sceatta.

By MR. SPINK:

1. German Field-Marshal's Baton (Generalfeldmarschall von Brauchitsch).

2. British Field-Marshal's Baton (Field-Marshal Sir Richard Dacres, G.C.B.)

By MR. LIDDELL:

1. Henry VI, Bristol angel. Restoration issue. No i.m.

2. „ York groat. Annulet coinage. I.m. pierced cross, lis on each side of bust. Believed to be the finest known. Wt. 56.6 gr.

By MR. LINECAR:

Silver commemorative medal. The Centenary of the Annand Smith & Company Token of 1849, the first token coin to be struck in Australia.

By MR. BALDWIN:

Edwig penny, of an unpublished moneyer. *Obv.* +EADWI REX
Cross in centre. *Rev.* .:/·FAR/+++/TEIN/·.

By CAPT. YOUDE:

1. Testoon, Tower Mint. Attributed to Edward VI, 1st coinage. Normal legends but \diamond stops on *obv.*; "sleeve" stops on *rev.*
2. William I, type VIII, of Watchet. *Rev.* SIGOVLF:ON:PICEI. *Obv.* as *B.M.C.* 1054. The *rev.* differs.
3. Henry I, type XIV, of Shaftesbury. *Rev.* SARIC:ON:SAFTE. (retrograde).
4. A cast of Henry I, type VI, of Hereford. *Rev.* [ATH]EBRAND ON HE. (from the Fitzwilliam Museum).

Paper

MR. PHILIP HILL read a paper entitled "The Saxon Sceattas and their Problems". This paper is printed in the present number.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 APRIL 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The death was reported of Mr. H. M. Lingford.

The following were nominated for membership:

C. H. V. Sutherland, D.Litt., P.R.N.S., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

R. A. Edwards, Kowloon Hospital, Hongkong.

Mr. C. J. Firth, Mount View, 46 King Street, Hoyland, nr. Barnsley.

Exhibitions

By the PRESIDENT on behalf of MR. H. SCHNEIDER:

A cast of an entirely new variety of the early angel of Edward IV.

A note on this coin appears elsewhere in this number [**Pl. B, No. 8**].

By MR. ELMORE JONES, to illustrate his paper:

Twenty-one examples of Cross and Crosslets pennies of the Northampton mint. Classes A1, A2, C1, and C2 of the new *B.M.C.* classification, of the moneyers Ingelram, Iosep, Pieres, Reimund, Stefne, Waltier, and Warmier.

By MR. TAFFS:

A collection of numismatic oddments, which included box thalers containing miniatures in oils, box medals of Nelson and Wellington containing coloured prints, coins cut out in filagree fashion, and coins split in half.

A finely bound volume containing a Roll of Royal Members.

By CAPT. YOUDE:

1. William I, *B.M.C.* III of Wilton. +S/EPI ON PILTVNEI
2. William II, mule. *B.M.C.* I/IV, of Shrewsbury. +HDBRNDON

[S-]RV Found in a garden by itself at Barton near Cambridge in 1940. Wt. 19.9 gr. The exhibit was a cast of the original which is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. Unpublished and presumed to be unique. The moneyer is known in *B.M.C.* types II, III, and IV [**Pl. B, No. 2**].

3. Henry I, *B.M.C.* III of London. ***SIGIER ON LVND**

Papers

The PRESIDENT read a paper by MR. DEREK ALLEN entitled "An Irish find of Forged Scottish Coins". Although already published in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, Mr. Allen had noted that the forgeries were made by the cliché method, a practice previously not known to have been applied to coins as large as groats, and never before, to Mr. Allen's knowledge, had it been possible to find the actual coins used to produce cliché forgeries.

MR. F. ELMORE JONES read a paper entitled "Cross and Crosslets Pennies of the Northampton Mint". He referred to the new name introduced by Mr. Derek Allen in his forthcoming catalogue of the first issue of Henry II, and then went on to give an account of the types and moneyers for Northampton with reference to the British Museum six-type classification. In spite of the rarity of Cross and Crosslets pennies of Northampton, Mr. Elmore Jones was able to exhibit coins of all the known types and moneyers for the mint.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 MAY 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The death was reported of Mr. R. C. Lockett and Dr. E. C. Carter. The following were nominated for membership:

Dr. E. C. Linton, 28 Avenue Close, Avenue Road, London, N.W. 8.

Mr. W. Forster, 26 Brondesbury Park, London, N.W. 6.

The following were elected Members of the Society: Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland, Mr. R. A. Edwards, and Mr. C. J. Firth.

The Accounts for the year to 31 October 1949 having been circulated, the President moved their adoption, and Mr. Liddell seconded, which was carried.

Exhibitions

By COMMANDER R. P. MACK:

Nine coins of William I including a mule of *B.M.C.* types 7 and 8 of Winchester.

Nine coins of Henry I including the following:

B.M.C. type 3. Ipswich.

Obv. +HENRI REX

Rev. +LRFINE ON GIPE [**Pl. B, No. 3**].

B.M.C. type 13. Sandwich.

Obv. +HENRICVS R

Rev. +GOD[HESE ON S]ANDP [Pl. B, No. 4].

Believed to be the only specimen of this type of Sandwich.

B.M.C. type 14 Canterbury.

Obv. +HENRICVS REX

Rev. +ALGAR: ON: CANTAB: [Pl. B, No. 5].

Unusual with inner circle on obverse complete above crown.

From the Canterbury Find 1901.

B.M.C. type 15 London.

Obv. +HENRICVS:

Rev. [+DER]MAN:ON CON [Pl. B, No. 6].

Possibly a moneyer's error.

Two pennies of Stephen, one "Flag" type of York, and one "Martlet", type of Derby.

By MR. TAFFS:

A large collection of countermarked and cut coins, mainly Spanish dollars, used as tokens in this country or as coins for the West Indies, &c.

By MR. WINSTANLEY:

Twelve groats and half-groats of Edward III, Richard II, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III.

Nine groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies of the leaf-masle coinage of Henry VI.

By MR. J. D. A. THOMPSON:

Three coin weights: (1) A sixteenth-century brass weight of 28 gr., the type showing a portcullis; (2) seventeenth-century of 201.8 gr., the type showing I crowned, with a sword and coffee pot; (3) one showing G.R. crowned; a sword. Overstamped on a weight of Queen Anne; possibly for George I. Nos. 2 and 3 found in Oxford in 1882.

By MR. D. F. SPINK:

1. An Ormonde shilling bearing two plate hallmarks, the lion passant, and the date letter H, for 1625.
2. An Edward the Elder penny in a contemporary Anglo-Saxon mount, for use as a brooch with original pin and catch found in Rome with a large hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins about 20 years ago [Pl. B, No. 9]. This has since been acquired by the British Museum.
3. A pair of campaign medals: Charles Aylmer, the first, the Naval General Service Medal with bar for 1 June 1794 and the second the Military General Service Medal with bar, Egypt.

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

Eight Saxon coins believed to have come from the Cuerdale hoard. One of Archbishop Plegmund; three of Alfred, *B.M.C.*, types V, moneyer Heahstan, XIV, XVIII; one of Edward the Elder, *B.M.C.*, type II, moneyer Wulfred, and three St. Edmund "memorial" coins.



Exhibits



9



ANGLO-SAXON BROOCH FROM THE ROME HOARD
deposited c. 930

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY:

Six pennies of the Colchester mint of William I, type VIII, of the moneyers Ælfsi, Dorman, Wulfric, Wulfwine, and Wulfword. The last reading *PIILFPORD:ON:COL* being unpublished and possibly unique [*Pl. B, No. 1*].

ORDINARY MEETING

28 JUNE 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The resignation of Mrs. Seaby was reported.

The following were elected members of the Society: Dr. E. C. Linton and Mr. W. Forster.

Exhibitions

By MR. A. E. BAGNALL:

Coins of Archbishop Wulfred, Æthelwulf, Edmund, and Alfred from periods covering two of the evening's papers.

By MR. C. E. BLUNT:

1. A photograph of the new type for Alfred found at Southampton in 1949.
2. An Alfred penny of type I, the *obv.* corresponding to the new coin.
3. The same of type V, the *rev.* corresponding to the new coin.

By MR. H. LINECAR:

Five coins and fragments of pottery from the Sunbury find to illustrate his paper.

By DR. ARNOLD:

Pennies of Alfred, Æthelstan, and Edward I.

By MR. J. C. THOMPSON:

Two denarii of Otho. One from Kingston Museum.

Papers

COMMANDER R. P. MACK read a paper on a "New Type for Archbishop Wulfred, 805-832". It is hoped to publish this paper in the next number of the *Journal*.

MR. BLUNT read a paper on a "New Type for Alfred". This paper is printed in the present number.

MR. H. LINECAR read a paper on a "Find of Early British Tin Coins at Sunbury-on-Thames". It is hoped to publish this paper in the next number of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 SEPTEMBER 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The death of Mr. W. J. Tadgell and Mr. A. P. Gray was reported. The following were nominated for membership:

M. Emile Bourgey, 7 Rue Drouot, Paris, IX.

Mr. W. C. French, of Messrs. Glendining, 7 Blenheim Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.

The resignation of Mr. Charles Lovell and Mr. F. Muller was reported.

Election to Honorary Membership

MR. H. W. TAFFS was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. C. E. BLUNT:

Henry II Shortcross pennies:

1. Lawrence, 1 a *IORÐAN:ON:EXEH.*

2. 1 b, also Exeter. *ƿSRÆTIL:ON:EXEÐ.*

3. 1 b, Oxford, *ƿERRÆI:ON:OXENÆ* (no specimen in L. A. Lawrence collection. Hair omitted on one side of King's face).

4. 1 c, London, *ÆSTIVENÆ:ON:LV.* (this moneyer questioned by Lawrence for 1 c. The reading Estivene apparently unrecorded).

By MR. WINSTANLEY:

Coins of the Bristol mint to illustrate the evening's paper.

By MR. ALBERT BALDWIN:

William I pennies from the Beaworth find (1833) not previously recorded.

1. Type V. Winchester, *ANDRBOD:ON:PN.* a new reading.

2. Type VI, London, *PULFPVNE:ON:LVN.* unpublished. [*Pl. B, No. 7.*]

3. Type VII/VIII, Mule, Taunton, *IELFPINE:ON:TAN.* *B.M.C.* 494.

4. Type VIII, Winchester, *GODPINE:ON:PINE.* *B.M.C.* 1081.

By MR. TAFFS:

Two pennies of the Fourth Issue of Henry VIII. One of Canterbury and the other of London, and both extremely fine.

Paper

MR. WINSTANLEY read an abstract from the late C. A. WHITTON's monograph on "The Coinage of Henry VIII", entitled "The Bristol Mint under Henry VIII and Edward VI". This paper is in course of publication in the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 OCTOBER 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The following was nominated for membership:

The Deputy Master, The Royal Mint, Tower Hill, E.C. 3.

The following were elected to membership of the Society: Monsieur Emile Bourgeois and Mr. W. C. French.

Exhibitions

By MR. BLUNT:

Eight forgeries. Cast pennies of Offa and Eustace; Edward I groat, engraved; Henry IV, heavy penny, engraved; Henry IV light groat, cast; Richard III London half-groat, altered from a half-groat of Edward IV; Henry VII third coinage "tressure" groats, the tressure engraved on a genuine coin. Also two Alfred pennies struck at Wembley in 1924, one in silver, reading PHILIP ÆT WEMBLEY of which it is believed only nine specimens were struck.

By MR. BAGNALL:

A large number of forgeries of various periods.

By SIR JOHN HANHAM:

A forged penny of Cynethryth.

By MR. TAFFS:

A selection of forgeries and electrotypes; also a half-crown of George VI and a 10s. note, both split in half.

By MR. J. D. A. THOMPSON:

The following forgeries: A Charles I Tower half-groat weighing 24.7 gr.; a penny of Æthelwulf with *rev.* of Archbishop Wulfred; a Dublin penny of Edward I; a London groat of Edward IV; a portrait penny of Mary I.

Also a silver engraved Eisteddford Medal, Liverpool, 1840.

By MR. ELMORE JONES:

Three pennies of Stephen and three "Tealby" pennies of Henry II, all from irregular dies.

By MR. RIGOLD:

A hoard of Edward IV groats from Norham Castle, probably buried in the siege of 1513.

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

Pennies of Offa, Æthelstan, Wiglaf, Eadwald, and Æthelwulf and a halfpenny of Alfred, all from false dies; a cast William I penny, type V, of Cricklade; an Edward IV penny altered to a Richard III; a Henry VIII "Sovereign" type penny altered to Edward VI; a shilling and sixpence of George I, with sceptres added; a George IV sovereign, 1825, struck from false dies; a Victoria shilling, 1856, also from false dies, and a forged 1942 florin.

By MR. W. SLAYTER:

A forged Commonwealth half-crown, 1657, and a forged Cromwell crown, 1658, in copper and silver plated.

By DR. LINTON:

A half-crown of William III, of the York mint, 1697, edge OCTAVO.

A note on this exhibit appears elsewhere in this number.

By MR. DOUBLEDAY:

A forged crown of Edward VI. Wt. 527½ gr.

Paper

MR. J. D. A. THOMPSON read a paper entitled "A Forged Penny of Æthelwulf". It is hoped to print this paper in the next number of the *Journal*.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1950

MR. C. E. BLUNT, *President, in the Chair*

The death of Mr. Roy Huntingford was reported.

The resignation of the Colchester and Essex Museum was reported.

Miss Helen Farquhar and Mr. L. Forrer, Sen., were elected to honorary membership of the Society.

The following was elected to membership of the Society:

The Deputy Master, The Royal Mint.

Exhibitions

By MR. BAGNALL:

Five coins found on the river bank at Ribblesdale, Lancs.: A Canterbury half-groat of Henry VII (King and Archbishop Morton); two Canterbury half-groats of Henry VIII (Archbishop Cranmer); a York penny of Henry VII, and a Durham penny of the same.

By MR. A. H. F. BALDWIN:

A James I Britain crown with no initial mark, and reading RX for REX. (Unpublished.)

By COL. L. S. FORRER:

1. A William III 1700 crown DECIMOTERTIO on a very large flan; possibly overstruck.

2. A George VI brockage of a 6d.

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

1. A Henry II Shortcross penny, Class 1b OSBER:ON:WIRIC: (over LVND).

2. An Elizabeth brass coin weight for a gold half-pound, square, and a half-groat of the period for comparison.

3. Burnham Norton (Norfolk) Prisoner-of-war camp, Penny token (1918).

4. Onchan (Isle of Man) Internment camp, Penny token (1939-45?).

By MR. D. F. SPINK:

1. The first Victoria Cross ever to be gazetted, awarded to Capt. C. W. Buckley, R.N., May/June, 1855.
2. New Zealand Cross awarded to a native constable in 1868.

Presidential Address

The PRESIDENT then delivered his Annual Address, and afterwards, in moving a vote of thanks to the President, Mr. Winstanley, paid high tribute to Mr. Blunt's great work for the Society. The Secretary said that he had great pleasure in seconding the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Ballots for Officers

The President declared the result of the Ballot for Officers for 1951 as follows:

President: E. J. WINSTANLEY, ESQ.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL; MISS HELEN FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.; SIR JOHN HANHAM, BT.; H. H. KING, M.A.; H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Director: C. E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

Treasurer: F. ELMORE JONES.

Librarian: W. FORSTER.

Secretary: G. V. DOUBLEDAY.

Council: LT.-COL. H. ALLCARD, D.S.O.; ALBERT BALDWIN; W. HURLEY; COMDR. R. P. MACK, R.N.; D. MANGAKIS; C. WILSON PECK; S. E. RIGOLD; W. SLAYTER; C. B. SMITH; D. F. SPINK; J. D. A. THOMPSON; L. N. W. WRIGHT.

The ballot for the Sanford Saltus Medal for 1950 was taken and the Scrutators announced that it had been awarded to Mr. C. E. Blunt. The Secretary moved a vote of congratulation to Mr. Blunt upon the award, which was seconded by Mr. King, and carried with applause. After thanking members the President expressed pleasure at the Society's choice of his successor, to which Mr. Winstanley made suitable reply.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1949

EXPENDITURE

1948	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
34 19 9				Printing and Stationery	15	2	11
10 5 6				Postages	12	5	3
15 11 0				Expenses of Meetings, Rent, &c.	15	15	0
9 14 9				Sundry Expenses	17	16	6
7 8 6				Library Expenses	—	—	—
739 12 4				Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i>	—	—	—
— — —				Provision for 1949 <i>Journal</i>	375	0	0
— — —				Balance Surplus, carried to General Purposes Fund	7	10	4

£817 11 10

£443 10 0

INCOME

1948	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
				Subscriptions received for 1949	270	17	6			
212 9 1				Subscriptions in arrear received during the year	13	2	6			
								284	0	0
22 1 0				Entrance Fees				16	16	0
				Expenditure on account of <i>Journal</i> over reserved in year to 31 October 1948				6	3	0
				Donations:						
				A. E. Bagnall	14	14	0			
				A. E. Barnes	1	1	0			
				L. C. Briggs	1	1	0			
				Dr. E. C. Carter	2	2	0			
				Sir J. Hanham	2	0	0			
				Miss H. L. Farquhar	3	3	0			
				Comm. R. G. Liveing	2	2	0			
								26	3	0
4 4 0				Interest received				45	13	6
44 8 3				Sale of Back Volumes				64	14	6
45 10 9				Balance Deficiency, carried to General Purposes Fund				—	—	—
488 18 9										

£817 11 10

£443 10 0

ADDRESS BY CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, ESQ., O.B.E.,
F.S.A.

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 30 November 1950

THE past year has been a sad one for the Society. Not only have we lost seven members by death, but those seven include two Vice-Presidents and the Director.

Mr. R. C. Lockett was a member of forty-five years' standing, an enthusiastic and generous supporter of the Society and a regular attendant at its meetings. For half a century, so he told us in 1948, he had studied and collected coins, and this he had done in no ordinary way. Like Dr. Hunter, some two hundred years before him, he realized the value to the student of numismatics and of history of the opportunity to consult a really large collection fully recorded and arranged with care and discrimination. Like him, too, he set about the building of such a collection, not from mere pride of possession, though he enjoyed his coins as all collectors do, but for the pleasure it gave him to study them and, even more, to make them available to others for study. By the end of his life his English collection was the finest ever got together by one man and his Greek collection ranked high among the private cabinets of international repute. To gauge the debt which British numismatics owes to Mr. Lockett one has only to look at the pages of our *Journal*. Hardly a paper on a medieval subject has been written in recent years that has not drawn liberally on his cabinets for information, sure evidence both as to the wealth of their contents and of the willingness of the owner to make them accessible. It is, I think, fitting that the name of Richard Cyril Lockett should be associated with the name of that other great numismatist, William Hunter, and it must be a source of particular pleasure to the members of this Society that in 1947 they voted the award to him of the Society's Gold Medal in recognition of the contribution he had made to the study of British numismatics over so many years.

It will also be a source of great satisfaction to members to learn that his widow is presenting to the British Museum in his memory one of the most outstanding coins in his collection, namely the unique gold penny of Edward the Confessor, a recent acquisition which was the subject of a detailed study by Mr. Derek Allen in the *Journal* for 1948.

What is to happen to his collection we do not know. It has for some time been our ambition in this Society to see produced a catalogue of the British portion on a scale more detailed than an auction normally allows. The cost of such a project would be considerable and would only be justified if an assured sale of a reasonable number of copies could be obtained. So long as there is a possibility of ultimate dispersal by auction at a later date, this assurance could not be

given because the sale catalogue would undoubtedly be of high quality and repeat much of the information given in the earlier work. For the time being therefore we must be content to wait, but our desire remains as keen as ever to see published, in one form or another, a worthy record of so remarkable an assemblage of coins.

Dr. E. C. Carter, elected only a year after Mr. Lockett, was also a Vice-President and until lately was a well-known figure at our meetings. Quality was the keynote of his collection and it had in consequence not the range of Mr. Lockett's. But everything in it was of the best. Dr. Carter never claimed to be a student, though he knew a great deal more about the subject of numismatics than he would have one believe. In Council he was a man of few words, but his words always commanded respect and earlier Presidents must, like myself, have often profited from his wisdom.

In Mr. C. A. Whitton the Society has lost one of its most erudite members and one of the chief contributors to the *Journal*. His major contributions were a detailed study of the coinages of Henry VI and Henry VIII, the latter a work completed shortly before his death and now in course of publication. To him I personally owe a special debt of gratitude for his collaboration with me in a study of the coinage of Edward IV. He joined me at a moment when much of the raw material, so far as the silver was concerned, had been collected and there was an urgent need for it to be digested and ordered in a manner fit for publication. The gold was almost entirely his own work. If the paper in the form in which it appeared in print is found to have merit, the credit for it is due to the scholarly marshalling of the facts which Mr. Whitton undertook. His last major work was the editing of the third edition of Brooke's *English Coins*, an edition that included much new material and brought up to date the book originally published in 1932. In one of his last letters, written a few days before his death, Mr. Whitton told me of the pride and joy he felt at having just had placed in his hands the edition to which he had devoted so much care and attention.

His friends have for many years watched with admiration his struggle against physical adversity. From the day when it forced him to abandon his career as a schoolmaster to the time of his death, he displayed rare courage and, even when things were at their worst for him, his letters never lost that sparkle that made them welcome to his large circle of correspondents. To the Society he was a good friend and valued servant and his final gesture of leaving it a legacy in his will is typical of a man whom we shall long remember.

The other members whose death falls to be recorded today were less well known to us. Mr. H. P. Hall, who was elected in 1919, was chiefly interested in the Roman series of which, as the catalogues recently published show, he had a collection of high merit; Mr. H. M. Lingford, an enthusiastic English collector, paid special attention to the reign of James I and to the styca series. His work, especially a very detailed study of stycas, remained unpublished and it is to be

hoped that a means will be found of ensuring that it is available to future students. Mr. W. J. Tadgell, a member since 1944, was President of the Cambridge Numismatic Society whose success he did much to promote. Mr. A. P. Gray had only been elected a year ago.

We were also sorry to lose fifteen members through resignation. The subscription was in January put up for the first time in the history of the Society and it was realized that some resignations would inevitably follow. The names of three members were removed for non-payment of subscriptions.

Against these losses, which total twenty-five, there were nine new members elected, and we are particularly pleased to number among them Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland, the President of the Royal Numismatic Society. You have also by your vote elected Mr. H. W. Taffs to Honorary Membership in fitting recognition of his long service to the Society as Secretary, President, and, latterly, Vice-President.

For the first time since the war we have seen our numbers reduced. This, provided it does not continue, need not be a cause for undue concern, because in that strangely unsettled period when we were all trying to readjust our lives and our mental outlooks from war to peace many believed that in numismatics they would find a mental stimulant for their leisure hours. Most remain confirmed in this belief, but a few have decided otherwise, and the increase in the subscription no doubt precipitated their resignations. The greater part of those now retiring were elected in the last few years. Rare indeed it is to find a numismatist of long standing prepared to abandon the subject. It must be our aim to ensure that the body of members to whom the subject is still a comparatively new one are encouraged to continue their interest because we know, from our own experience, the fascination it has, once it has established its hold, and the contribution to knowledge that numismatic study can produce.

For those able to attend the Society's meetings it is hoped that these prove occasions for getting to know other members and for the exchange of ideas. In arranging programmes for the meetings the Council has always held firmly to the view that they must be the occasion for presenting original research whether in the form of detailed monographs or of shorter notes. The result is of course that papers are often technical and not easy to assimilate. This is inevitable, but we endeavour to get out the notices of our meetings in time for members to look up, if they so wish, the subject that is to be discussed and so arrive the better equipped to enjoy the paper and to take part in discussion.

THE YEAR'S WORK

The papers laid before the Society in the past year cover a wide range as has been the case in all recent years. This must be a healthy sign, but I note with some surprise that no contribution was made on the milled coinage. To me this series is something of a closed book,

but I know well that it engages the serious attention of many members and as such it should figure more extensively in our proceedings. May I hope that in the coming season we shall be offered papers on this series?

Mr. Linecar read at our June meeting an account of a recent find of Ancient British tin coins from Sunbury-on-Thames, and Mr. P. V. Hill, at another meeting, spoke on the Saxon sceat series and its relation to the barbarous sub-Roman issues, a subject to which he has given much thought in recent years. His conclusions on this controversial subject which will be published in the *Journal* will be studied with interest.

As new readers we welcomed in the last session Commander Mack, Mr. Peter Seaby, and Captain Youde. Commander Mack described a hitherto unpublished penny of Archbishop Wulfred of which two specimens are known to exist. One of these was offered for sale in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* many years ago and its significance was there noted. It is a reflection of the general lack of interest at that time in the early Saxon series that nobody saw fit to record it in the *Journal*. It has as a result remained virtually unknown.

In October Mr. Thompson spoke on a forged penny of Æthelwulf and raised again the thorny problem of the so-called Æthelbald coins. By demonstrating that the same obverse die suitably altered was found on the Æthelbald coins and on a coin with a reverse which, if genuine, would be some fourteen years earlier he strengthened the general belief that the Æthelbald coins were spurious.

At another meeting I contributed a note on a new type of Alfred penny from the excavations of the Saxon site at Southampton, and in March Mr. Peter Seaby described and exhibited, on behalf of the owner, a curious halfpenny which he believed might well prove to have been struck by Henry I and so to be the first round halfpenny in the English series. At the same meeting Captain Youde read on the Hereford mint under Stephen. We look forward to further papers from both these members.

The forthcoming catalogue of the British Museum collection of coins of the first issue of Henry II has proved the occasion for much detailed study of the series by Mr. Elmore Jones, and in April he spoke on the Northampton mint in this series. At the same meeting a paper was read on behalf of Mr. Derek Allen on an Irish find of forged Scottish coins where the forger had shown considerable ingenuity in producing, by casting, variants from a single original.

At our Anniversary Meeting a year ago Dr. Arnold reverted to the question of the coinage of Edward V and by remarrying the evidence made it clear that this problem must be regarded as far from settled. Finally Mr. Winstanley, in September, read a further portion of Mr. Whitton's paper on the coinage of Henry VIII, to which reference has already been made. This part dealt with the peculiarly independent mint of Bristol both under Henry and his son.

One evening, in January, was devoted to an exhibition and dis-

cussion on medals, a subject to which it is to be hoped the Society will pay increasing attention.

Our thanks are due to all these readers and to those who have sent or brought coins for exhibition. Exhibitions contribute in my view in no small measure to the success of our meetings.

PUBLICATIONS

From the point of view of British Numismatics the publication of the year has of course been the new edition of Brooke's *English Coins* to which I have referred. The first and second editions were exhausted and the price of copies had become excessive. The new edition places this standard work within the reach of all and, with the aid of the fund established by Lieutenant Marshall with the Royal Numismatic Society, copies have now been distributed to a number of schools.

We also welcome the publication by three Oxford scholars, Dr. Milne, Dr. Sutherland, and Mr. Thompson of a very useful general book on *Coin Collecting*. There is a mass of material, exceptionally well presented and well illustrated, in its pages. A book of this sort, suitable for the serious-minded beginner, was undoubtedly needed.

The *Numismatic Chronicle* has published three numbers since our last Anniversary Meeting, thus bringing it up to date to the end of 1949. In the volume for 1948 Mr. Philip V. Hill writes on "Sceattalike" barbarous imitations and Mr. Shortt places on record the sources for his lists of coins of the Wiltshire mints which were published in the *Archaeological Journal*. This record will be of great value to future students. Mr. O'Neill publishes the account of the finding of the *minimissimi* in the bath-house at Canterbury which is likely to prove important evidence in dating this difficult series, though its proper interpretation still seems in doubt. Mr. John Allan contributes notes on two Ancient British hoards from Snettisham and Carn Brea and on a single coin each of Egbert, Charlemagne, and Lothaire found in South Wales, and Dr. Philip Nelson gives notes on several York coins in his cabinet.

The volume for 1949 contains an important paper by Mr. Carson on the mint of Thetford, a paper prompted by the bequest by the late Mr. W. A. Brooke in 1944 to the British Museum, of his collection of coins of that mint. The work involved in this paper can be gauged from the fact that 686 coins of this one mint are recorded in detail and tables are added showing readily the relation of types to moneyers. For the rest the number has various useful notes of a lesser character. Dr. Sutherland enters the lists on the Canterbury *minimissimi*, Mr. Carson and Mr. Jenkins record hoards from Skipton, Lambourn, and Upwey, and Dr. Nelson has notes on two unpublished Norman coins.

Finally a welcome must be given to a new publication by the Numismatic Society of South Australia.

THE LIBRARY

When I last addressed you I reported that preliminary arrangements had been made for the housing of the Society's library at the Warburg Institute at South Kensington. These arrangements have now been satisfactorily concluded and our library is housed in a convenient room with the library of the Royal Numismatic Society.

Owing to a posting outside London our librarian, Mr. Mangakis, felt obliged to offer his resignation in the course of the past year, an offer which the Council accepted with much regret. The Council is now nominating Mr. Forster as librarian and if, as I trust, you elect him to that office tonight you will find, I believe, that we have secured the services of a member who is exceptionally qualified to arrange and catalogue the books (which now include the important Paget bequest) and who will, over a period, find it possible to devote the time necessary for the work.

Whether a catalogue will be published remains to be decided, but it would be of value to numismatists if it proved possible to prepare a joint catalogue of the libraries of the two Societies. It would then be readily apparent whether or not any given work was available and, if so, where. Meanwhile the library may be used by members, on application to the librarian of the Warburg Institute, between the hours of 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. from Mondays to Fridays and from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. on Saturdays. The librarian of the Warburg Institute is, however, often at the Institute till 7 p.m. and sometimes on Saturday afternoon. Members wishing to use the library outside the normal hours should telephone to Dr. Barb at the Institute to ascertain if he is going to be there. Books may be borrowed and application, if made by post, should be sent to the Librarian, British Numismatic Society, c/o Warburg Institute, Imperial Institute Building, London, S.W. 7.

Members will recollect, moreover, that the arrangement made with the Warburg Institute allows us to consult their remarkably extensive library on art and its associated subjects.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS

The past year has been one of outstanding importance in the British section of the British Museum. Two coins of the first importance were acquired from the Ryan sale, thanks to a generous grant from the National Art Collections Fund. We particularly welcome this indication of the Fund's interest in numismatics. Bequests have in the past been made through it, but I believe this to be the first occasion on which they have directly contributed to make possible an important purchase. The coins in question are the unique half-George-noble of Henry VIII and the heavy London half-noble of Henry IV. At the time of the sale this was believed also to be unique, but news reached London shortly after that a second specimen had been found in May 1950 in a hoard, mostly of French gold, found at Amiens. M. Jean Lafaurie is understood to be preparing a detailed report on this hoard.

Under the terms of Mr. Lawrence's will his important collection to forgeries passed to the British Museum and he also made provision for the Museum to take, at a valuation, such of his coins as they might choose to purchase. Full use of this provision has been made by the Keeper of Coins and a large number of important pieces have been added to the National Collection. Here it is only possible to refer to them in a general way. In the Saxon series were a few coins, some of them fragments, the most significant being perhaps a new type for Cuthred with bust on the obverse and a cross crosslet on the reverse. In the post-Conquest series the Museum had already acquired the bulk of the Tealby and Edward III coins that they required, but the opportunity was taken to secure the unique early groat of Edward III from the same reverse die as the Hunter coin which has crowns in place of the usual pellets on the reverse. On the Lawrence coin these crowns have been erased and pellets substituted. This clearly is the earliest and experimental issue for the groat type. A large selection of other series was made, including a fine light noble of Henry IV, a piedfort of a York penny of Henry VI, two heavy half-groats of Edward IV, and a useful lot of small varieties of Henry VII and Henry VIII. In the latter reign this was particularly welcome as the National Collection has in the past not been as complete as it generally is.

Accessions to the British series at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, include an Ancient British stater (Evans, Pl. B, 2) and seven Gaulish billon staters from the St. Brélade hoard, Jersey, the latter given by the Société Jersiaise.

The most significant acquisition by the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford has been a superb specimen of the Oxford triple unite of Charles I, 1643, with rosette stops, from the Ryan sale (lot 522). Other acquisitions include a sceat similar to *B.M.C.*, Pl. II, 1, with recorded provenance (it was found at Selsey in Sussex); Wallingford coins of Edward the Confessor, *B.M.C.*, type IX, of Brihtwin and of William I, *B.M.C.*, types I and II, both of Swartling; contemporary forgeries of Richard II half and quarter nobles; an Elizabeth hammered sixpence, 1572, countermarked with the arms of Zeeland (Proclamation of the Prince of Orange, 1573); and finally a Naval General Service medal, 1794-1815, with the bars for Trafalgar and San Sebastian.

THE OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

For some little time past Mr. Winstanley has expressed the desire to be relieved of the office of Secretary so that he might have more time to devote to the study of the coinage of Henry VII on which he is working. As you know, he has filled this office since 1945 in accordance with the finest tradition of the Society. The Council with much regret acceded to his request in the past year, and I feel sure that I shall be expressing their wish as well as yours if I offer him our warmest thanks for all the work that he has done for us. In his place we were

fortunate to secure the services of Mr. Doubleday to whom we are grateful for taking on this essential duty.

The Treasurer, Mr. Elmore Jones, has been assiduous in collecting arrears of subscriptions and as a result of this and of the increased subscription payable for 1951 will be presenting the Society, when the accounts are completed, with a financial statement that does credit to him as Treasurer and reflects the healthy position of our finances.

By the death of Mr. Whitton we were deprived of one who had done much work in the editing of the *Journal*. Mr. Anthony Thompson has now kindly agreed to assist in this.

I will finish, if you will allow me, on a personal note. My term of office as President comes to an end with this meeting, for under the wise rules of the Society the office may not be held for more than five years. I have felt it a great and enjoyable privilege to be allowed to lead the Society during this period which has been marked by so great an increase in the interest in numismatics. We have had our sadnesses in the losses I have referred to tonight and on previous occasions, but we have on balance recruited far more, in numbers, than those that we have lost. The Society today is in a healthy, thriving condition, and this it owes to the good work of officers and council for whose support during the past five years I tender my warmest thanks.

I must also thank you for your attendance here tonight.

THE "STANDARD" AND "LONDON" SERIES OF ANGLO-SAXON SCEATTAS

By PHILIP V. HILL

I. THE "STANDARD" SERIES

The Prototype

OF the many and varied types employed on sceattas one of the most popular with die-engravers was a square of pellets, containing letters, blundered attempts at letters, or some form of abstract design. The prototype for this composition was one of the two Constantinian VIRTUS EXERCIT types—a standard, inscribed VOT XX, between two captives (PI. I, 1). The fact that the engravers of thrymsas and sceattas sometimes modelled their productions upon fourth-century, or even third-century, Roman coins need occasion no surprise, since finds in cemeteries both here and on the Continent show that the Teutonic peoples had long been familiar with coins of the Roman and Byzantine Empires, although for ornamental purposes and not, it seems, as media of exchange. Moreover, hoards and site-finds must have turned up as frequently in early Saxon times as they do today and, indeed, an entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 418, suggests a long-established tradition of buried Roman treasure: "This year the Romans collected all the hoards of gold that were in Britain; and some they hid in the earth, so that no man afterwards might find them, and some they carried away with them into Gaul."¹

Early Versions

Far from being a separate series from the earlier gold thrymsas, sceattas were in their origin merely debased thrymsas, as is indicated by the fact that occasionally the same types are found in gold, electrum, and silver.² If, as seems likely, the sceattas of early style with the Runic legend *Pada* were the coins of Peada of Mercia (654–6), it is probable that this debasement began in Mercia about the middle of the seventh century,³ although it must have varied in date in different districts. The final supersession of gold and electrum by silver, however, may not have taken place until some years later, probably c. 680–90, about a century before the sceattas themselves gave way to pennies.

The "standard" type first appears on the *Pada* coins with the closest rendering (TOT XX) on any sceattas of the original VOT XX inscription (PI. I, 2). With the triangle of pellets above the square

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, translated by the Rev. James Ingram, p. 25 (Everyman's Library ed.). A footnote reminds us that the word "gold" is not to be taken literally, but is to be understood as coin in general, whether gold, silver, or bronze.

² Brooke, *English Coins* (3rd ed., London, 1949), p. 5.

³ Or a few years earlier, if Peada struck his coins during his reign as vassal-king of the Middle Angles (c. 632–54).

and the cross below, the composition assumes the rather top-heavy form which it retained, probably for two decades, until the first of its many modifications was made. A slight alteration is seen on another sceatta of Peada (Pl. I, 3), on which the "standard" has been elongated into a panel containing the royal name, but the triangle and cross (the limbs of which end in annulets) remain and, as if to stress the connexion of this design with the more normal "standard", the engraver has transferred part of the TOT XX inscription to below the panel—TT inverted flanking the lower annulet of the cross, which thus becomes the O of the inscription.

Only a little less accurate in their rendering of the standard-inscription (TOT II) are the best-style sceattas of *B.M.C.* type 2a with *obv.* radiate bust r. and "legend" TIC (Pl. I, 4). The obverse type of a *Pada* thrymsa and another *Pada* sceatta, a diademed bust with TIC or TIIC (*rev.* *Pada* within wreath), is almost identical in style and obverse type with that of 2a, and this, together with the similarity in style between the "standards" of Peada and of 2a, links the two issues chronologically.

Type 2a circulated freely on both sides of the Channel and many examples are forthcoming from Holland, though they are comparatively rare in France. Of the Dutch examples two from Domburg¹ are interesting. In workmanship they are considerably below the normal coins (one (Pl. I, 5) having the TOT II inverted), and they closely resemble in style the better-style Runic pieces. Whether they represent copies made in Frisia, as is more likely, or a degeneration in the style of the English issue is a moot point: if the latter they would be links between the early 2a and the slightly later Runic, which we shall consider in the next section.

In Mr. Elmore Jones's collection is an unusual piece (Pl. I, 6), with a normal early "standard" containing TOT II on the reverse. Its obverse, however, is quite unlike any of the other radiate obverses. At first sight it appears to be a variant of 2a (cp. Pl. I, 4), but on closer examination several points emerge which militate against such a possibility. The type is a head, not a bust; its style is certainly not that of 2a, in spite of the reverse connexion; and the "legend" is very far removed from the TIC of 2a. Indeed, the letter-forms and the unusually large number of letters point to Merovingian influence. The weight (17.3 gr.) is in conformity with that of the early "standard" types, with which the piece may be contemporary, and we need not doubt that it was struck in this country, probably in the south-east which, more than any other, was subject to Frankish influences. There is even a possibility that the moneyer was a Frank.

Later Versions, I

Degeneration of style in the sceatta series is an interesting but difficult question and it is to be seen in many types, particularly in

¹ *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. F, 9, 10.

those of long duration. As Baldwin Brown has pointed out,¹ however, this process is not so much "degeneration" in the accepted sense of the word as the evolution of an entirely new type by dint of constantly copying the original. The Saxon artist showed himself a versatile and imaginative imitator and his individualism found expression in a multitude of ways. Far from being slavish copies, his productions were often charming compositions, full of vitality and individuality and not infrequently proving to be distinct improvements upon the prototype. In our researches into sceatta-types we shall come across numerous examples of this so-called "degeneration", perhaps the best being the wolf-derivatives of the "London-connected" group in the second part of this paper.

Keary in the *British Museum Catalogue* considered that type 2b (Pl. I, 15) was a degraded version of type 2a, but there are reasons for suspecting this to be an error of judgement. The blundered legends, mostly attempts at rendering Runic characters, force one to the conclusion that these coins are in reality blundered Runic coins, for, had they been copies of 2a, they would hardly have failed to present attempts, however crude, of the *Roman* legend TIC. A close study of the B.M. examples of 2b corroborates this. The styles of their obverse busts are nearly all paralleled in the Runic series and one of the coins still retains on its reverse the more accurate form of the standard-inscription, TOT II (Pl. I, 9), although the remainder have blundered letters. The majority have attempts at a Runic name on the obverse, although a few present Roman letters, such as VER. A more likely copy of 2a is seen in a Richborough coin with *obv.* radiate head r. and *rev.* "standard" (Pl. I, 16). That all but one of the reverses of 2b show later forms of the 2a "standard" there can be no doubt and we should perhaps bracket this type with the Runic series, dating it to the period c. 670-90. One interesting development may be noted: type 2b, with all its blunders and crudeness of execution, replaces the top-heavy composition of 2a by a far more symmetrical and pleasing design—the first step towards the symmetrical "standards" with purely abstract designs of its late seventh- and early eighth-century successors.

We must now pass on to a consideration of the Runic coins. A few approximate in style to type 2a and these may be the earliest of the series, though, of course, we cannot state categorically that this is the case from a study of style alone: we can only say that that is the impression which they give. We do not know whether the Runic names are those of rulers or of moneyers, although, as I have argued elsewhere,² the evidence is weighted in favour of the former alternative—ealdormen or members of royal families, though not of kings. The obverses may be divided into six subdivisions, those with the names of (i) *Epa*, (ii) *Apa*, (iii) *Lepa*, (iv) *Spi*, (v) *Wigraed*, and (vi) those with uncertain or blundered names. Of these the first two may

¹ *The Arts in Early England*, iii (London, 1915), p. 67.

² *B.N.J.*, 1950, pp. 139-40.

represent different forms of the same personal name, which may or may not be Eoba, an ealdorman of Mercia (*Dux Merciorum*) during Wulfhere's reign (656-75). The reverses may also be subdivided: (i) those which approximate most closely to type 2a (i.e. with TOT II and a triangle of pellets above), with or without lines radiating from the corners of the "standard" (Pl. I, 7, 8);¹ (ii) those still with TOT II but with a cross at each side (Pl. I, 10); and (iii) those with blundered letters, lines from each corner, and either a cross or an annulet at each side (Pl. I, 14) (all obv. readings). Three variations, which connect with the next group of Later Versions, have (i) two angles, (ii) two angles and two diagonal lines, and (iii) four diagonal lines around the annulet (Pl. II, 10, 12). The style of these Runic pieces seems to indicate a date following type 2a, so that they probably fall in the 70's and 80's of the seventh century.

The next type to be considered is *B.M.C.* type 3b (Pl. I, 17). We are omitting for the moment type 3a, since only the obverse of 3b is derived from 3a, its reverse being connected rather with the radiate series (2a, 2b, and Runic), with the more degenerate types of which, therefore, it may be contemporary. The importance of 3b lies in its linking the radiate and diademed series by the form of its "standard", and this link may well be chronological as well as stylistic. The other coin listed under 3b in the Catalogue (no. 53) is not of that type but is a neater version of the ? Merovingian type 11 (cp. Pl. II, 21 and 18). On a coin formerly in the Montagu collection (Pl. I, 18) the obverse bust has become extremely stylized and the reverse "standard" has lost its outer square altogether, although retaining the central annulet, crosses, and pellets of *B.M.C.* 3a, no. 51 (cp. Pl. II, 2). There is no doubt that the obverse of this piece is a very degraded version of type 3a and we have placed it here because it appears to show one of the stages whereby the obverse of 3b was derived from 3a.

We come now to the two most common types of the sceatta series, *B.M.C.* types 4 and 5, each of which shows an incredibly large variety of "standards". The derivation of the obverse type² (a spiky composition which, following Dr. Sutherland, we may conveniently term the "porcupine") has occasioned much barren argument, some seeing in it a very debased version of the diademed bust of type 3a (Pl. II, 1, 2), others deriving it from the "wolf and twins" of type 7 (Pl. I, 25). Generally speaking, English students follow the former theory, continental students the latter, but as examples may be quoted in support of both theories, it is likely that we have before us a "contaminated type"—one derived from two or more prototypes. However, the almost universal use of the "standard" reverse in conjunction with this

¹ An interesting reverse variety is on a coin of *Epa* in the Ashmolean Museum (Pl. I, 8), with a "standard" of fairly early style (i.e. with a triangle of pellets at the top and radiating lines from the corners), but containing four T's placed end to end in pairs around a pellet (instead of an annulet).

² A variant of type 4 shows the "porcupine" to l. instead of to r. A similar variant of type 5 was in the Bais hoard (Le Gentilhomme, *Mélanges de numismatique mérovingienne* (Paris, 1940), Pl. v. 34), and two or three other examples are known.

"porcupine" obverse and the completely different idiom of the more probable derivatives of the "wolf and twins" (e.g. types 32*a* and 32*b*—**Pl. IV, 2, 3**) suggest little more than a vague influence for the "wolf" and support the English theory. One possible argument against it must here be mentioned. We noted just now that there is no stylistic connexion between the reverse of type 3*b* and that of 3*a*, and indeed it is not until the "porcupine" has become the "plumed bird" of type 6 that the connexion, with a few exceptions in type 5, is noticeable. At first sight this may be thought to constitute a serious objection to our deriving the obverses of types 4 and 5 from 3*a*, but there is no intrinsic reason why they should not have been so derived while the reverses were taken from those of the radiate series (2*a*, 2*b*, and Runic).

The reverses of type 4, numerous though their minor varieties are, fall into four main categories—those with (i) TOT II (**Pl. I, 11**),¹ (ii) blundered letters (**Pl. I, 19**), (iii) four pellets about an annulet (**Pl. I, 22**), and (iv) four horizontal lines about an annulet (**Pl. II, 4**). The first class may well be the earliest. In class (ii) there is frequently some attempt at a symmetrical design, but usually the "letters" are scattered about the square without rhyme or reason. The reverses of class (iii) exhibit extreme simplification, while class (iv) is interesting and important in that, unlike the other classes, it connects stylistically with one of the reverses of type 6 ("plumed bird"), the obverses of which are descended from this type and from type 5.

Type 5 is undoubtedly the most common of all the sceatta types. Since its "porcupine" obverse, together with that of type 4, is used as the universal obverse for the coins reading *Æthiliræd* or *Æthilræd* in Runic on the reverse—almost certainly Æthelred II of Mercia (675–704)—the "porcupine" sceattas should perhaps be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century. Type 5 is easily distinguished from 4 in that the latter invariably has a *complete* triangle joined to the top of the central "spine" of the obverse. Reverses are varied and complicated but may be reduced to five main classes—those with (i) TOT II (**Pl. I, 12**);² (ii) blundered letters (**Pl. I, 20**); (iii) four pellets about an annulet (**Pl. I, 23, 24**);³ (iv) four equal-armed crosses, or three crosses and a line or an angle, about an annulet (**Pl. II, 16**); and (v) four horizontal lines about an annulet (**Pl. II, 5**). Frequently the central annulet encloses a pellet. There are also five minor varieties, three of which (vars. (a), (c), and (d)) are probably unique—(a) four semicircles about an annulet (**Pl. II, 15**); (b) two or four angles

¹ Actually TT above and two horizontal lines below, a central annulet—Carlyon-Britton sale (Sotheby, 17 Nov. 1913), lot 157 (a). The B.M. specimen (the only one I have so far discovered with the normal TOT II inscription (*B.M.C.*, no. 53)), is a very doubtful type 4: its worn obv. makes it difficult to decide whether it is type 4 or 5, which latter type is fairly often found with the normal TOT II inscription.

² A few specimens, such as the coin from Cimiez (*Le Gentilhomme*, op. cit., Pl. vi. 45), actually retain one of the X's from the original VOT XX inscription, though perhaps by accident rather than design.

³ One specimen from Domburg (*R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. F. 22) has two obtuse angles flanking the annulet.

and an annulet, one with two diagonal lines as well (Pl. II, 7, 8, 11); (c) an annulet enclosing a pellet and flanked by four angles, two T's and two I's (Pl. II, 13); (d) a "Union Jack" pattern of pellets (Pl. II, 19), which is especially interesting as it connects with the later "saltire" forms of the "standard" type,¹ and (e) four oblique lines and an annulet. The TOT II of class (i) suggests that it is the earliest class, or at least that its coins were struck by moneyers who had some idea of the meaning of the prototype: probably only slightly later may fall the coin in the Carlyon-Britton sale with four T's (Pl. I, 21). These early coins at one end of the chronological scale and the considerably later "Union Jack" variety at the other indicate a comparatively long life for this type. Similarly, both early and late styles are found in type 4, from which it appears that 4 and 5 are contemporary with each other and that they are really one and the same type, the division adopted by Keary in the catalogue being a purely arbitrary one based on the presence or absence of the triangle on the obverse. There is nothing in the style of the reverses to indicate that, as Keary thought, type 5 was a debased version of type 4, even though the obverses of the latter resemble a degraded head more than do those of the former. The connexion between them is further illustrated by the fact that several classes of reverses are common to both. Type 5 also shares reverse varieties with the purely Frisian type 8 (*obv.* cross and pellets) (cp. Pl. II, 8 and 9)² with type 6 (Pl. II, 5, 15),³ and, more important, with type 3a (Pl. II, 16).⁴ Both 4 and 5 are commonly found on the Continent, and it has been suggested that local imitations of them were produced at Duurstede in Holland.⁵

Later Versions, II

The "diademed bust" type (*B.M.C.* 3a) presents a stereotyped "standard" with none of the diverse varieties of the first group of later versions. Nevertheless the type as a whole is not entirely devoid of interest, one of its features being a gradual change, itself connected with the two varieties of the reverse, from a "Romanized" to a "Saxonized" style of obverse bust. On the "Romanized" (and therefore, probably, earlier) specimens, four saltires surround an annulet (Pl. II, 1), while the "Saxonized" pieces have three pellets in the form of a triangle in the place of one of the saltires (Pl. II, 2). From its style type 3a seems to be fairly early in date, not as early as 2a perhaps, but fitting reasonably well into the period centring on 670.⁶

¹ Carlyon-Britton sale, lot 159 (b) (now in my collection). An interesting elaboration of class (iii), which is probably late and which connects with this variety, is on a coin in the Middelburg Museum—the lines normally radiating from the corners are turned inwards towards the central annulet (Pl. I, 24).

² Var. (b), above.

³ Class (v), above (probably Frisian imitations of type 5).

⁴ Class (iv), above, except that type 3a has saltires. The obverses of 3a, it will be remembered, may have been the prototypes for the obverses of 4 and 5.

⁵ See Col. N. T. Belaiew in *J.A.A.B.I.* xxxvii, 1932, pp. 190–215.

⁶ A very degraded coin, struck in copper on a small flan (7.8 gr.), was in the Grantley sale (Glendining, 27–28 Jan. 1944, lot 738) and is now in my collection. It may be a contemporary forgery.

With one exception the reverses of the "plumed bird" type (*B.M.C.* 6) are connected with those of 3*a*, with horizontal lines (*Pl. II*, 6), annulets enclosing pellets (*Pl. II*, 14), as well as with saltires (*Pl. II*, 3). We have seen that both reverses, at the most only slightly modified, are also found on types 4 and 5—exceptions to the rule which connects the reverses of 6 with those of 3*a*. As the obverses of 6 are modifications of the "porcupines" of 4 and 5, most of which may be dated provisionally to the last quarter of the seventh century, type 6 itself may fall in the early years of the eighth century. Judging from its frequent occurrence from sites in Frisia, it is possible that it was widely imitated there and two such coins show an obverse variety with the type to left.¹ The exception to the usual reverses, mentioned above, is on a coin from the Cimiez hoard, with the "early" form of standard-inscription, TOT II—an interesting piece which *may* show that the type is nearer in time to its prototypes than we have hitherto thought (*Pl. I*, 13).

Some numismatists hold that the final stage in the development of the "standard" type is represented by the "Celtic Cross" (e.g. *B.M.C.* type 14, *Pl. III*, 12). This, as I point out elsewhere,² is doubtful: the origin of this type is more likely to be found in jewellery, cross-heads, and other products of Saxon art. Without going too deeply into the question, it may be noted here that my contention against deriving the "Celtic Cross" from the "standard" revolves upon the complete absence of any intermediate stage between it and the "five-annulets" reverse of type 6 (*Pl. II*, 14), from which it is supposed to be immediately derived, and upon the fact that it is associated with completely different obverse types from those normally associated with the "standard" group. Moreover, the "Celtic Cross" was a type used (probably for the first time) at the London mint, which probably operated under the aegis of the ecclesiastical authority, and this would suggest that it is more conceivably an original composition of a Christian character than the result of the modification of a different, and earlier, type, which never at any time, as far as we know, had any connexions with the London mint.

Variations

There are several variations of the "standard" reverse, mostly later in style than the usual forms, and to these we must now turn. Stylistically connected with, but more mature than, the "Union Jack" variety of type 5 are three types with either (i) a square containing a large saltire with three pellets in each angle, as on a Runic piece of *Epa* in the Hunterian Museum (*Pl. II*, 17); (ii) a square containing diagonals of pellets, with three pellets in each angle, as on type 51 (*Pl. II*, 26), the obverse of which connects it with the "London" coins; and (iii) a small square with diagonals and one pellet (or three) in the angles, as on the ? Merovingian type 11 (*Pl. II*,

¹ *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. F. 21 (Domburg): Baldwin Brown, op. cit., Pl. VII. 20 (Middelburg Museum)—obv. only.

² *B.N.J.*, 1950, pp. 132-3.

21, 18). A blundered Runic coin in the Carlyon-Britton sale (lot 142 (a)) has a similar reverse type to class (iii) (Pl. II, 20). A further modification of the "square-with-diagonals" motif is seen on a coin in the Hunterian Museum with a wolf (as on *B.M.C.* type 32a, reverse) on the obverse (Pl. II, 28).

Two uncatalogued coins in the British Museum and two unpublished pieces in the collection of Mr. F. Elmore Jones should here be noted.¹ Three have the "standard" type on both sides. Of these, two (the ex-Lawrence coin in the B.M. (Pl. II, 22) and Mr. Elmore Jones's specimen (Pl. II, 23), have as reverse the usual "degraded standard" and the third, the B.M. coin from the Barnett bequest (Pl. II, 24), has a "standard" reverse similar to that of type 51. The obverse type of all three—a small square containing a saltire and pellets—resembles the reverse of type 11, except that it has crosses flanking the "standard" instead of a legend. These coins serve to connect very definitely our variations (ii) and (iii) with the more normal "standard" of 2b, 3b, 4, and 5. The other coin in Mr. Elmore Jones's collection is a mule of types 23a ("dragon") and 51 ("standard") (Pl. II, 27), which is important in that it links, chronologically as well as stylistically, variation (ii) with the Animal Series, itself frequently connected with the "London" sceattas. The direct link between the "London" and "standard" types, which is provided by type 51, is thus supported by the indirect evidence of this coin. I have recently found an even more important chronological link in a B.M. coin with a Runic (*Epa*) obverse and a reverse of type 51 (Pl. II, 25), which latter type, therefore, must be considerably earlier than I had at first thought, falling in the seventh century in spite of its (apparently) late form of "standard". Its connexion with the London Series as well indicates a fairly long life, beginning with the Runic pieces of, probably, the 70's of the seventh century and ending at least *c.* 700, the London Series having begun *c.* 690, as we shall see.

A second series of variations starts with another *Epa* coin (Pl. II, 29) which has a cross with annulets at the ends of the limbs, enclosed in a triple circle of pellets—a theme found also on Northumbrian sculptured stones and on a bracteate which is probably of English manufacture. *B.M.C.* type 46 (Pl. II, 30) may be a later modification of this theme, with a similar cross in a square of pellets enclosed in a circle of pellets. The unusual piece in the Norwich Museum (Pl. II, 34)² has an obverse which is only vaguely traceable to the "standard" type: a very complex motif, it seems to be a mixture of the "saltire" and "cross with annulets" themes.

¹ An apparently similar piece is described but not illustrated in the Carlyon-Britton sale catalogue (lot 160 (b)), but I have been unable to discover whether it is to be identified with any of these coins. The weight given in the sale catalogue (15.5 gr.) certainly does not correspond. It may be the Ashmolean specimen (Pl. II, 32). Other examples of this type, one with a reverse identical with the obverse of the Norwich coin (described below), have come to light since this paper was written: these will be published in a forthcoming paper in *N.C.*

² Fully described and discussed in *N.C.*, 1950, pp. 150-1.

These two series of variations are very definitely linked by two coins (PI. II, 32, 31), one in the Ashmolean Museum and the other in the museum at Middelburg, Holland. The obverses show the cross-with-annulets, that on the Ashmolean specimen being enclosed in a square and that on the Middelburg coin in a circle, like the *Epa* coin of PI. II, 29. The reverses of these pieces, which are of course further examples of the hitherto unpublished "standard-standard" type, bear types which are similar to *B.M.C.* types 51 and 11 respectively.

Finally, a second variant of type 4 in the Ashmolean (PI. II, 33) has *obv.* "porcupine" 1. (instead of r.) and *rev.* circle containing a central cross surrounded by four annulets, each enclosing a pellet and alternating with the letters S-E-D-E. Although very far removed from the usual "standards" of type 4, this unusual composition appears to owe its inspiration to that type and to be just another example of the amazing individuality and ingenuity of the Anglo-Saxon craftsman. Whether the SEDE means anything or whether it is merely a combination of random letters it is quite impossible to say.

The popularity of the "standard" type is shown not only by its longevity and its innumerable variations but also by the fact that its TOT II inscription was in one instance superimposed upon another type. *B.M.C.* type 24a (PI. II, 35) is a Merovingian coin struck at Auxerre, probably early in the eighth century.¹ It was in circulation in south-eastern England, not in any great quantity, but in sufficient numbers to be copied by native moneyers (type 24b, PI. II, 36). In doing so, however, they surrounded the central design with the familiar TT or TOT II, sometimes inverted, in an attempt to fill up vacant spaces—which, as every student of barbarous imitations and sub-Roman coins knows, just had to be filled up! The result was not altogether happy: apart from being quite inappropriate in its new context, the TOT II marred the austere simplicity of the original composition and made for overcrowding, which was as unattractive as it was unnecessary. This is one of the very few examples—perhaps the only example—of a failure on the part of the Saxon die-engraver to improve upon the prototype and to give the copy that charm usually possessed by Saxon art.

Relations between the Types (see Appx. I and Fig. 1)

We may summarize our results in a diagram showing the stylistic and other connexions between the "standard" types. A continuous line means the "degeneration" or modification of the original, a dotted line, stylistic affinity. It need hardly be said that only the more important "standard" variations can be shown.

Dating

Chronological arguments based solely on the evidence of style and typology are notoriously unsatisfactory, since there is no way of

¹ Prou, *Les Monnaies merovingiennes de la Bibl. Nat.* (Paris, 1892), no. 585, Pl. x. 30.

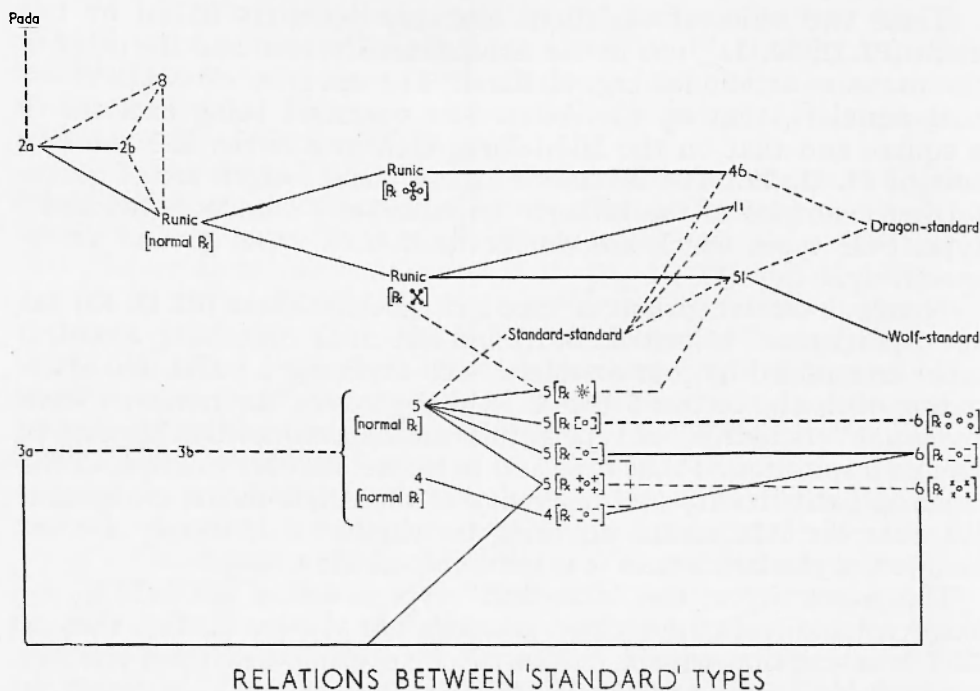


FIG. 1

differentiating between changes of style due to constant copying and those due to contemporary imitation by less skilful or less educated craftsmen. The foregoing stylistic analysis, therefore, has no pretence to finality, but from it a rough chronological sequence may be deduced. Dates (which, it must be remembered, are only *suggested* and not even approximate) are placed after each type. The earliest form of the VOT XX inscription on sceattas is undoubtedly the TOT XX of Peada (*c.* 654-6). This is followed, perhaps almost immediately, by the TOT II of type 2a (*c.* 660-70),¹ and at a slightly later date by the TOT II of certain Runic pieces, a few of types 4 and 5, and one each of 2b and 6 (*c.* 665-85). The blundered versions of 2b, Runic, 4, and 5 may follow the more intelligible specimens or, more likely, may be contemporary copies of unpractised moneyers. Type 3a may be contemporary with the TOT II coins (*c.* 670-80), followed at a later date by those with geometrical and often symmetrical designs on the "standards" (types 3b, 4, 5, and 8) (*c.* 680-700), the "plumed bird" obverse development (type 6) perhaps falling a little later (*c.* 700-10). The saltire motif of the Runic varieties must be contemporary with the more normal Runic reverses (*c.* 665-75), but its development on types 5I and II and on certain of the "standard-standard" pieces may be somewhat later (*c.* early eighth

¹ The early date of 2a is suggested not only by its standards but also by the similarity of its obverse (including even the "legend" TIC) to that of a *Pada* thrymsa and sceatta (p. 252, above).

century). Similarly, we have the "cross with annulets" as a contemporary variety on one Runic piece and, as a probable later variety, on the other two "standard-standard" coins and on type 46. At the end of the series we should probably place the two coins with an animal type on one side—the Hunterian coin with *obv.* wolf (c. 710) and (? later still) the Norwich coin with *rev.* dragon (c. 720). To sum up: perhaps it would not be too fantastic a suggestion if we allow a period of not less than seventy years for the use of the "standard" motif, say from c. 650 to c. 720.

The conclusions to which a study of style and types has led us are corroborated to a remarkable degree by the only hoard which can be dated with any accuracy—the Cimiez hoard, buried according to Le Gentilhomme in 737, the year of the destruction of the town by the Lombards.¹ This deposit contained examples of nine "standard" types—Peada (a thrymsa), 2a, Runic, 3a, 3b, 4, 5, 6, and 8—and it is clear that, if we make allowances for a certain time-lag for circulation and arrival at their place of burial, all these types must have been produced before (say) c. 720–30.

Provenances (see Appx. II)²

A study of provenances yields only partially successful results, and no more than an approximate idea of the distribution of types can be obtained from it, since finds have not been very thoroughly recorded in the past. By this means, therefore, we can reach a not very satisfactory conclusion regarding only a few of the types which we have been considering in this paper. Type 2a comes mainly from Kent and may possibly be a native of that region. Type 2b apparently shifted its focal point to the east Midlands and East Anglia, which supports the contention that it is connected with the Runic, with their Midland associations, rather than with the Kentish 2a. The Runic *Epa* and *Apa* coins are distributed evenly throughout the Midlands, East Anglia, and south-east England, *excluding* Kent but including London and Essex. Finally, types 4 and 5 (which are not always differentiated in the reports) cover the Midlands, southern England, and Kent. It is highly probable, therefore, that the centres of production for all the above types must be sought in Kent and Mercia. On this showing, the impetus for the sceatta coinage seems to have originated in Kent (having come from Merovingian Gaul), spreading in course of time to the north and the north-west.

Metrology and Fineness

The following table gives the maximum, minimum, and average weights of each individual type and of each class of the Standard Series:

¹ "La Circulation des sceattas", in *Melanges*, p. 72. There seems no reason to doubt this dating.

² See also Sutherland in *N.C.*, 1942, pp. 51–58.

	Max. (gr.)	Min. (gr.)	No. of coins weighed	Total wt. (gr.)	Aver. wt. (gr.)	No. in base metal	Total qty.	Total wt. (gr.)	Aver. wt. (gr.)
EARLY:									
Peada	20.3	16.2	5	92.0	18.4	—	34	642.5	18.9
2a	20.2	16.8	28	533.2	19.04	(1 plated)			
Rad. head—standard		17.3	1	17.3	17.3	—			
LATER:									
2b	18.5	10.2	10	151.0	15.1	1	197	2,896.7	14.7
Rad. head—standard		18.9	1	18.9	18.9	1			
Runic (? <i>Iea</i>) . . .	14.3	10.5	5	55.2	11.04	1			
„ (<i>Epa</i>)	20.3	9.2	28	431.8	15.42	—			
„ (<i>Apa</i>)	20.0	11.5	12	192.6	16.05	—			
„ (<i>Lepa</i>)	18.6	17.3	2	35.9	17.95	1			
„ (<i>Spi</i>)	17.0	12.0	3	42.2	14.07	—			
„ (<i>Wigraed</i>) . . .	14.0	11.1	5	60.6	12.15	1			
„ (blundered) . . .	18.2	10.8	7	98.6	14.09	—			
3a	19.8	7.8	17	243.4	14.32	2 (1, Æ)			
3a var.		13.9	1	13.9	13.9	—			
3b		17.8	1	17.8	17.8	—			
4	21.8	11.7	31	533.4	17.4	—	11	171.6	15.6
4 var. (i)		13.2	1	13.2	13.2	1 (Æ)			
5	21.5	9.2	54	899.4	16.6	2 (Æ)			
5 var.	20.2	16.8	2	37.0	18.5	—			
6	19.5	12.4	15	258.8	17.26	—			
8	20.4	14.6	11	203.7	18.52	—			
VARIATIONS:									
11 (including "3b") .	18.8	13.1	3	49.7	16.57	—	11	171.6	15.6
51	19.0	18.8	2	37.8	18.9	—			
23a/51		14.5	1	14.5	14.5	1			
Runic/51		14.2	1	14.2	14.2	—			
Standard-dragon . .		15.0	1	15.0	15.0	—			
Standard-standard .	15.7	11.8	8	114.0	14.25	4			

The majority of the above types are of good weight, with the exceptions of 2b, the Runic *Iea*, the "standard-dragon", and the "standard-standard", which fall considerably below the average of 18 gr. The first two of these exceptions are undoubtedly imitations, hence their consistently low weight, and the 15 gr. of the third is only to be expected, since it is typologically connected with the Animal Series, many of which are of low weight and probably late. Otherwise the "standard" types maintain a fairly good average and, if weight be any criterion, this fact confirms our main chronological deduction—that they are mostly early, before the beginnings of the general debasement of metal and weight which are seen in certain of the Animal types.

II. THE "LONDON" SERIES

Three sceatta-types (*B.M.C.* types 12, 13, and 14) are interesting and important in that they bear an obverse legend—LVNDONIA, or a blundered version, which, unlike the majority of sceatta "legends", means something and undoubtedly stands for London. This is the only example of a mint-name on sceattas and one immediately connects it with a similar legend, LONDVNIV, on certain earlier thrymsas: apart from these there are no other instances of a mint-signature on Saxon coins before the introduction of the penny at the end of the eighth century. To these "London-inscribed" sceattas may be added

numerous pieces of identical style, which are presumably derivatives from them, and others which are connected by either the obverse or the reverse type with the London Series.

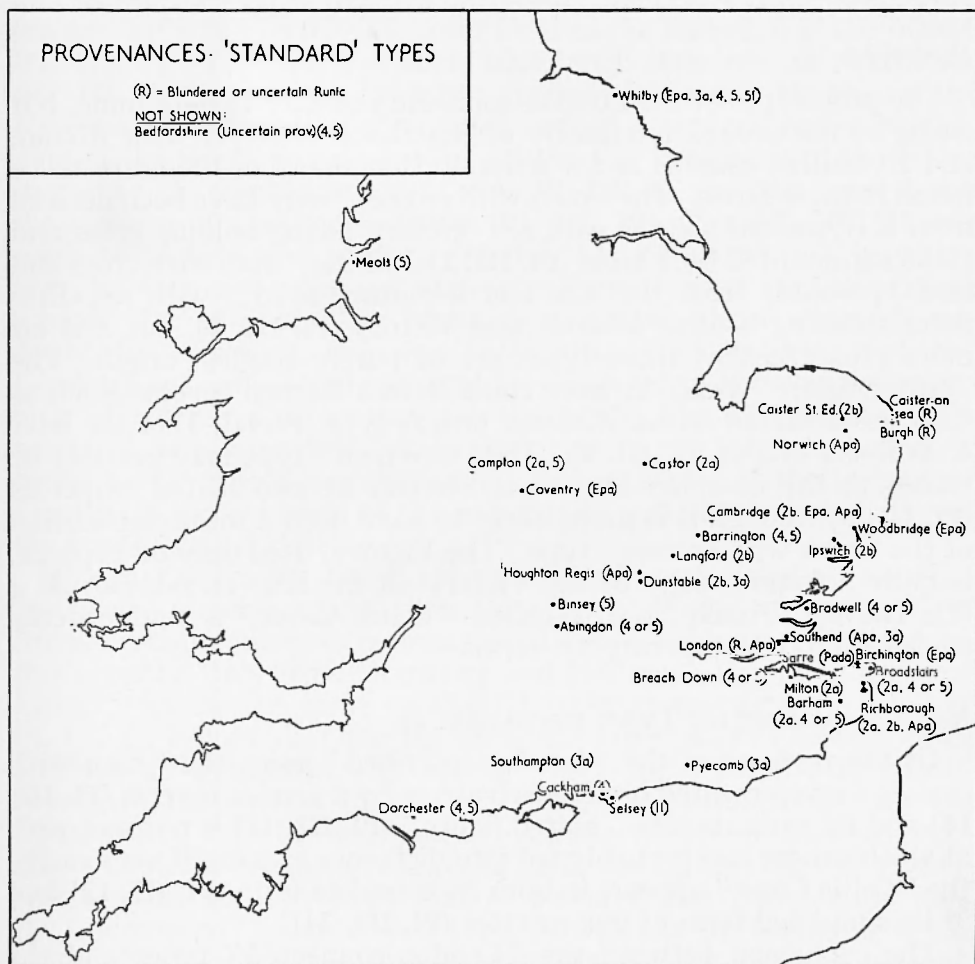


FIG. 2

Those with the London legend have on the obverse a bust, usually diademed but in one instance helmeted, the style of which is, with one exception (from Hallum, Holland), typically Saxon: the hair dressed in Saxon fashion, the features often displaying the almond-shaped eye and prominent chin which are the usual characteristics of Saxon portraiture, the large bust decorated with lines and pellets for drapery, &c.¹ Except for their style, the "London-derived" types differ from the inscribed types only inasmuch as they lack the London legend and have a cross or other object before the face. The "London-connected" types are mostly of the Animal Series (Sutherland's

¹ See my paper in *N.C.*, 1949, p. 52.

"bird-beast" class,¹) which is thereby linked both stylistically and chronologically with the London coins. The reverse types of the series are: a man holding two crosses (or various other objects), two men with crosses, a seated figure, the "Celtic Cross", and a Victory.

Prototypes

The prototypes of the London coins are not easy to determine, but owing to the proved familiarity of the Saxon moneyer with Roman and Byzantine coins it is not unlikely that many of them are to be found in those series. The "man with crosses" may have been derived from a Byzantine solidus with *rev.* Victory facing holding cross and globe surmounted by a cross (PI. III, 1) and the "man with cross and bird" probably from the late fourth-century solidus with *rev.* Emperor standing holding *labarum* and Victory (PI. III, 2), but it is far more probable that these types are of purely English origin. The "seated figure" seems to have come from a Roman reverse, such as the Constantinian *Romae Aeternae* bronze type (PI. III, 3) or the later *Urbs Roma* siliqua (PI. III, 4). The "two men" type may possibly be traced to the common Byzantine obverse of two seated emperors (PI. III, 5), though it is more likely to have been a mere duplication of the "man with crosses" type. The Victory, used only on type 22, is quite a faithful copy of the Victory on the late Theodosian Æ 4 (PI. III, 6). Finally, the so-called "Celtic Cross" is undoubtedly copied from contemporary art-forms.²

Relations between the Types (see Appx. I)

Of the reverses of the "London-inscribed" coins the "man with crosses" is represented on the derivatives by a similar reverse (PI. III, 14) and its variants; the "seated figure" (PI. III, 11) is not met with at all elsewhere and probably fell into disfavour as a motif very early; the "Celtic Cross" appears in both its complete form (PI. III, 12) and in its simplified form of five rosettes (PI. III, 24).

The connexion between the "London-connected" types and the rest of the series is shown by the use, either on the obverse or on the reverse, of one of the London types, the other side usually having some form of animal or bird. Obverse busts or heads are stylistically identical with the "Saxon" busts of the "London-inscribed" and "London-derived" coins. They may be subdivided into—(a) busts which are closest to the "inscribed" busts (PI. IV, 1), (b) those allied in style to the "derived" busts with a cross before the face (PI. IV, 2) or a bird on the shoulder (PI. IV, 5); and (c) variations—a head in a wreath (PI. IV, 29) or in a cable (PI. IV, 9), a helmeted bust (PI. IV, 7) and a facing bust (PI. IV, 8). Other types represented are the "man with crosses" (PI. IV, 11) and its variants and the "Celtic Cross" (PI. IV, 22).

¹ *N.C.*, 1942, p. 59.

² See p. 257, above.

The "London-inscribed" Types

The fact that one of the specimens of type 12 in the British Museum shares an obverse die with the B.M. specimen of type 13 suggests that all the inscribed types were contemporary with each other. Only very few present a reasonably accurate form of the legend, e.g. LVNÐONIA (Pl. III, 7). Type 12 has such blundered attempts as NNOONN+ (Pl. III, 8), NOONN+., JNDON—versions in which Haigh, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1869, tried to read a personal name, Nunna, king of the South Saxons c. 710. Of the two specimens of the mules (types 12/5), one reads LVNÐONIA (Pl. III, 9) and the other bears the remains of a legend, +ANVM (Pl. III, 10). Type 13 (Pl. III, 11) reads NNOONN+ and type 14 (Pl. III, 12) XVNÐONVJ, in which may be seen a barbarized and retrograde version of the original legend. In spite of their blunders, however, these attempts undoubtedly represent the word LVNÐONIA and suggest that the London mint, which had operated for about thirty years at the beginning of the seventh century for the production of thrymsas, was reopened at a later date for sceattas. As in the thrymsa period, it seems to have been working under the authority of the bishops of London, if the evidence of the universally ecclesiastical character of the types is at all reliable.

The 12/5 mules (Pl. III, 9, 10), mentioned above, have a "London-inscribed" obverse and a "porcupine" reverse and are probably of Frisian manufacture, as no examples have so far been recorded from this country, only from Domburg and Hallum.¹ However, they are almost exactly the same as the "London-connected" type 9 (cp. Pl. IV, 1), except that the legend of the latter is LEV+ instead of an attempt at LVNÐONIA.² It appears that the "London-inscribed" types are the earliest of the series and their connexion with the "porcupine" type in these mules (even though the mules were probably of Frisian origin) would place them during the reign of Æthelred II of Mercia (675-704), who, as we have seen, consistently used the "porcupine" as an obverse type. If we place the beginning of the London Series, therefore, to c. 690-700, we may not be far wrong and, indeed, this dating is supported by the only exception to the usual Saxon style of the London bust—the 12/5 mule from Hallum on which the bust is essentially "Romanized" and which therefore could easily fall before the end of the seventh century.³

The "London-derived" Types

From a chronological point of view, there seems little doubt that these coins are a direct continuation of the inscribed pieces. Stylistically they exhibit a more mature form of art. The obverse busts are

¹ See p. 263, above, and p. 276, below. (Strictly speaking, they are, from the circumstance of the "porcupine" to l., 12/5 var. mules.)

² This type will be dealt with in its own context, the "London-connected" group.

³ Cp. the date (c. 670) which I have assigned to the sceatta of the same types as the *Victoria Augg.* thrymsa, one of the latest of the "Romanized" thrymsas, in my paper in *B.N.J.*, 1950, pp. 136, 142.

more naturalistic, though at the same time even more typically "Saxon" in appearance, and the individualism of the engravers is brought out by a pleasing device—that of varying the composition by including an object, such as a cross, before the face. The rather plain hair-style of the inscribed coins (**Pl. III, 11**) is at first continued, but gives place in course of time to one with an extension down the nape of the neck (**Pl. III, 18**), and finally to a complicated coiffure with interwoven plaits (**Pl. III, 23**). The last-named style is not unlike the interlocked legs and tails of the "Anglian" birds and beasts on crosses, jewellery, and a few of the "animal" type sceattas. Baldwin Brown¹ also gives this chronological sequence for the "Saxon" hair-styles and notes² that busts with "Saxon hair" are not found on tomb-furniture until the seventh century. The drapery, too, undergoes a change from the simple style of the inscribed coins to a more realistic representation of a tunic, ornamented with lines and pellets (cp. **Pl. III, 18** and **23**).

As we have seen, the rather plain form of the inscribed pieces is usually improved upon on the derivatives by placing a cross before the face on the obverse (e.g. **Pl. III, 14**)—a device which not only varies the composition but also may be thought to emphasize the ecclesiastical nature of the London mint at this time. On other pieces, however, the place of the cross is taken by a cup or chalice (type 20, **Pl. III, 23**), a branch (type 16, **Pl. III, 16**), two rosettes of pellets (**Pl. III, 21**), or even random "letters" (**Pl. III, 15**), all of which show the originality of the artists in the days before the early English coinage became stereotyped and monotonous. On a coin in the Carlyon-Britton sale (lot 162 (c)) and on a coin from the Barnett bequest in the British Museum a small cross appears above the cup—mules with the reverse of type 18 (*B.M.C.*, no. 101). An interesting variation on another B.M. coin of the same type (*B.M.C.*, no. 103) is the addition of a rather superfluous "helmet" on the obverse head, which is also diademed: it takes the usual form of helmets on Saxon and Merovingian coins of this period—an arc of pellets terminating in a hook behind—so that there is little doubt as to what it is intended to represent.

The reverses of the derivatives fall into the same general pattern as those of the inscribed coins—the "man with crosses" of types 15*a* (**Pl. III, 14**), 16 (**Pl. III, 16**), and 17, and the "Celtic Cross" of type 34 (**Pl. III, 25**). Several variants of the former exist, as may be expected from the more individualistic artists of the derivatives—"a man with branch and cross" of type 15*b* and one of its variants (**Pl. III, 18, 19**), "a man with two branches" of the other variety of 15*b* (**Pl. III, 20**), "a man with cross and bird" of types 18, 19, and 20 (**Pl. III, 22**), and "a man with cross and staff" (**Pl. III, 21**). An uncatalogued British Museum coin has *obv.* two men with crosses, *rev.* five rosettes (a variant of the "Celtic Cross") (**Pl. III, 24**), and another B.M. coin, from Whitby, is a mule of two reverses—types 12 and 34 (**Pl. III, 13**).

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

Instead of the usual bust, type 22 has as obverse type a curious little Victory holding a wreath (Pl. III, 17), reminiscent of the Theodosian *Victoria Augg.* Æ 4 (Pl. III, 6), from which it was probably derived. Generally speaking, the reverses of the derivatives conform in style to the standard set by the inscribed coins and, apart from a more individualistic treatment, show little advance upon the originals, except in the case of one of the coins of type 19,¹ on which the drapery of the reverse figure is carefully delineated by small pellets and lines.

The "London-connected" Types

It is not until we come to the "London-connected" types that we find the most marked differences in style, and the impression which we form is that we have here to deal with a group which, although its earliest pieces may have been contemporary at least with the derivatives, continued until much later, perhaps almost to the end of the sceattas. Indeed, the differences are so marked in a few cases that it may be doubted whether such pieces are at all connected with the London coins, in spite of the similarity of types.

The "London-connected" coins may be divided into four classes according to the type which connects them with the London Series—(i) London-style bust or head, (ii) man with crosses, (iii) two men with crosses, and (iv) Celtic Cross. Hitherto we have come across the "two men" type only once (on the "two men—rosettes" derivative in the British Museum), and this almost universal association with the "London-connected" group indicates that the type may be a later derivative from the purely London type of a man holding two crosses rather than an original type copied from a Byzantine prototype.² Class (i) can be further subdivided into: (a) coins with the "London" bust proper, similar in style to *B.M.C.* 12; (b) coins with a bust having stylistic affinities with the "London-derived" group; and (c) coins with variations of the "London" bust.

The only example of Class (i) (a) is type 9 (Pl. IV, 1), with the "porcupine" reverse, identical, except for the obverse "legend", with the Frisian mules, 12/5, from Domburg and Hallum. Like these coins, type 9 shows that the London Series was circulating at the close of the seventh and beginning of the eighth centuries. Class (i) (b) has animal reverses—the wolf and its derivatives on types 32a (Pl. IV, 2), 32b (Pl. IV, 3), and 33 (Pl. IV, 4), a hound running past a tree on type 42 (Pl. IV, 5), and on one of its two variants, the hound standing in front of a tree on the other variant of type 42, and the "bird and branch" type on a coin formerly in the Grantley collection with *ARIP* before the obverse bust (Pl. IV, 6). The variations of Class (i) (c) are: "head in wreath" (type 21, Pl. IV, 29), "head in cable border" (type 38 and two uncatalogued coins in the Hunterian and Ashmolean

¹ Ibid., Pl. vi. 2 (de Man collection).

² I think, on the whole, that this is the most likely origin for the type, though there may have been in it a memory of some Byzantine prototype.

Museums, **Pl. IV, 9, 27, 28, 10**), "helmeted bust" (another uncatalogued Hunterian coin (**Pl. IV, 7**)), and "facing bust" (type 52, (**Pl. IV, 8**)). Of these, type 52 is the one most closely allied in style to the London busts: the hair is knotted at either side of the head, the drapery is decorated with lines and pellets, and the bust is large and prominent. The "helmeted bust" type is perhaps a little too Romanized, and therefore too early in date, for the London Series, but even so it compares in style with some of the earliest inscribed coins.¹ The "head in cable border" is connected stylistically with the London Series only on the (apparently) earliest examples of type 38 (e.g. *B.M.C.*, no. 169, **Pl. IV, 9**). Other specimens of this type (e.g. **Pl. IV, 27**) and the Hunterian coin with "head in cable border" (**Pl. IV, 28**) are far removed from any stylistic connexions with the London Series. The same may be said of the "head in wreath" of type 21 (**Pl. IV, 29**), of which neither the obverse bust nor the "man with crosses" reverse is in the London style. The reverse is identical in style with that of type 23c (**Pl. IV, 30**), which exhibits the same rather crude execution, and it may be that these types, together with the even cruder "bird—man with crosses" sceatta (**Pl. IV, 31**), are later or unskilful contemporary imitations of the London motif. Type 23c, however, is connected with the London Series by a coin in the British Museum from Whitby, a mule with the "Celtic Cross" reverse of type 34 (**Pl. IV, 24**).

Class (ii)—the "man with crosses" reverse—is found on five types, 23a, 23b, 23d, 23e, and 40 (**Pl. IV, 11–14, 32, 18**), as well as on the three types which we have just rejected as probable copies. There are three variants—a man with a staff and a cross (on another coin of type 23a, **Pl. IV, 18**), a man with a bow and a cross (a variant of the same type (**Pl. IV, 16**)), and a man with two crosses and a flower (23e var., **Pl. IV, 17**). Obverses are: "dragon" (23a and 40), "bird and branch" (23b), the same bird developing into a whorl (23d), and a whorl of three wolves' heads (23e and var.). Types 23a and 23d are of low weight and it has been suggested, with some reason, that they are amongst the latest productions in the sceatta series.² If so, this would place them in the second half of the eighth century, thus indicating that the influence of the "London-inscribed" coins, in spite of their short life, extended long after they themselves had gone out of circulation.

Class (iii)—"two men with crosses"—is represented by types 41a and 41b (both with *obv.* dragon) (**Pl. IV, 19, 20**) and by 51 (*rev.* standard, **Pl. II, 26**, which we considered earlier). Type 41a is not quite in the London style, although the reverse type, with the two men facing each other instead of facing the spectator, shows an originality of treatment which is fully in that tradition. Its companion-type, 41b, is cruder and may be slightly later in date—a sug-

¹ Another example was in the Grantley sale (lot 739) and a third, rather cruder in style, is illustrated by Le Gentilhomme, *op. cit.*, **Pl. iv. 22**.

² By Brooke, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

gestion which is confirmed by a mule from Whitby with the reverse of 23e (Pl. IV, 15). Indeed, the extreme crudity of 41b and of some of the examples of type 51 (not that illustrated, which is unusually neat) indicates that they are very bad attempts at copying the London composition.¹ Another interesting mule from Hallum has a "porcupine" obverse and a "two men" reverse (Pl. IV, 21). Although we probably have here another example of what certainly appears to be the Frisian aptitude for muling types, this coin serves to connect still further the Standard and London Series and to indicate a late seventh-century date for the original appearance of the latter.

Class (iv)—"Celtic Cross" reverse—is used with two animal types: 39 (Pl. IV, 22, *obv.* "fantastic bird") and 48 (Pl. IV, 23, *obv.* "wolf-whorl"). The double-reverse mule from Whitby (12/34) connects type 34 chronologically with the "inscribed" coins. Some numismatists have seen a derivative of the "Celtic Cross" on type 49 (Pl. IV, 25), with its so-called "face-in-shield" obverse (*rev.* "fantastic bird"). If this last-named type were developed from the "Celtic Cross", it was by assimilation with the facing heads of various continental types (e.g. *B.M.C.* 31), which occasionally circulated in this country. However, it is more likely that it may have been a purely original design based on other forms of Teutonic art, like the "Celtic Cross" itself. The central head is paralleled on, for example, the ceremonial whetstone from the Sutton Hoo treasure, and the motif of a central boss surrounded by similar bosses is found on Teutonic art from quite early times.² Nevertheless, even though type 49 may not be connected directly with the "London" coins, its indirect connexion is shown by a mule in the British Museum (provenance: Whitby) with the "face-in-shield" obverse conjoined with the "wolf-whorl" of the "London-connected" type 48 (Pl. IV, 26).

Dating

Little can be said on the subject of dating, since very few pointers are available. We have deduced from the evidence of type 9 and the 12/5 and 5/41b mules that the earliest coins seem to be contemporary with Æthelred II of Mercia towards the close of the seventh century, while at the other end of the chronological scale we may place some of the "London-connected" pieces with animal types. Beyond that we can only guess. The issue of the inscribed pieces may have ceased early in the eighth century. Their derivatives, rare though certain types are, may have had a longer circulation until, say, the middle of the century, while the "connected" pieces show examples of both early and late styles and may have extended throughout almost the whole period until the sceattas were finally superseded by pennies c. 790.

¹ See p. 257, above, for type 51, which connects both with the early Runic pieces and with the later London Series—probably c. 675–700.

² e.g. the two bronze plaques, probably breast ornaments, from Thorsberg Moss in Schleswig (Kiel Museum), ? 4th century; and the bronze plaque from Rochester (Rochester Museum), late 5th century (Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* p. 324, Pl. LXI).

As in the case of the Standard Series, a more certain pointer is the great Cimiez hoard, probably deposited in 737, although it concerns only two "London-connected" types—two coins of types 23*e* and 41*b*. We have already seen¹ that the date of the contents of this hoard must be assigned to *c.* 720–30 at the very earliest.

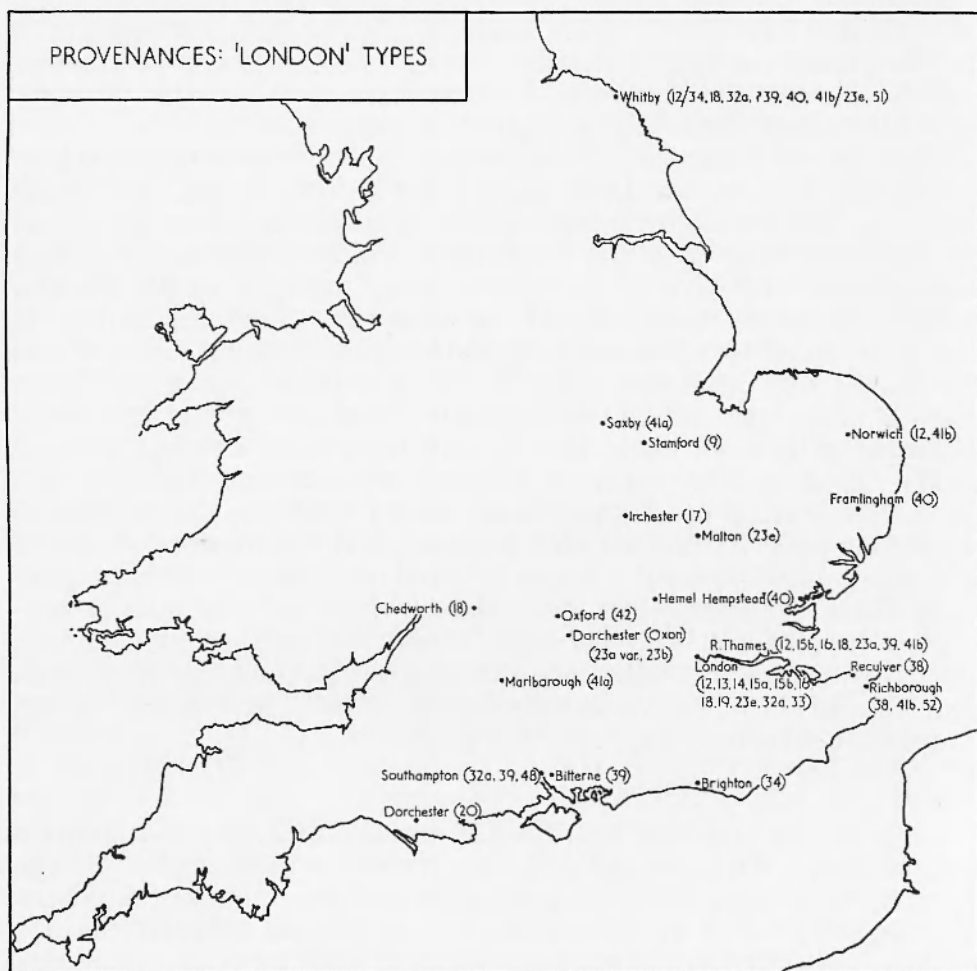


FIG. 3

Provenances (see Appx. II)

As might be expected, the "London-inscribed" types are found mainly in the London area, four of the seven specimens recorded in Dr. Sutherland's list of provenances² forming part of a hoard from the Thames, of which the other pieces were "derived" (9 examples) and "connected" types (4 examples).³ Many "derived" types also

¹ p. 261, above.

² *N.C.*, 1942, pp. 51–58 and map on p. 68. For the "London" provenance, see n. 47 on p. 56.

³ The numbers according to *B.M.C.* types were: *B.M.C.* 12 (2), 13 (1), 14 (1), 15*a* (1), 15*b* (1), 16 (2), 18 (4), 19 (1), 23*e* (1), 32*a* (1), 33 (2).

come from the London area: of eighteen coins in Sutherland's list no less than thirteen had a London provenance. These facts not only point out the close connexion between the "inscribed" and "derived" groups but also suggest that London has been rightly considered to be their place of origin. It should be noted in passing that both these groups are conspicuously absent from Kent—a fact which cannot possibly be due to lack of information, since that area has been as well written up as any district in England. The "connected" coins naturally show a wider distribution. Kent claims three of the eight specimens of recorded provenance in the "London-bust" sub-group, while the "man with crosses" and its variants seem to come mainly from London and Oxfordshire. The "two men" type is centred on London and Kent, so far as we can tell, with a few odd specimens from other parts of southern and eastern England. The "Celtic Cross" and the "face-in-shield" emanate mainly from Hampshire and Dorset, Southampton having yielded thirty-five examples alone.¹ Several of the "London-connected" coins are represented at Whitby in Yorkshire. The presence of these undoubtedly "southern" sceattas at such an outlying site is quite unexpected and has not yet been adequately explained.

Metrology and Fineness

The average weight in grains of each individual type, together with that of each class, is given in the table on p. 272.

From this table several interesting points emerge. (i) Generally speaking, the weights of the "London" coins fall well below those of the Standard Series, which is precisely what their (generally) later date would lead one to expect. (ii) The inscribed group, while maintaining a fairly good average weight, is largely struck in base metal: of a total of ten coins, no fewer than six are of base silver or billon. (iii) The "derived" group weighs slightly less than the inscribed (though the considerably smaller numbers of the latter make it unsafe to draw a comparison) and the base metal characteristic is still conspicuous. (iv) There is a very great variation in the weights of the "derived" coins, ranging from 18 gr. down to 10 gr. If this group extended to the mid-eighth century, when it appears that the sceattas were undergoing a depreciation in weight and fineness, this is not surprising. (v) The lack of variety in the average weights of the inscribed coins, few though they may be, suggests on the other hand a considerably shorter period of circulation. (vi) It is noteworthy that, although many of the coins in the "connected" groups are stylistically late, and although the group may contain some of the latest productions of the sceatta series, the proportion of base coins is very much smaller than in the other two groups: out of 64 coins, only 8 are of base silver compared with 8 out of 10 inscribed and 14

¹ Most of these were in two finds. One (a probable hoard) contained—32a (1), 39 (1), 48 (1), 49 (3) with a thrymsa (*B.M.C. (N)* type 3), and one 27b. The other (definitely a hoard), found in 1947, consisted of types 39 (2) and 49 (21)—*N.C.*, 1946, p. 73.

out of 30 "derived". (vii) The high average weight of the copies and the total absence of base coins may be due solely to the few specimens available for weighing and, until more are available, nothing can be deduced from their weights and fineness.

	Max. wt. (gr.)	Min. wt. (gr.)	No. of coins weighed	Total wt. (gr.)	Aver. wt. (gr.)	No. in base metal	Total qty.	Total wt. (gr.)	Aver. wt. (gr.)
INSCRIBED:									
12	16.2	13.2	8	121.9	15.24	6	10	151.7	15.17
13		15.3	1	15.3	15.3	1			
14		14.5	1	14.5	14.5	1			
DERIVED:									
15a	16.0	15.2	2	31.2	15.6	2	30	430.7	14.36
15a var.		14.0	1	14.0	14.0	1			
15b		13.4	1	13.4	13.4	1			
16	15.8	15.0	2	30.8	15.4	2			
17	14.3	13.6	2	27.9	13.95	1			
18	15.3	10.1	8	93.7	13.39	3			
20/18	12.7	11.4	2	24.1	12.05	—			
19		17.2	1	17.2	17.2	1			
20	18.0	12.7	7	105.9	15.13	1			
22		17.0	1	17.0	17.0	1			
34	12.8	11.8	2	24.6	12.3	1			
12/34		13.5	1	13.5	13.5	—			
Bust with rosettes		17.4	1	17.4	17.4	—			
CONNECTED:									
9	15.0	13.8	2	28.8	14.4	—	64	990.6	15.48
23a		13.8	2	27.6	13.8	—			
23a/51		14.5	1	14.5	14.5	1			
23b	18.7	14.5	3	49.7	16.57	—			
23c/34		14.7	1	14.7	14.7	—			
23d	13.8	12.7	2	26.5	13.25	—			
23e	16.7	10.3	2	27.0	13.5	1			
23e var.		10.7	1	10.7	10.7	—			
41b/23e		13.0	1	13.0	13.0	—			
32a	17.6	9.1	12	178.6	14.88	1			
32b		14.3	1	14.3	14.3	—			
33	18.2	14.5	4	63.2	15.8	2			
38	18.2	15.1	4	64.2	16.05	—			
39		12.4	1	12.4	12.4	—			
41a	19.2	15.4	2	34.6	17.3	—			
41b	20.2	12.9	12	214.3	17.86	2			
42	16.4	7.4	4	53.8	13.45	1			
48	17.7	9.4	4	57.7	14.45	—			
49/48		15.7	1	15.7	15.7	—			
51	19.0	18.8	2	37.8	18.9	—			
52	15.9	15.6	2	31.5	15.75	—			
COPIES:									
21	16.5	12.5	2	29.0	14.5	—	8	127.9	15.99
23c		12.3	1	12.3	12.3	—			
40	18.9	15.4	5	86.6	17.3	—			

The large proportion of base metal coins in the "inscribed" and "derived" groups is an interesting phenomenon explainable, perhaps, not so much by a late date, as by an observation of Baldwin Brown:¹ "The Romans of the later empire coined chiefly in gold and bronze, and the predilection for bronze rather than the silver of old Teutonic tradition is supposed to have lingered in highly Romanized centres such as London and York." This supposition would also partly explain the early adoption of bronze for the Northumbrian stycas, which may have been struck at York.

¹ Op. cit., p. 80.

For their kindness in allowing their coins to be illustrated, I should like to thank: The Keeper of Coins, the British Museum; M. Jean Babelon, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Mr. R. Rainbird Clark of Norwich Museum; Mr. F. Elmore Jones; Miss Anne Robertson, of the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow University; Mr. H. T. Shrubbs, of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; and Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland, of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes and key to the plates:

- A.M.—Ashmolean Museum.
 B.B.—Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iii, London, 1915.
 B.M.—British Museum.
 B.M.C.—*British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*.
 B.N.—Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
 B.N.J.—*British Numismatic Journal*.
 C.B.S.C.—*Carlyon-Britton Sale Catalogue*, Sotheby, 17 Nov. 1913.
 Cohen—*Les Monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1880-92.
 F.E.J.—F. Elmore Jones collection.
 F.M.—Fitzwilliam Museum.
 G.S.C.—*Grantley Sale Catalogue*, Glendining, 27/28 Jan. 1944.
 H.M.—Hunterian Museum.
 J.A.A.B.I.—*Journal of the Archaeological Association of the British Isles*.
 M.M.—Middelburg Museum.
 N.C.—*Numismatic Chronicle*.
 N.N.M.—*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*.
 P.L.G.—P. Le Gentilhomme, *La Circulation des sceattas* (in *Mélanges de numismatique mérovingienne*, Paris, 1940). (Translated in *B.N.J.*, 1943-4, pp. 195-210.)
 P.V.H.—Own collection.
 R.B.N.—*Revue belge de numismatique*.
 Ruding—*Annals of the Coinage*, 3rd ed., London, 1840.

APPENDIX I

Type-groupings

A. "STANDARD" SERIES

1. Early Versions

- (a) TOT XX: *Pada*. Pl. I, 2.
 Variety: Royal name in panel: *Pada*. Pl. I, 3.
 (b) TOT II: 2a, Radiate head—standard. Pl. I, 4, 5. Pl. I, 6.

2. Later Versions, I

- (a) TOT II, triangle of pellets: Runic. Pl. I, 7, 8.
 (b) TOT II, no triangle: Runic, 2b, Runic var., 4, 5, 6. Pl. I, 9-13.
 (c) Blundered letters: Runic, Runic var., 2b, 3b, 4, 4 var. (i) 5, 5 var., radiate head—standard. Pl. I, 14-17, 19-21.
 (d) Four pellets and annulet: Runic var., 4, 5. Pl. I, 22, 23.
 Varieties: (i) Four pellets, four oblique lines and annulet: 5. Pl. I, 24.
 (ii) Four pellets, two obtuse angles and annulet: 5.

3. *Later Versions, II*

- (a) Four saltires and annulet: 3a, 3a var., 6. Pl. II, 1-3.
 (b) Four horizontal lines and annulet: 4, 5, 6. Pl. II, 4-6.
Varieties: (i) Two angles and annulet: Runic var., 5, [Standard-standard, see 4 (b)]. Pl. II, 7.
 (ii) Four angles and annulet: 5, 8, 30b/8, [Standard-standard, see 4 (b)]. Pl. II, 8, 9, 22, 23.
 (iii) Two angles, two oblique lines, and annulet: Runic, 4, 5, 5 var., [Standard-standard, see 4 (b)]. Pl. II, 10, 11.
 (iv) Four oblique lines and annulet: Runic. Pl. II, 12.
 (v) Four angles, two T's, two I's, and annulet: 5. Pl. II, 13.
 (c) Five annulets: 6, 6 var. Pl. II, 14.
Variety: Four semicircles and annulet: 5. Pl. II, 15.
 (d) Four crosses and annulet: 5. Pl. II, 16.

4. *Variations, I*

- (a) Saltire and three pellets: Runic, "3b" (= 11) [Standard-standard: see 4 (b) and 5 (a)]. Pl. II, 17, 18, 24, 31.
Variety: "Union Jack" pattern of pellets: 5. Pl. II, 19.
 (b) Saltire and one pellet: Runic var., 11, Standard-standard. Pl. II, 20-24.
 (c) Diagonals and three pellets: Runic/51, 51, 23a/51, [Standard-standard, see 4 (b)]. Pl. II, 25-27.
 (d) Diagonals and one pellet: [Standard-standard: see 5 (a)]. Pl. II, 32.
 (e) Diagonals and crosses: Wolf-standard. Pl. II, 28.

5. *Variations, II*

- (a) Cross with annulets: Runic var., 46, [Standard-standard, see 4 (a) and 4 (d)]. Pl. II, 29-32.
Variety: Central cross, four annulets and SEDE: 4 var. (ii). Pl. II, 33.
 (b) Square of pellets in circle of pellets and annulet: Standard-dragon, [Standard-standard, see 4 (b)]. Pl. II, 34.
 (c) Whorl-pattern: hound-wheel.¹

B. "LONDON" SERIES

1. *"Inscribed"*

- (a) Man with crosses: 12. Pl. III, 7, 8.
Variety: "Porcupine": 12/5. Pl. III, 9, 10.
 (b) Seated figure: 13. Pl. III, 11.
 (c) "Celtic Cross": 14. Pl. III, 12.

2. *"Derived"*

- (a) Man with crosses: 12/34, 12 var., 15a, 15a var., 16, 17, 22. Pl. III, 13-17.
Varieties: (i) Man with branch and cross: 15b, 15b var. (i). Pl. III, 18, 19.
 (ii) Man with two branches: 15b var. (ii). Pl. III, 20.
 (iii) Man with cross and staff: Bust with rosettes—man with cross and staff. Pl. III, 21.
 (iv) Man with cross and bird: 18, 20/18, 19, 20. Pl. III, 22, 23.
 (b) Two men with crosses and staves: Two men—rosettes. Pl. III, 24.
 (c) "Celtic Cross": 34 [12/34: see 2 (a)], [Two men with crosses—rosettes: see 2 (b)]. Pl. III, 25, 13. Pl. III, 24.

¹ To be published in forthcoming paper in *N.C.*

3. "Connected"

- (a) "Inscribed" style of bust: 9, 9 var. Pl. IV, 1.
 (b) "Derived" style of bust: 32a, 32b, 33, 42, 42 var. (i), 42 var. (ii), Bust with
 ARIP—bird and branch. Pl. IV, 2-6.
 Varieties: (i) Helmeted bust—small cross. Pl. IV, 7.
 (ii) Facing bust: 52. Pl. IV, 8.
 (iii) Head in cable: 38, Head in cable—dragon. (N.B.: "London"
 style only.) Pl. IV, 9, 10.
 (c) Man with crosses: 23a, 23b, 23d, 23e, 41b/23e. Pl. IV, 11-15.
 Varieties: (i) Man with bow and cross: 23a var. Pl. IV, 16.
 (ii) Man with crosses and flower: 23e var. Pl. IV, 17.
 (iii) Man with cross and staff: 23a. Pl. IV, 18.
 (d) Two men with crosses: 41a, 41b/41a, 41b, 5/41b. Pl. IV, 19-21.
 (e) "Celtic Cross": 39, 48, 23c/34. Pl. IV, 22-24.

4. Copies

- (a) Bust or head in cable: 38, Head in cable—dragon. (Not "London" style.)
 Pl. IV, 27, 28.
 (b) Head in wreath: 21. Pl. IV, 29.
 (c) Man with crosses: 23c, 40, Bird—man with crosses. Pl. IV, 30, 31, 32.
 (d) Two men with crosses: [51: see Standard Series, 4 (c)]. Pl. II, 26.

APPENDIX II

Provenances

A. "STANDARD" SERIES

Peada. Kent: Sarre. *France*: Cimiez.

2a. *Kent*: Barham, Broadstairs, Milton, Richborough. *Northants.*: Castor. *Staffs.*:
 Compton. *France*: Bais, Cimiez. *Holland*: Domburg, Duurstede.

2b. *Beds.*: Dunstable, Langford. *Cambs.*: Nr. Cambridge. *Kent*: Richborough. *Nor-*
folk: Caister St. Edmund. *Suffolk*: Ipswich. *Holland*: Domburg.

Rad. head—standard [in B.M.]. *Kent*: Richborough.

Runic (Iea). *London* and district. *Suffolk*: Burgh Castle.

Runic (Epa). *Cambs.*: Nr. Cambridge. *Kent*: Birchington. *Warwickshire*: Coventry.
Yorks.: Whitby. *France*: St. Pierre-lès-Etieux. *Holland*: Domburg.

Runic (Apa). *Beds.*: Houghton Regis. *Cambs.*: Nr. Cambridge. *Essex*: Southend-on-
 Sea. *Kent*: Richborough. *London* and district. *Norfolk*: ? Norwich. *Suffolk*:
 Woodbridge. *France*: St. Pierre-lès-Etieux. *Holland*: Domburg, Duurstede.

Runic (Lepa). *Holland*: Domburg.

Runic (Spi). *Suffolk*: Woodbridge.

Runic (Uncertain). *Cambs.*: Nr. Cambridge. *Holland*: Domburg.

Runic (Uncertain details). *Norfolk*: Caister-on-Sea. *Holland*: Domburg, Duurstede.

4. *Beds.*: (Uncertain provenance). *Cambs.*: Barrington. *Dorset*: Dorchester. *Sussex*:
 Cackham. *France*: Bais, Cimiez, Nantes, Rouen. *Germany*: Wiesbaden. *Hol-*
land: Domburg, Duurstede, Franeker, Hallum.

4 or 5. *Berks.*: ? Abingdon. *Essex*: Bradwell-on-Sea. *Kent*: Barham, Broadstairs.
Yorks.: Whitby.

5. *Beds.*: (Uncertain provenance). *Cambs.*: Barrington. *Dorset*: Dorchester. *Lancs.*:
 Meols. *Oxon.*: Binsey. *Staffs.*: Compton. *France*: Bais, Cimiez, Nantes, Rouen,
 St. Pierre-lès-Etieux. *Germany*: Wiesbaden. *Holland*: Domburg, Franeker,
 Hallum.

5 (var.). *France*: Bais.

6. *France*: Cimiez. *Holland*: Hallum.

276 *The "Standard" and "London" Series of Anglo-Saxon Sceattas*

- 6 (var.). *Holland*: Domburg, Middelburg.
 8. *France*: Bais, Cimiez, St. Pierre-lès-Etieux. *Holland*: Domburg.
 3a. *Beds.*: Dunstable. *Essex*: Southend-on-Sea. *Hants*: Southampton. *Sussex*: Pyecombe. *Yorks.*: Whitby. *Belgium*: Etaples. *France*: Bais, Cimiez. *Holland*: Domburg, Hallum.
 3a (var.). *France*: Cimiez.
 51. *Yorks.*: Whitby.
 11. *Sussex*: Selsey (noted as "3b"). *France*: Cimiez.

B. "LONDON" SERIES

12. *London* and district (including the Thames). *Norfolk*: Norwich.
 13. *London* and district.
 14. *London* and district.
 15a. *London* and district.
 15b. *London* and district (including the Thames).
 16. *London* and district (including the Thames).
 17. *Northants.*: Irchester.
 18. *Glos.*: Chedworth. *London* and district (including the Thames). *Yorks.*: Whitby.
 19. *London* and district.
 20. *Dorset*: Dorchester.
 34. *Sussex*: Brighton.
 12/34. *Yorks.*: Whitby.
 9. *Lincs.*: Stamford.
 12/5. *Holland*: Domburg, Hallum.
 32a. *Hants*: Southampton. *London* and district. *Yorks.*: Whitby. *Holland*: Domburg.
 33. *London* and district.
 42. *Oxon.*: Nr. Oxford.
 38. *Kent*: Reculver, Richborough.
 52. *Kent*: Richborough.
 23a. *London*: The Thames.
 23a (var.). *Oxon.*: Dorchester.
 23b. *Oxon.*: Dorchester.
 23e. *Cambs.*: Malton. *London* and district.
 23e (var.). *France*: Cimiez.
 41b/23e. *Yorks.*: Whitby.
 40. *Herts.*: Hemel Hempstead. *Suffolk*: Framlingham. *Yorks.*: Whitby.
 40 (?). *Oxon.*: Dorchester.
 41a. *Leics.*: Saxby. *Wilts.*: ? Marlborough.
 41b. *Kent*: Richborough. *London*: The Thames. *Norfolk*: ? Norwich. *France*: Cimiez.
 51. *Yorks.*: Whitby.
 5/51. *Holland*: Hallum.
 39. *Hants*: Bitterne, Southampton. *London*: The Thames.
 39 (?). *Yorks.*: Whitby.
 48. *Hants*: Southampton.
 49. *Dorset*: Dorchester. *Hants*: Southampton.
 49/48. *Yorks.*: Whitby.

KEY TO PLATES

"STANDARD" SERIES

PLATE I

1. Constantine II, Æ 3, rev. *VIRTUS EXERCIT*, *vexillum* and captives. B.M. Cohen, vii, p. 397, no. 252.
 2. Peada. B.M. *B.M.C.* (Mercia), no. 2.
 3. Peada. B.M. *B.M.C.* (Mercia), no. 1.

4. 2a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 12.
5. 2a. *Domburg*. *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. F. 9.
6. Radiate head—standard. F.E.J.
7. Runic (*Epa*). *C.B.S.C.*, lot 147 (b); *G.S.C.*, lot 753.
8. Runic (*Epa*). A.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 37 var.
9. 2b. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 24.
10. Runic (*Apa*). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 48.
11. 4. *C.B.S.C.*, lot 157 (a).
12. 5. *B.M.C.*, no. 61 var.
13. 6. *Cimiez*. B.N. P.L.G., Pl. VI, 57.
14. Runic (*Wigraed*). P.V.H.
15. 2b. P.V.H. As *B.M.C.*, no. 23.
16. Radiate head—standard. *Richborough*. B.M.
17. 3b. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 52.
18. 3a (debased form). Ex-Montagu. *B.M.C.*, no. 51 var.
19. 4. *B.M.C.*, no. 54 var.
20. 5. P.V.H. *B.M.C.* no. 60 var.
21. 5. *C.B.S.C.*, lot 154 (e).
22. 4. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 55.
23. 5. H.M. Ruding, Pl. I, 11.
24. 5. M.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 69 var.
25. 7. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 77.

PLATE II

1. 3a. F.E.J. As *B.M.C.*, no. 50.
2. 3a. F.E.J. As *B.M.C.*, no. 51.
3. 6. *Cimiez*. B.N. P.L.G., Pl. VI, 59.
4. 4. F.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 58 var.
5. 5. P.L.G., Pl. IV, 24.
6. 6. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 74.
7. 5. F.M. *B.M.C.*, nos. 70 var.
8. 5. *Cimiez*. B.N. P.L.G., Pl. VI, 52.
9. 8. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 79.
10. Runic (*Epa*). B.M.
11. 5. B.M.
12. Runic (*Epa*). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 31.
13. 5. *Domburg*. *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. F. 19.
14. 6. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 75.
15. 5. *Domburg*. *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. E. 1.
16. 5. F.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 68 var.
17. Runic (*Epa*). H.M. Ruding, Pl. II, 16.
18. "3b". B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 53.
19. 5. P.V.H. *C.B.S.C.*, lot 159 (b).
20. Runic (? *Elhu*). *C.B.S.C.*, lot 142 (a).
21. 11. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 87.
22. Standard-standard. B.M. (Ex-Lawrence.)
23. Standard-standard. F.E.J.
24. Standard-standard. B.M. (Ex-Barnett.)
25. Runic (*Epa*)/51 (mule). B.M.
26. 51. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 197 var.
27. 23a/51 (mule). F.E.J.
28. Wolf-standard. H.M. *B.B.*, Pl. VII, 8.
29. Runic (*Epa*). H.M. Ruding, Pl. II, 17
30. 46. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 188.
31. Standard-standard. M.M.
32. Standard-standard. A.M.
33. 4 var. (ii). A.M.

34. Standard-dragon. Norwich Museum. *N.C.*, 1950, pp. 150-1.

35. 24a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 118.

36. 24b. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 119.

"LONDON" SERIES

PLATE III

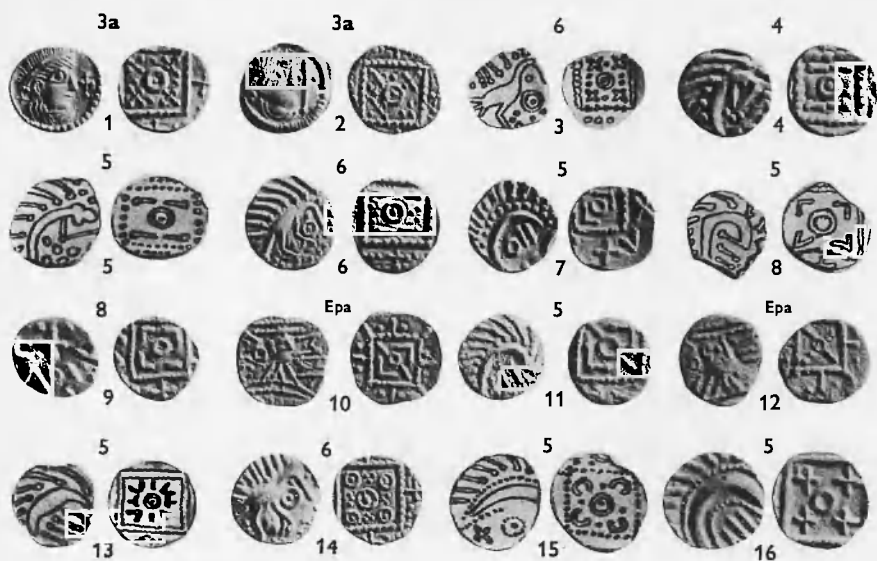
1. Justin II, solidus, *rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG, Victory holding long cross and cross on globe. B.M. *B.M.C.* (Byzantine), i, p. 27, no. 8.
2. Honorius, solidus, *rev.* VICTORIA AVGGG, Emperor holding *labarum* and Victory. B.M. Cohen, viii, p. 185, no. 44.
3. Constantine I, Æ 3, *rev.* ROMAÆ AETERNAE, Roma seated r. B.M. Cohen, vii, p. 283, nos. 469 ff.
4. Honorius, siliqua, *rev.* VRBS ROMA, Roma seated l. B.M. Cohen, viii, p. 188, no. 70.
5. Heraclius, *℞*, *obv.* Two Emperors seated. B.M. *B.M.C.* (Byzantine), i, p. 246, no. 441.
6. Magnus Maximus, Æ 4, *rev.* VICTORIA AVGG, Victory l. B.M. Cohen, viii, p. 168, no. 11.
7. 12, *obv.* LVNÐONIA. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 89.
8. 12, *obv.* NUNOONIA. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 88.
9. 12/5 (mule). *Hallum.* M.M. *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. C. 14.
10. 12/5 (mule). *Domburg.* *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. F. 4.
11. 13. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 92.
12. 14. B.M. *B.M.C.* no. 93.
13. 12/34 (two revs.—mule). *Whitby.* B.M.
14. 15a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 94.
15. 15a var. F.E.J.
16. 16. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 97.
17. 22. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 110.
18. 15b. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 96.
19. 15b var. (i). B.M. *N.N.M.*, 80, Pl. xv, 5 (described as a variant of type 16).
20. 15b var. (ii). A.M. B.B., Pl. viii, 16 (rev. only).
21. Bust with rosettes—man with cross and staff. *C.B.S.C.*, lot 163 (d).
22. 18. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 101.
23. 20. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 106.
24. Two men with crosses—five rosettes. B.M. *Ruding*, Appx., Pl. xxvi, 13.
25. 34. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 162.

PLATE IV

1. 9. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 85.
2. 32a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 151.
3. 32b. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 156.
4. 33. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 157.
5. 42. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 180.
6. Bust with *ARIP*—bird and branch. *G.S.C.*, lot 691.
7. Helmeted bust—small cross.¹ H.M. *Ruding*, Pl. i, 27.
8. 52. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 198.
9. 38 ("London" style). B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 169.
10. Head in cable—dragon ("London" style). A.M.
11. 23a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 112.
12. 23b. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 113.
13. 23d. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 116.

¹ The example illustrated is unfortunately broken, so that the helmet is off the flan, but the fact that the bust is helmeted is shown by two other pieces, one of which was the very fine coin in the Grantley sale, lot 739 (collection of the late Mr. R. C. Lockett): its pale yellow colour, however, gives the impression that it is a very base thrymsa.

LATER VERSIONS, II:



VARIATIONS, I:



VARIATIONS, II:



"CROSS ON STEPS" TYPES:



SCEATTAS: "STANDARD" SERIES, II.

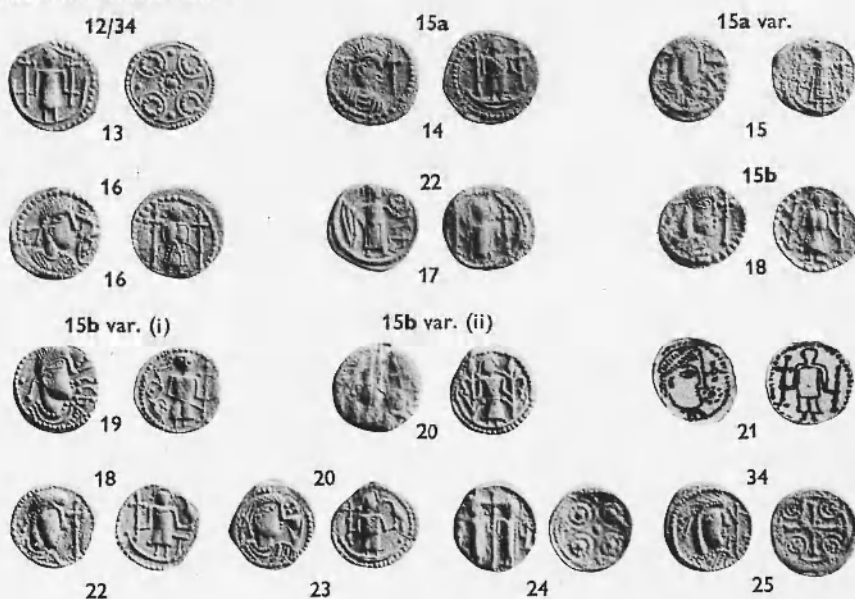
PROTOTYPES:



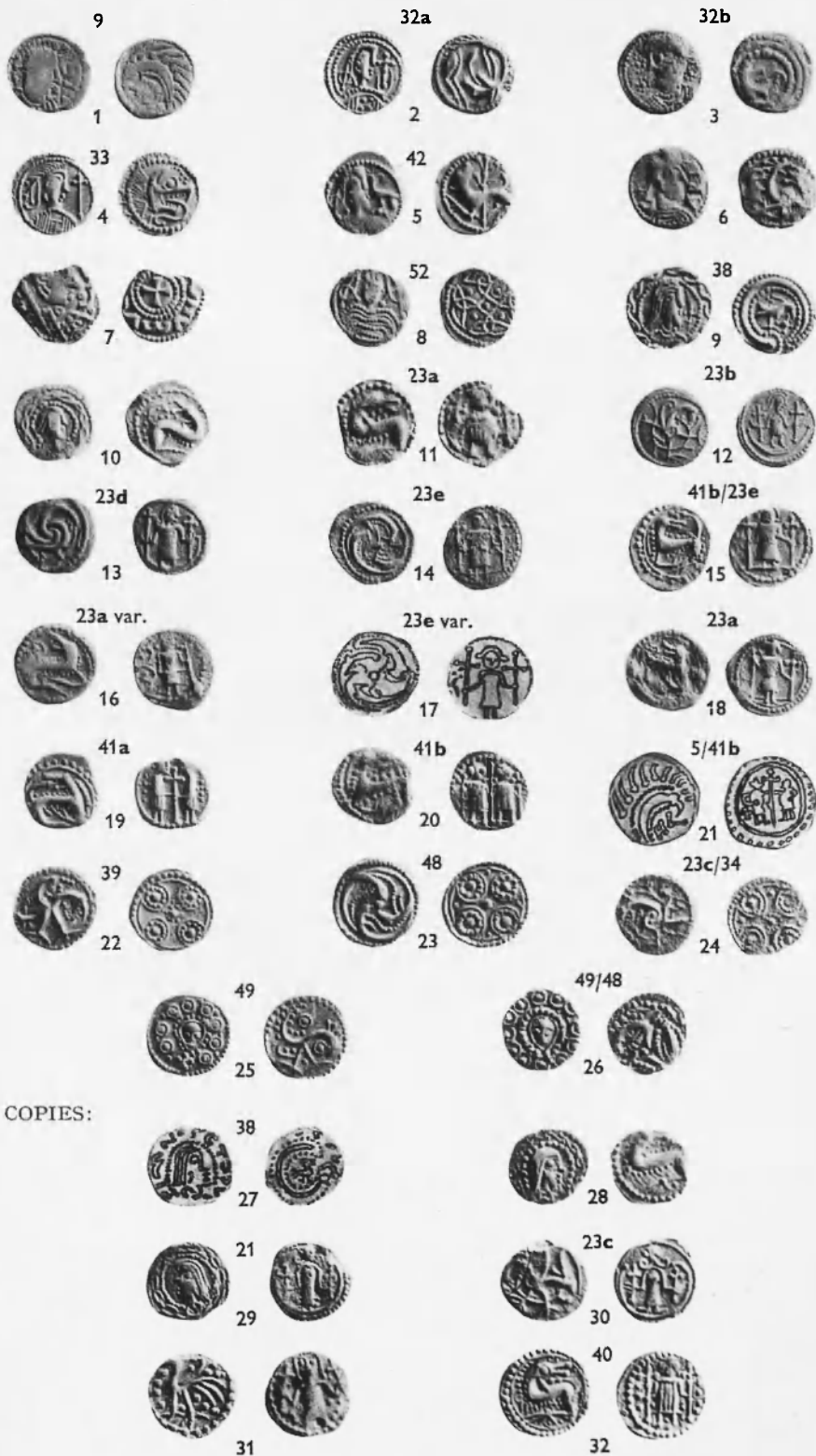
"LONDON-INSCRIBED":



"LONDON-DERIVED":



"LONDON-CONNECTED":



SCEATTAS: "LONDON" SERIES, II.

14. 23e. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 117.
15. 41b/23e (mule). *Whitby*. B.M.
16. 23a var. *Dorchester, Oxon.* A.M. *N.C.*, 1841/2, p. 32, no. 4; *R.B.N.*, 1870, p. 117.
17. 23e var. *Cimiez*. B.N. *P.L.G.*, Pl. VI, 75.
18. 23a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 111.
19. 41a. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 173.
20. 41b. P.V.H. As *B.M.C.*, no. 178.
21. 5/41b (mule). *Hallum*. M.M. *R.B.N.*, 1870, Pl. C. 13.
22. 39. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 170.
23. 48. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 191.
24. 23c/34 (mule). B.M.
25. 49. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 192.
26. 49/48 (mule). *Whitby*. B.M.
27. 38. *C.B.S.C.*, lot 168 (b).
28. Head in cable—dragon. H.M. Ruding, Pl. I, 27.
29. 21. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 108.
30. 23c. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 115.
31. Bird—man with crosses. Ex-Montagu.
32. 40. B.M. *B.M.C.*, no. 171.

A ROUND HALFPENNY OF HENRY I

By PETER SEABY

THE round halfpenny was introduced into England during the reign of Alfred, probably by Danish raiders or settlers who had become familiar with the Frankish *obol* while campaigning on the Continent. They were struck for Halfdene and later Viking leaders, and by Alfred and some of his successors, though probably never in great quantities as they are rare. From the late ninth century onwards pennies cut or broken in half (and sometimes into quarters), passed in circulation together with the round halfpennies, the last Saxon round halfpennies now known being struck during the reign of Eadgar. It had been supposed until recently that, from the reign of Eadgar until the great recoinage of Edward I, pennies cut into halves or quarters were the only form of small change in circulation. There is, however, some literary evidence which points to a possible issue of *round* halfpence during the reign of Henry I. Several of the twelfth-century chroniclers record a proclamation of Henry I of 1108 dealing with debasement and falsification of the coinage which also refers to halfpennies ordered to be made in round form. This literary evidence will be dealt with separately by Dr. Philip Grierson and Mr. Christopher Brooke.

By kind permission of Mr. Allen Forbes the writer was able to exhibit the little coin under discussion at the March 1950 meeting of the Society. Its find-site is, unfortunately, unknown, but it is known to have been in the collection of the present owner's great-uncle in 1877, as there is some correspondence concerning it with Sir John Evans and the Rev. A. Leigh Barker.



This coin weighs 9.75 grains and has a diameter of 15 millimetres. It is not perfectly struck and the inscriptions are not completely legible, but the main features of the design are intact. On the obverse there is a facing head with what appears to be a wreath around it, and an inscription reading HENRI . EX, which can certainly be completed as HENRIC REX. On the reverse is a plain cross potent with a cross of four pellets in each angle, and an inscription reading GODPINA . I. The last letter but one is partially obliterated but seems to be either

P or NP ligated, and the inscription might therefore be extended to GODPIN A ON PI (PI. A, 7).

At first sight there might seem little reason for assigning this coin to the reign of Henry I, or, for that matter, to England even. There is certainly something familiar about the style and fabric, but, on the other hand, there are numerous continental coins, and particularly German coins, which owe their origin to the Norman coins of England. Neither Professor Walter Havernick nor Dr. Peter Berghaus, however, has ever seen a similar coin. Professor Havernick has suggested that it might conceivably be a light weight *denar*, showing English influence, of the Emperor Henry V (1106-11). If this was the case he would be tempted to assign it to the mint of Aix-la-Chapelle, as a somewhat similar head is found on some of the coins of Cologne of the same period. Dr. Berghaus does not think it emanates from a German mint, but would assign it to the beginning of the reign of Henry I of England, though he suggests that the head could have been copied from certain coins of the Rhineland or the Netherlands (e.g. Utrecht). The use of a moneyer's name on German coins of this period is almost unknown, and the name Godwin could hardly be more English.

If this is in fact an English coin, then it must surely have been issued during the reign of Henry I, for it is scarcely conceivable that during the reigns of Henry II or Henry III, when die-engraving was so standardized, a halfpenny coin could have been issued so unlike the then current penny.

It may seem strange that if English round halfpennies had been issued subsequent to the proclamation of 1108 none should have appeared before now; but when one recalls that the gold florins of Edward III were known to have been issued, though they did not come to light until 1857, then it does not appear so remarkable after all. It must also be remembered how rare even the pennies are of the early and middle years of Henry's reign. There were certainly many more halfpennies and farthings in circulation during the Middle Ages than there would appear to be from the records of coin hoards. Hoarders did not usually bury the small change that was so necessary for day-to-day purchases. There is one other factor to be considered: it may be that moneyers would not pay the fees for round halfpenny dies, knowing it to be less profitable to make coins of this denomination than to make pennies and then cut them in half.

It is when we look at the lettering on this coin that we find definite evidence for dating it to the middle years of the reign of Henry I of England. The lettering is of the type Brooke¹ calls "Series V and VI" which is used on the pennies of types IV-XIV. This is quite a different form of lettering to that used on the first four types of the reign. The earlier lettering had straight or concave uprights without serifs, but this was superseded by lettering of new style which has slightly convex uprights with definite serifs at the ends. Peculiar to the earlier

¹ See G. C. Brooke's *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum, Norman Kings*, vol. i, pp. liii-lv, and Epigraphical Table.

years of this new lettering are the wide almost horizontally barred N which is found on many coins of types V-IX, and the very narrow D such as appears on this coin in the name GODWIN. On the pennies of Henry I the Roman H used at the beginning of the reign was superseded during the run of type IV by the round *h* but it is interesting to note that the large Roman H on this coin is not made from a punch of the old type, but from a new punch which has the new convex uprights and serifs. We cannot, therefore, on the strength of a Roman type H attribute this coin to a date earlier than the end of type IV.

To return to the reverse inscription: Godwin is a common name, and during the reign of Henry I moneyers of this name are known to have operated at London, Chichester, Gloucester, Southwark, Thetford, Wallingford, Warwick, and Winchester. If we are correct in assuming that GODPIN A ON PI is the full reading, then this coin would seem to be the work of a moneyer of Winchester. Now in the Winton Domesday a "Godwinvs Socche" is described as *magister monetariorum* during the reign of Edward the Confessor, and after the conquest we have a complete run of types by a moneyer named Godwin from type IV of William I to type VI of Henry I, with the solitary exception of type III. After type VI we have no other coins of Godwin struck at Winchester until type XV, the last type of the reign. Now if we reckon that the types of Henry's coinage were changed every two years (and Brooke reckoned that four different types were used in the first eight years of the reign), then both types V and VI were struck within two or three years following Henry's proclamation of 1108. The A following the moneyer's name presents a problem. It could either be the first letter of a mint name, ON being omitted, which is unlikely, or it could have been used in mistake for a final E—also rather unlikely. It seems more probable that the letter A represents a surname. If this is a coin of the middle years of Henry's reign, then this would be the earliest example of a surname being used on a Norman coin. There is a London moneyer DEREMAN RI who struck coins of type XV, and there is another coin of uncertain mint of the same type by a moneyer GODPINE GV, who may be the moneyer described in the Pipe Roll of 1130 as "Godwinus Quachehand" (Godwin Lefthand).

The obverse inscriptions on Henry's coins are remarkably consistent, and it may be of interest to note here that, with one exception, a mule of type IX/X, the only pennies of Henry I with the inscription HENRIC REX that the writer has been able to trace are the coins of type V.

If this coin is a halfpenny of Henry I, then one would expect it to have a design corresponding to one of his pennies. At first glance it does not, for there are certainly no English pennies of this period which have a wreathed instead of a crowned head. There are, however, certain points of resemblance to several types of pennies, namely those of types V, VI, IX, and, to a lesser extent, the obverse of type X. On all the pennies of Henry I the obverse legend starts at the bottom-left of the king's head and finishes at the bottom-right, with the excep-



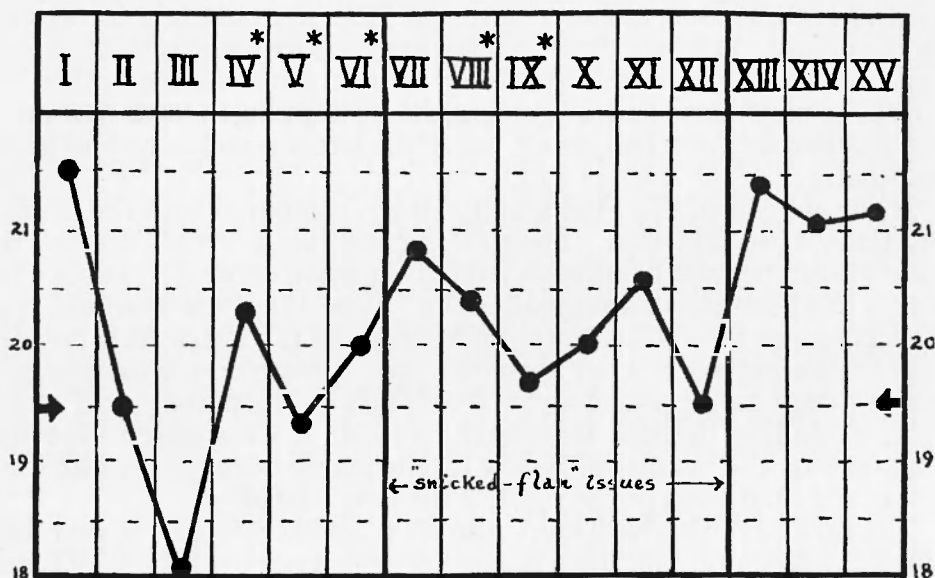
tion of type X which has an inscription completely circling the coin. However, we cannot attribute this halfpenny to the period of type X for this reason alone, as the reverse type does not remotely correspond to the penny. The fact that the inscription entirely encircles the king's head might be explained by taking into account the difficulties the engraver may have had in getting the inscription **HENRIC REX** on to the smaller flan of a halfpenny, using the letter punches he had at his disposal.

If the obverse of this Henry halfpenny is compared with the pennies of Henry I we find that, though no penny has a wreath around the king's head, pennies of type VI have three small fleurs-de-lis above the king's head instead of a normal crown. Type V has one star and type VI has two or three stars to the right of the king's head. Is it possible that the lower part of what appears to be a wreath on the halfpenny is really meant to represent a couple of stars? The actual head of the king, excluding the hair or wreath, is made from a punch very like that used on the pennies of type VI. The pennies of type IX also have a star and quatrefoil to the right of the king's head.

The reverse of this halfpenny also does not exactly correspond with any known penny, but there is some resemblance to types V, VI, and IX. Type V has a voided cross with a voided lis or quatrefoil in the angles, and type VI has a plain cross pattée with sceptres and stars in the angles. A die-sinker might well be excused for adapting either of these designs when copying them on to a smaller die of halfpenny size. If the penny designs had been copied unaltered, merely being reduced in size, they would have been most difficult to execute and would have looked markedly cramped on a small coin of this size. If type V is the model for this halfpenny, then the die-sinker might well have inserted a plain instead of a voided cross, or, if it was type VI that was copied, then he might similarly have omitted the sceptre handles and changed the sceptre-head and stars into a group of four pellets. Again, if type IX was the model, then the engraver would possibly have left out the quatrefoil that surrounds the cross pattée on the penny of that type.

There is another factor to be considered in the attempt to date this halfpenny. We know that the pennies of types VII–XII were officially mutilated before issue, being snicked through the flan for a quarter-inch or so. One would expect any halfpennies issued during this “snicked flan” period to have a snicked flan also, as there is no reason to suppose that they would have been exempted from this mutilation. As this halfpenny is not snicked there is some reason for assuming that it cannot be contemporary with type IX, but that it must have been issued either earlier or later than the pennies of types VII–XII.

Finally, let us consider the weight of this halfpenny, 9.75 grains. If this was struck at about the average weight for a coin of this type, then we should expect it to be issued at a time when the penny was being struck at around 19.5 grains. The table below gives the average weight for the various types of Henry I pennies in the British Museum collection.¹



This table cannot be said to supply any definite evidence for dating this halfpenny, but it does tend to confirm the other evidence which points to the period of types V or VI as the date of issue.

In conclusion, the points mentioned above can be summarized as follows:

- We have here a halfpenny with the inscription HENRIC REX.
- There is no evidence against it being an English coin.
- If English, it should be assigned to the reign of Henry I rather than Henry II or Henry III.

¹ This table is compiled from figures given in Brooke's *Norman Kings*. Coins of obvious short weight have not been taken into account, but even so, the weights given for those types marked with an asterisk cannot be considered absolutely reliable as there are so few specimens from which to work out a mean.

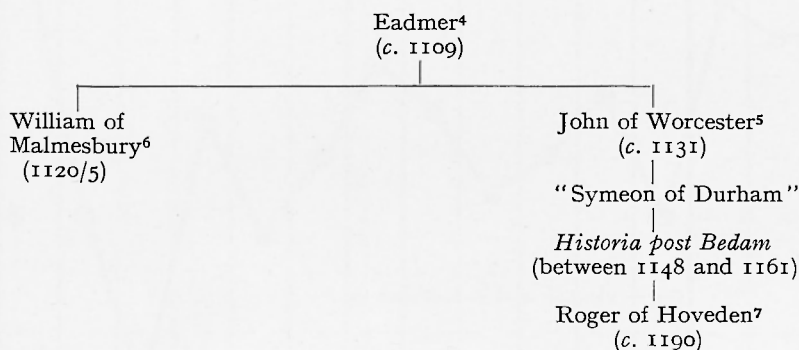
- d.* There is some literary evidence that suggests an issue of round halfpennies was authorized in 1108.
 - e.* The lettering is of the type used on the pennies of Henry I's middle years (after type IV).
 - f.* If GODPIN A ON PI is the correct reverse inscription, then this would appear to be a coin of Winchester. A moneyer Godwin operated at Winchester between types I and VI and for the last type of the reign (on the other hand, Godwin A may not be the same moneyer).
 - g.* The inscription HENRIC REX is only found on pennies of type V (with the exception of one mule of type IX/X).
 - h.* There is some similarity of design to the pennies of types V, VI, and IX.
 - i.* As there is no snick in the flan the period of type V or VI is more likely than type IX.
 - j.* The weight of this halfpenny is about half the average weight of the pennies of types V and VI.
 - k.* The period of type V and VI falls shortly after the 1108 proclamation.
- There thus seem to be good grounds for assigning this halfpenny to the period of the type V or VI pennies of Henry I.

ROUND HALFPENNIES OF HENRY I

By PHILIP GRIERSON *and* CHRISTOPHER BROOKE

At a meeting of the British Numismatic Society on 1 March 1950 Mr. Peter Seaby exhibited what he suggested might be a round halfpenny of King Henry I, and read a short note on it. In view of the interest created by the exhibition and the discussions to which it has given rise, it may be useful to examine the literary evidence for the existence of such coins. Ruding¹ and Brooke² both cited a number of texts in which the round halfpenny is mentioned, but these vary greatly in date, and the impressiveness of the total is seriously diminished by the fact that they are all manifestly copying one another. It is necessary to ascertain which of the references is the earliest and what is its date, and to determine whether its author can be regarded as a credible witness.

The institution of the round halfpenny by Henry I is invariably described in the context of the currency reform of 1108. This reform is mentioned by Eadmer, William of Malmesbury, John (or Florence) of Worcester, "Symeon of Durham", the anonymous author of the *Historia post Bedam*, and Roger of Hoveden.³ The exact relations between these chroniclers is not quite certain, but the following genealogy represents the best received opinion at the moment.



¹ R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage* (3rd ed., 1840), i. 163, nn. 6, 7.

² G. C. Brooke, *Catalogue of English Coins in the British Museum. The Norman Kings* (1916), i, pp. cxliii–cxliv.

³ Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, ed. M. Rule (Rolls Series, 1884), p. 193; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ed. W. Stubbs, ii (Rolls Series, 1889), p. 487; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, ii (London, 1849), p. 57; Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum*, ed. T. Arnold, ii (Rolls Series, 1885), p. 239; *Historia post Bedam* (British Museum, Royal MS. 13.A.vi, fo. 86v.); Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, i (Rolls Series, 1868), p. 165.

⁴ The first edition of Eadmer's *Historia Novorum* went down to the death of Anselm in 1109 (Eadmer, p. 217; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. 1–2) and was used by William of Malmesbury in the composition of the *Gesta Regum*; the last two books were added c. 1125.

⁵ On the authorship, see below; for the date of John's first edition, which presumably contained this passage, see J. R. H. Weaver in *The Chronicle of John of Worcester* (Oxford, 1908), p. 9 and n. 4.

⁶ Cf. Stubbs, Introduction to the *Gesta Regum*, i, pp. xix–xx, xlv–xlv, lvi–lvii.

⁷ For the dates and relationship of "Symeon", the *Historia post Bedam*, and Hoveden, see Stubbs, Introduction to Roger of Hoveden, i, pp. xxvi ff., lxxi. The authorship and exact date of "Symeon" are still *sub iudice*.

With the exception of William of Malmesbury,¹ the texts are so nearly identical that there is no doubt that they all ultimately derive from Eadmer. John of Worcester is the first to mention the round halfpenny. "Symeon" is at this point a mere copy of John, and from him the passage passed to the two later writers. It follows that Eadmer and John are the only relevant witnesses; the later writers can be disregarded.

The text of Eadmer, with John's additions in square brackets, reads as follows:

"Debased and forged coin afflicted many people in many ways. The king decided to reform it with such rigour, that no one who could be caught making forged pennies should be saved by any ransom but the loss of his eyes and mutilation. And since it often happened that when pennies were being selected, they were bent and broken and then rejected, he ordained that no penny or halfpenny [which he also ordained should be round, or even farthing] should be whole. From this for a time the whole kingdom greatly benefited".²

The meaning of the passage in brackets—John of Worcester's insertion—is plain: Henry I instituted a round halfpenny. The precise meaning of the whole passage in Eadmer is not so clear,³ but the Latin cannot (at least without a great deal of emendation) be made to signify anything except that which is indicated in the translation given above. The reference is to the contemporary equivalent of biting coins to test their genuineness, this being done by bending them to and fro. This would normally affect only coins of inferior alloy, which would break under the strain, but sometimes good coins would crack as a consequence of repeated maltreatment; as a result, perfectly genuine money might be refused. The king therefore ordered that no new pennies issued by the mints henceforward should be "whole". This can only refer to the practice of making an incision on the edge of each coin of the kind found on types VII–XII of Henry I;⁴ the cut would reveal the quality of the metal, and render bending to and fro

¹ It is probable, but not certain, that William also derived his information on the reform from Eadmer.

² "Item moneta corrupta et falsa multis modis multos affligebat. Quam rex sub tanta [*John of Worcester starts* Monetam quoque corruptam et falsam sub tanta . . .] animadversione corrigi statuit, ut nullus qui posset deprehendi falsos denarios facere aliqua redemptione, quin oculos et inferiores corporis partes perderet iuvari valeret. Et quoniam sepiissime dum denarii eligebantur, flectebantur rumpebantur respuebantur, statuit ut nullus denarius vel obolus [*John of Worcester inserts* quos et rotundos esse instituit, aut etiam quadrans] integer esset. Ex quo facto magnum bonum ad tempus [*John of Worcester omits* ad tempus] toti regno creatum est."

³ William of Malmesbury's version—"When he heard that broken coins, although of good silver, were rejected by the merchants, he ordered them all to be broken or incised [*omnes vel frangi vel incidi precepit*]"—is even less intelligible. It seems to imply that Henry solved the problem by a general mutilation of the coinage, an explanation which is fantastic in itself and quite inconsistent with the numismatic evidence. It was probably due to a misunderstanding of Eadmer.

⁴ Brooke, op. cit. ii. 279. It appears sporadically on later types.

unnecessary.¹ The very ingenious explanation put forward by W. J. Andrew, that the "nicking" was intended to prevent the unlicensed cutting of pennies so as to form halfpennies, can scarcely be accepted, since it would render pointless Eadmer's reference to the bending and breaking of the coins which the "nicking" was designed to prevent.

Of Eadmer, a Canterbury monk who was one of the most distinguished historians and biographers of his day, it can fairly be said that he was an honest and reliable writer, and strictly contemporary with the events he is describing. A certain mystery attaches to the chronicler who has been referred to as John of Worcester. The chronicle is normally ascribed to Florence of Worcester, who died in 1118, but in the form in which it survives it is the work of his successor John. Professor R. R. Darlington has shown² that there is strong reason to believe that the passages from Eadmer were incorporated by John after the death of Florence, and this passage is therefore almost certainly his work. He was, like Eadmer, reliable and well informed, and he was writing while Henry I was still king. There is no conceivable reason why he should have gone out of his way to insert the reference to round halfpennies unless he had known of their existence.

There is one other mention of round halfpennies in the first half of the twelfth century. It comes from the "Prophecies of Merlin", composed by Geoffrey of Monmouth shortly before the death of Henry I.³ These prophecies are a collection of cryptic and not over-intelligible aphorisms in which Merlin is made to foretell the future. The earlier section, up to and including the reign of Henry I—i.e. up to the time when Geoffrey himself was writing—forms a somewhat obscure commentary on actual historical happenings, while the later sections—i.e. what for Geoffrey himself was the future—are complete gibberish. At the end of the first section, and consequently in what was for Geoffrey the recent past, occurs a sentence which can be freely translated: "The surface of the coinage will be cleft, the half[penny] will be round." The Latin is gnomic, but the double allusion to the "nicking" of the coins and the making of round halfpennies is clear. Geoffrey of Monmouth was the most mendacious of historians, but here for once he had no motive for invention, and the correctness of his references to

¹ "A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I", *Num. Chron.*, 4th Series, i (1901), 10-12, 54-56, 492; developed in "A Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen", *Brit. Num. Journ.* viii (1911), 132-3. The argument is that, since the "nicking" did not follow the arms of the cross, along which the cutting of the penny into halfpennies would normally—perhaps compulsorily—be done, the illegitimate division of a "nicked" coin would provide the culprit with one good halfpenny and one bad ("nicked") one. The latter would in any case probably break on account of the cut which had already been made in it.

² In his introduction to *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury* (Camden Third Series, xl, 1928), pp. xvi-xvii.

³ "Findetur forma commercii, dimidium rotundum erit" (ed. E. Faral, *La Légende Arthuriennne*, i. iii (Paris, 1929), p. 193; ed. A. Griscom, *The Historia Regum Britanniae of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (New York, 1929), p. 387). For the date of the prophecies, see Faral, *op. cit.* i. ii. 9-10; for the interpretation cf. *ibid.*, pp. 56-57: "les demi-pièces de monnaie prenant la forme arrondie". The passage has recently been discussed by A. Blanchet, "Monnaies coupées et monnaies 'rondes' en Angleterre", *Revue numismatique*, 5th series, xii (1950), 206-9, though without arriving at any useful conclusion.

occurrences in Henry I's reign could only enhance the prestige of the "prophecies" and the "History" in which they were embedded.

The evidence of John of Worcester and of the "Prophecies of Merlin", therefore, must be regarded as sufficient to establish the existence of round halfpennies in the time of Henry I. It is true that no specimens have up to the present been recorded, but this does not warrant our disbelieving in their existence.¹ Many coins, of which only small issues were struck, have been known from literary or documentary sources long before specimens were discovered: cases in point are the gold florin of Edward III of England, whose existence was doubted until two specimens came to light in 1857, and the ange d'or of Louis I of Flanders. A coin of low value, when only a small quantity has been struck, is always more likely to disappear than one of high value, since there is less inducement to hoard it, and the curiously haphazard rarity of particular denominations in many series of ancient and medieval coins is a well-known fact. There is no reason to suppose that Henry's issue was a large one, extending over a long period. It is not even certain that the round halfpennies were first struck in 1108, for John of Worcester's reference to them is merely a casual comment, suggested by Eadmer's account of the currency reform of 1108, and cannot be taken as evidence for their striking in this year rather than any other.² Their existence at some period in the reign must, however, be regarded as certain.

¹ W. J. Andrew (*Num. Chron.*, 4th Series, i (1901), p. 12) argues that there could have been no round halfpennies in Henry I's reign, because they were not known before John issued his Irish halfpennies in 1210. The evidence for this is a passage in Roger of Wendover's *Flores Historiarum* (ed. H. O. Coxe, iii (London, 1841), p. 234) which describes John's coinage as a fulfilment of the "Prophecies of Merlin" quoted above. The passage in Wendover cannot be made to bear Andrew's interpretation, nor is Wendover (writing in the early thirteenth century) sound evidence for what did or did not happen in the reign of Henry I. Andrew makes the further suggestion (*ibid.*, p. 11) that the non-existence of these coins is to be explained by the supposition that the order was purely permissive: if the moneyers struck halfpennies in future, they should be round and not cut ones, and in fact they did not strike them, because it would have been less profitable than striking pennies. If his general interpretation of the passage were correct, this would be quite a reasonable explanation.

² The "Prophecies of Merlin", however, also couple the "nicking" of the coins with the creation of the round halfpennies, which strengthens the case for supposing that both were ordered at the same time.

THE COINAGE OF HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI IN HENRY'S NAME (*concluded*).

By C. A. WHITTON

(c) HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI, BASE COINAGE, 1544-51

THIS paper will consider the silver coins bearing Henry's name and full-face portrait, all of base metal of gradually deteriorating quality, and of all mints save Bristol which will be discussed later in a separate article. Some reference will also be made to the base groats and lesser coins with Edward's name and profile portrait.

The coins which will come under notice are:

1. The first base issue, the Fourth Coinage, dating from 1544, from the Tower mint, consisting of coins of 9 oz. fine. The Third Coinage, of 10 oz. fine, was presumably not issued but melted down.
2. The second base issue, the Fifth Coinage, dating from 1545, coming from the mints at the Tower, Southwark, Canterbury, and York. The coins are 6 oz. fine.
3. The third base issue, the Sixth Coinage, dating from 1546 and of 4 oz. fine, from the same mints as the issue of 1545 with the addition of Bristol. This coinage continued, as will appear, uninterruptedly after the death of Henry VIII, probably until 1551.

A primary difficulty in the classification of these different coinages is that they cannot be divided into watertight compartments. Though their inward content was different yet the outward marks on them, bust, privy marks, &c., in some cases overlapped so that coins of different quality, and so of different dates, had the same marks in common. Therefore the whole Base Coinage is here described as one continuous series, with the outward changes noted as they took place.

Before any description of the coins is attempted attention must be drawn to an essential difference between the earlier initial marks on the gold and silver. The Lis, it is true, is common to both, but the Annulet-with-pellet and the Southwark letters S and & common on many gold coins, do not occur as initial marks on groats and half-groats though the two letters so appear on rare pence. On the testoons, however, the initial marks are the same as on the gold.

But the Annulet-with-pellet and the letters S and & do appear on groats (and the letters on rare half-groats); they were placed in the forks of the cross-ends on the reverse, and Evans was no doubt right in suggesting that such coins correspond to the gold and testoons with these symbols as initial marks. The groats with Annulet-with-pellet in the forks have i.m. Lis and they, and in particular some testoons with i.m. Lis and Annulet-with-pellet side by side, stress the affinity already noted between these two marks.

On the deterioration of the silver from its inception to the death of

Henry VIII instructive light is thrown by the experiments in assay¹ arranged by Henry Symonds, some of the results of which are still preserved in concrete form at the British Museum. I give all the relevant figures with what seem legitimate inferences from them:

1. Groat, i.m. Lis, a coin which has been regarded as a mule with obverse Base Coinage (Fourth Coinage), reverse Second Coinage, with saltires in the forks; fineness 9 oz. 2 dwt. 12 grs. This coin even if not a mule is at least a reliable index to the fineness of the earliest undoubted true groats of the first base silver, which all have a small neat Annulet in the forks. Some of these groats, however, may be of 6 oz. fine, since it is possible that the symbol of the Annulet in the forks overlapped into the coinage of 1545.
2. Groat, i.m. Lis, with Annulet-with-pellet in the forks; two coins of 4 oz. 4 dwt. 12 grs. and 4 oz. 0 dwt. 12 grs. Another, however, recorded by Evans,² is known to be 6 oz. 1 dwt. 12 grs. It is thus a fair inference that i.m. Lis remained in force until the end of Henry's reign.
3. Groat, with no initial mark, but S in the forks; 6 oz. 5 dwt. 12 grs. It is noteworthy that this specimen has Roman letters; it is thus clear Henry VIII did make use, about 1545, of Roman letters on his coins. This could not be a coin of Edward VI since that king made no better groats than 4 oz. fine. But some coins with i.m. S may also be of 4 oz. fine.
4. Groat, with no initial mark, but ϵ and S in the forks; fineness 4 oz. 5 dwt., doubtless intended for 4 oz. fine. This agrees with the evidence of the gold that the privy use of the letter ϵ , whether combined or not with S, is later than the use of S alone.

The above details show approximately the course of the debasement during Henry's lifetime. As regards which were the last coins struck by Henry before his death some uncertainty is inevitable. Any abrupt change of bust, lettering, or stops is inherently unlikely. Mr. Carlyon-Britton has recently shown,³ for instance, that Lombardic lettering was continued by Edward VI for a time after his father's death. I have in my description of the coins, somewhat arbitrarily perhaps, taken as a starting-point for Edward's coins the use of mascle or lozenge stops.

I propose to describe the coins as follows: first, the testoons, c. 1544-7, then the groats, 1544-51, taking the mints in order, London, Southwark, Durham House, Canterbury, and York; then the other denominations, from half-groats to halfpence, following the same plan.

Testoons

The testoons of Henry VIII were first ordered in the secret indenture of May 1542, the proclamation of which was delayed until May 1544. It may be supposed that the earliest coins were of the same 9 oz.

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* x. 166.

² *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 138.

³ *Spink's Num. Circ.*, July 1949.

fineness as the groats of 1544. This was the only quality of silver and the only year which Brooke allowed for the testoons, but surviving coins clearly show both to the eye and to the touch that baser silver than 9 oz. fine was also employed, and it is a reasonable inference that they were struck simultaneously with groats with Annulet-and-pellet, or S, or S and Ɔ in the forks, since they show all these symbols as initial marks. In particular it is evident from the variation in the stops and the quality of the silver, doubtless changing from 9 to 6 and 4 oz. fine, that i.m. Lis started in 1544 and was used throughout Henry's lifetime, and was from 1545 accompanied by Annulet-and-pellet and that the latter if not Lis also was continued for a short time on testoons in Edward's reign. Simultaneously coins were struck also at Southwark, at first with i.m. S, later with i.m. Ɔ and rarely E.

Brooke supposed that Edward VI struck no testoons, but the evidence of lozenge stops on a few coins suggests the contrary. However, the documentary evidence is a little conflicting. When Sharington, the Bristol mint master, was arraigned in 1549 he confessed that during the months of May to July 1547 he had coined testoons "to a great sum" in defiance of the prohibition against striking such pieces.¹ It is difficult to believe that testoons were already illicit at Bristol when in the indenture of April 1547 they were again authorized for Edward's first coinage at the Tower. It is true that testoons were demonetized soon afterwards, but the earliest recorded date of this is February 1548.²

Apart from the Bristol coins which are described later in this paper the testoons are divisible into two classes according to the reverse legend (normally in Lombardic lettering):

Tower coins with *Posvi deum adiutorium meum* and i.m. Lis or Annulet-with-pellet, or both together;

Southwark coins with *Civitas London* and i.m. S or Ɔ or E.

The ornaments of the crown are, save on Bristol coins, a cross patty flanked by two fleurs-de-lis; the arch above the crown is usually decorated by crockets, rarely by large pellets.

Plate XVIII includes four testoons only since these coins were extensively illustrated (though the stops were somewhat misdescribed) in vol. xxiv of the *British Numismatic Journal* (p. 116). Reference is made to these illustrations in the lists. All the dies there shown together with those in the British Museum have here been considered.

Two main varieties of the well-known facing bust were employed, on the later of which the side locks of hair are less prominent (**Pl. XVIII, 2 and 3**). The abbreviation mark after the king's name is the query-shaped manuscript symbol for *-vs*, save, as usual, on coins with sleeve stops when it is a comma. After the Roman numeral VIII the same query mark appears but after the Arabic 8 nothing but the normal stop.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 336.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.* xi. 132.

TOWER, *Posvi*, &c.

The earliest coins show the letter-punches of the first sovereign of the Fourth Coinage (23 ct., large module) and like this coin have saltire stops, changing shortly to trefoils, on pieces evidently parallel to the first sovereigns of small module which also show trefoil stops. These testoons have i.m. Lis, with, on several reverse dies, a Lis at the end of the legend, and read *Henric VIII*. Some reverses show seemingly deliberate misspellings in *Adivtorevm*, *Adivtoerivm*, each of which appears on different dies.

The next coins with i.m. Lis have a small, neat, Annulet-with-pellet at the end of the legend (e.g. *B.N.J.* xxiv, Fig. 9). These scarce coins correspond probably to the gold crowns with the small neat i.m. Annulet-with-pellet and thus should be of 6 oz. fine just as the crowns are probably of 22 ct., thus dating from 1545. They are the last testoons to show the Roman numeral VIII.

Later coins with i.m. Lis alone show an Arabic 8 after the king's name and as with the groats it is probable that i.m. Lis, occurring as it does with both trefoil and sleeve stops, continued until the end of the reign. Some coins also change the Roman M on the reverse to a Lombardic one, and while some may be of 6 oz. fine, probably most are 4, and certainly those with sleeve stops.

Another series undoubtedly 4 oz. fine is a second one with i.m. Lis and Annulet-with-pellet side by side, with trefoil stops. Then the Annulet-with-pellet appears alone, and some of these coins have an annulet on the inner circle like certain gold coins and groats. The stops are trefoils or sleeves or, rarely, lozenges; the last, despite their Lombardic letters, were probably struck under Edward VI. Mules are known with *obv.* Lis, *rev.* Annulet-with-pellet (Pl. XVIII, 2), and *obv.* Lis and Annulet-with-pellet, *rev.* Annulet-with-pellet. On all these coins the lettering is like that on contemporary sovereigns, Lombardic with an occasional Roman letter.

SOUTHWARK, *Civitas London*

The words of the reverse legend are divided by groups of three large florets which are the only stops on that side. The initial marks are S, æ, and E (Pl. XVIII, 3, 4). Muling occurs frequently both ways between S and æ, and i.m. E (perhaps over æ) is found only on a reverse which has obverse i.m. S. On the first coins with i.m. S the lettering (as on the parallel groats) is mainly Roman, but soon changes to Lombardic, which remains the normal fount for all coins. The stops on coins with i.m. S are trefoils, with i.m. æ either trefoils or sleeves. Ruding (Pl. VIII, 7, no i.m.) shows a reading *Londonie*, perhaps misreading i.m. æ as part of the legend.

The manufacture of testoons was condemned, says Henry Symonds, because "fraud and corruption had led to the falsifying of coins then current, especially pieces of 12d., commonly named testons . . . by stamping them or casting them in great multitude".¹ Some of these

¹ Ibid. xi. 134.

contemporary imitations are to be found today. Later, with corruption of another kind, genuine pieces were sometimes fraudulently altered by tooling the king's bust. One such coin was illustrated by the late Mr. Lawrence in one of his articles on forgeries.¹ The obverse there shows the king's bust in high relief, but the same die is illustrated in its original form in the Murdoch sale, i. 443. Another of these curious productions is in Winchester Cathedral Library, where it has been almost certainly since the year 1770, affording some evidence of the date of such activities.

Groats

As we have seen, the groats divided soon after the issue of Henry's Fifth Coinage of March 1545 into two streams, which continued to run in parallel channels through the remainder of Henry's reign and into that of Edward, perhaps until the year 1551. The two streams are distinguishable by their reverse legends; that which had started in 1544 continues to read *Posui Deum*, &c.; the stream which joined it in 1545 reads *Civitas London*, or *Cantor* or *Eboraci*. The *Civitas London* stream is now identified with the Southwark mint which was opened almost at the same time as the two provincial mints. The working life of the various supplementary mints was as follows:

Southwark, June 1545–December 1550.²

Canterbury, June 1545–February 1550.³

York, from May 1545 and open throughout the reign of Edward VI.⁴

Bristol, April 1546–October 1549.⁵

Durham House, December 1548–October 1549.⁶

The classification of the coins is of course based on other criteria than the fineness of the silver, though this must be taken into account. These criteria are the busts, the stops, the lettering, the cross-ends, and naturally the initial marks.

Busts. Evans⁷ drew attention to five different busts of Henry which he attempted to place in order. But his order is not quite right, and is here amended, and the number increased to six. The probable order of them is as follows:

1. **Pl. XVIII, 5 and 6 (var.)** (Evans 1). There are several variants.
2. **Pl. XVIII, 7** (Evans 2).
3. **Pl. XVIII, 8** (Evans 4).
4. **Pl. XVIII, 14** (Evans 3).
5. **Pl. XIX, 2** (Evans 1). This bust was used throughout by Edward at the Tower from Arrow to second Lis, also at Southwark, Canterbury, and York.
6. **Pl. XIX, 8** (Evans 5). This bust was used by Edward only with Grapple and Martlet marks and on Durham House groats, and on contemporary groats at Southwark, Canterbury, and York.

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* iv, 314.

² *Ibid.* xi, 145.

³ *Ibid.* 141.

⁴ *Ibid.* 160.

⁵ *Ibid.* x, 134.

⁶ *Ibid.* xi, 37.

⁷ *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 137.

Pairs of consecutive busts were generally in use together, e.g. 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 4 and 5, 5 and 6. Busts 1, 2, and 3 are peculiar to Henry VIII. Bust 4 was possibly in use just before Henry's death, though Mr. Carlyon-Britton thinks it was first used by Edward VI. It was certainly Edward's first bust and nos. 5 and 6 are peculiar to Edward. It will be seen that a variant of no. 1 closely resembles no. 5, and Evans mistakenly assumed they were the same.

Lettering. The view has grown up, perhaps based on an over-hasty reading of Evans's work and not entirely corrected by Brooke, writing partly for the general reader, that the coins struck in Henry's lifetime have Lombardic letters and those struck by Edward in his father's name Roman letters. This, however, is only a rough approximation to the truth, for Henry himself certainly struck coins in 1545 of both gold and silver with Roman letters. Likewise Mr. Carlyon-Britton has recently shown that for some of his first groats Edward used Lombardic letters. Moreover, later in his reign we find Lombardic letters on a few rare groats foreshadowing that of the fine coinage of 1551.

Stops. The stops play an important part in establishing the sequence of the groats. Henry began with the saltires with which his Second Coinage ended; then followed trefoils of two sorts, with and without stems (the former resembling saltires). There was then apparently a reversion to saltires. Lastly come sleeves (which Brooke termed hooks). Lozenges (mascles) are evidently border-line cases, but should probably be assigned to Edward VI only. Mr. Carlyon-Britton very reasonably thinks sleeves also were used by Edward. Early in Edward's reign the lozenges were followed or accompanied by what have been called "incurved mascles" and what Brooke calls pierced crosses (Pl. XIX, 2, 5). These stops are usually mingled with saltires. The ordinary lozenges soon develop into diamond-shaped solid pellets which in turn become smaller before finally becoming round pellets.

Supplementary criteria to the stops include two other marks, the abbreviation mark after the king's name and the copula. On groats of Henry VIII the abbreviation mark is the query-shaped manuscript symbol for *-vs*, save on those with sleeve stops when it is a comma. On Edward VI's groats the mark is almost always a comma. The copula on all Henry's groats and most of Edward's is the letter Z, but on some of Edward with i.m.s Arrow and K and on the contemporary Canterbury and York coins and those of Southwark (i.m. E) the copula appears as the monogram E (Pl. XIX, 5). It is almost invariably accompanied by pierced crosses for stops.

Cross-ends. The cross-ends of Henry's coins present no problems at first, the Annulets or Annulets-with-pellets or letters, or the open forks of Canterbury and York are easily recognizable. But Mr. Carlyon-Britton has shown that the cross-ends of Edward's first groats (bust 4) showed the Annulet-with-pellet of Henry's last. Later in Edward's reign identification becomes easier. Edward placed in the forks at first a sort of crescent (actually a penannular object) and later a half-rose.

A further point is that the arms of the long cross on the reverse of

groats struck in Henry's lifetime are smooth and of uniform thickness; Edward's groats with crescents in the forks have usually smooth cross-arms tapering towards the point of intersection, but most have a knop, as on the stem of a wineglass, just on the inner circle. On those with roses in the forks the knop is more pronounced and is just within the inner circle (Pl. XIX, 13). Evidence of the order of these two marks, crescents and roses, is supplied by the contemporary Dublin groats (or "sixpences"). All these show roses (some with Boar's Head have a special mark) but never crescents in the forks, and all have the knop in the same position as the English groats with roses in the forks. The Dublin groats began to be struck in February 1548 and probably therefore crescents in the forks were obsolete before that date.

Initial marks. The London coins of Henry have i.m. Lis which probably continued throughout the reign. The Southwark groats have no initial marks, but the letters S or & and S in the forks.

But Mr. Carlyon-Britton has shown that on Edward's first groats both at the Tower (i.m. Lis) and Southwark (& and S) these marks were for a time continued. Such groats are recognizable by the peculiar bust without shoulders, no. 4 (Pl. XVIII, 8, &c.) and have either sleeve or lozenge stops, and similar groats were struck also at York. But at Canterbury they are absent, and it was this fact together with the knowledge that groats were not ordered at Canterbury for Edward's First Coinage of 1547¹ that enabled Mr. Carlyon-Britton to associate this bust with Edward's First Coinage.

But there is another groat absent from the Canterbury series. No Canterbury groat is known of Henry's Sixth Coinage of 1546, i.e. with bust 3. The explanation is probably traceable to the indenture of March 1545. Here at Canterbury the king at first ordered no groats, but on 28 May 1545 apparently as an afterthought they were ordered to be struck until All Saints Day following, i.e. until 1 November 1545.² After that, i.e. in the indenture of 1546, we hear nothing about the denominations struck at Canterbury and must infer that groats ceased to be struck there on 1 November 1545 and thus are missing from Henry's coinage of 1546.

The rest of the groats in Henry's name can safely be assigned to Edward. The clue is supplied by the half-sovereigns in Henry's name but with the young face of Edward, which show that the coins with i.m.s Arrow, K, Grapple, Martlet, and Lis, together with Southwark coins with i.m. E and those of Durham House with i.m. Bow, were struck not by Henry but by his son. Evans's suspicions that Edward struck coins in Henry's name were confirmed later by Henry Symonds, who showed that as late as February 1550 Edward ordered old testoons to be recoined into pieces of smaller denomination "made and printed with the hole face and inscripcion of our most dear late father". A few of these groats both of the Tower and Southwark mints have in fact no initial mark.

Finally we have to consider the groats in Edward's own name, with

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xi. 129.

² *Ibid.* x. 159.

i.m.s Arrow, E, or no mark. As I have already said, these were probably issued simultaneously with the earliest groats with the same marks in Henry's name. Then after a brief issue they were discontinued. Their period, to judge from their early lozenge stops, was probably between April 1547 and February 1548. There is other evidence that a portrait coinage of Edward had engaged the attention of the mint as early as 1547, namely the pattern pieces dated that year. These are usually described as shillings, but from their size were perhaps in some cases trial pieces for a groat.

It remains to add that on all groats of this period the crown ornaments are a cross patty and two fleurs-de-lis. Mr. Carlyon-Britton has shown that on some early coins of Edward, including the portrait pieces, the arch of the crown was decorated with large pellets instead of the usual crockets.

To recapitulate, the groats of this period may be tabulated as shown below. Tower coins with i.m. Arrow and Southwark coins with i.m. E show both crescents (lozenge stops) and roses (pellet stops) in the forks, and so it seems reasonable to infer, as the gold coins have suggested, that they were used continuously after Henry's death. Thus Arrow is here shown as simultaneous with other marks, K, Grapple, Martlet, and Lis, while the only mark at Southwark was i.m. E.

Henry VIII

1544. Tower, Annulet in forks (bust 1), i.m. Lis. *No coinage elsewhere.*

1545. Tower, Annulet or Annulet-with-pellet in forks, i.m. Lis (busts 1 and 2); Southwark, S in forks (busts 1 and 2); Canterbury and York, similar to Southwark but open forks.

1546. Tower, Annulet-with-pellet in forks, i.m. Lis (busts 2, 3, and 4); Southwark, S (?) or \mathfrak{A} and S in forks (busts 2, 3, and 4); York, as Southwark, but open forks; *Canterbury missing.*

Edward VI

1547. Tower, Annulet-with-pellet in forks, i.m. Lis (bust 4); Southwark, \mathfrak{A} and S in forks (bust 4); York, i.m. Lis (bust 4); *Canterbury missing.*

1547-51 (?)

Crescents in forks, Tower, i.m.s Arrow¹ and K (busts 4 and 5); Southwark, i.m. E; ¹ Canterbury and York (bust 5).

Roses in forks, busts 5 and 6, Tower, i.m.s Arrow (bust 5) and Grapple; Southwark, i.m. E; Canterbury and York, no i.m.

Roses in forks, busts 5 and 6, Tower, i.m.s Arrow (bust 5) and Martlet; Southwark, i.m. E; Canterbury and York, no i.m.

Roses in forks, busts 5 and 6, Tower, i.m.s Arrow (bust 5) and Lis (bust 5); Southwark, i.m. E; Canterbury and York, no i.m.; some of Canterbury have i.m. Rose and perhaps Lis.

1548-9. Durham House, i.m. Bow (bust 6), with Annulet or floral spike in forks.

HENRY VIII, TOWER (*Posvi*, &c.)

The earliest coins with i.m. Lis are probably the coins usually described as mules, with reverses of the Second Coinage showing saltires in the forks (**Pl. XVIII, 5**). One analysed showed just over 9 oz. fine. It has already been shown, however, that both the larger dies and the

¹ Including coins in Edward's name.

precise form of the i.m. Lis found on these reverses are never found on a true groat of the Second Coinage. Thus it seems likely that the replacement of saltires by Annulets in the forks was not simultaneous with the introduction of the full-face bust. In other words, these supposed mules are probably the first true groats of the Base Coinage. As it happens this identical Lis punch, as has been said, does occur on other true coins of the Base Coinage; it is found on the rare half-angel with three Annulets on the ship, and on a quarter-angel and a penny.

The first undoubted true coins, those with small neat Annulets in the forks (one has annulets struck over saltires), all show bust 1 or a variant of it. It seems likely that these groats are mostly 9 oz. fine but some seem to be slightly baser and may be 6 oz. fine. They have at first saltire stops, then trefoils somewhat resembling saltires.

The later coins with i.m. Lis are of baser silver; they have an Annulet-with-pellet in the forks, and though some are of 6 oz. most of them seem to be of 4 oz. silver, i.e. of the Sixth Coinage. The stops are trefoils, saltires, sleeves, or rarely, and probably only on coins struck under Edward VI, lozenges. Sleeves too may have been used, Mr. Carlyon-Britton thinks, by Edward.

Two scarce varieties of this period, with trefoil or saltire stops, have an Annulet on the inner circle, on both obverse and reverse when showing bust 2 (Pl. XVIII, 7), and on reverse only when showing bust 3 (Pl. XVIII, 8). Another variety with bust 3 has a Roman E on reverse though all the other letters are Lombardic. The last coins with this bust have sleeve stops and these may have been the last Lis coins struck in Henry's lifetime.

The next bust, no. 4, was, as Mr. Carlyon-Britton has shown, almost certainly the first of Edward VI, but early examples of it show all the usual features of late coins of Henry. Lastly come some scarce coins with i.m. Lis, Roman letters, and lozenge stops which can be assigned more confidently to Edward. A few remarkable mules among these pieces showing precisely similar obverse used at both the Tower and Southwark combined with reverses of each in turn. They are more fully described in the lists (Pl. XVIII, 9, 14, 15, 16).

HENRY VIII, SOUTHWARK (*Civitas London*)

These coins have usually no initial mark and in this case are of two kinds, those having S in the forks, and their successors, those with & in the upper and lower and S in the side forks.

On the coins with S in the forks bust 2 only appears; the lettering at first is Roman or mixed, later Lombardic. Among the Roman letters is the ornamental H with a half-circle on the cross bar already noticed on some half-sovereigns. The stops are trefoils, rarely saltires. Probably most of these coins are of 6 oz. fine, though some may be 4.

The second variety with & and S in the forks is of 4 oz. fine, and so presumably not struck until 1546. The busts used are nos. 2, 3, and 4 and a curious mule with obv. i.m. Lis has & in the side forks. The lettering is Lombardic, but turns to Roman sometimes with bust 4 on

coins probably struck by Edward VI. The stops are trefoils, saltires, sleeves, or on Edward's coins, lozenges. A coin cited by Hawkins (*Lundinie*, i.m. Boar's Head) was doubtless a Dublin piece misread.

EDWARD VI, TOWER (*Posvi*, &c.)

Edward's first groats with i.m. Lis, bust 4, and lozenge stops have been discussed.

I.m. Arrow. Busts 4 (Pl. XIX, 1) and 5 were both employed and the coins have a crescent or, much more rarely, a rose in the forks of the reverse (Pl. XIX, 3). The stops are lozenges (mascles) or pierced crosses, sometimes combined with saltires or, later, pellets. The commonest stops are lozenges, but they are often too much worn to say whether they were originally an outline (mascle) or a solid diamond. Probably both were used, the mascles coming first. The coins with pierced cross-stops have the monogram E for Z , and one variety of these has i.m. Arrow inverted (Pl. XIX, 2), a mark already noted on a gold half-crown. The mark is often mistaken for the Martlet. Mules occur with obverse K, reverse Arrow, and obverse Arrow, reverse Lis. The rare coins with Edward's name and portrait are early; they have lozenge stops and crescents in the forks.

I have already suggested that i.m. Arrow was perhaps used simultaneously with other marks. Evidence of this appears from:

1. The use of both crescents and half-roses in the forks.
2. The wide variety of stops.
3. The persistence of Arrow later in the reign on 22-ct. gold and on the portrait shillings of Edward.

No initial mark. Some coins with crescents in the forks have no initial mark and are probably of this period; they have bust 5.

I.m. K. The coins usually show bust 5, but some pieces with the initial mark on reverse only show bust 4. Thus these obverses may belong to the Arrow period and the coins be virtually mules. The coins have normally crescents in the forks, but some with no initial mark on reverse have roses in the forks, so that they too are possibly mules. The stops are lozenges or pierced crosses combined with saltires, the latter showing the monogram E for Z (Pl. XIX, 5). The i.m. K is rarely found on both sides (Pl. XIX, 4); when on the reverse it is sometimes struck over Arrow. Mules occur with reverse i.m. Lis or reverse i.m. Arrow; also with the Southwark reverse i.m. E (and *Civitas London*).

I.m. Grapple. The coins have the mark on reverse only and always roses in the forks. Crescents in that position no longer appear. The stops are square or round pellets. Lozenges and pierced crosses have likewise disappeared. Bust 6 now makes its appearance and busts 5 and 6 were both used. One coin is unusual in showing Lombardic letters on obverse in a fount resembling that of the fine coinage of 1551 (Pl. XIX, 7). Other mints and marks also show this fount

occasionally. A mule has obverse i.m. Lis, that is, the late Lis of the end of the series.

I.m. Martlet. The coins with this mark were attributed by Brooke, with some hesitation but probably incorrectly, to Southwark. The mark falls quite easily and naturally into the Tower series, and is found muled with the Lis. If this obverse i.m. Lis is slightly doubtful the half-sovereign muled with the same mark is quite certain. All groats have roses in the forks and show busts 5 and 6. The stops are square or round pellets, or rarely saltires. The i.m. Martlet normally looks right, but Morrieson records a groat with Martlet looking left and on the reverse Lombardic letters.¹

I.m. Lis. The mark appears on both sides (Pl. XIX, 10) or on reverse only. Busts 5 and 6 both occur and all coins have roses in the forks, and square or round pellets as stops. The mules with i.m.s Arrow, K, Grapple, and Martlet have been mentioned. This Lis on Edward's groats is a late mark, probably the latest, perhaps contemporary with the Lis-marked shillings of 1550 and 1551. Thus this coinage of groats of Edward both begins and ends with the Lis. But the later Lis is a very different mark from the earlier; it is small and slight, almost cruciform in shape and has no band round the stem.

The discontinuance of bust 6 perhaps suggests that for the marks for which it was used, Grapple and Martlet, an additional engraver was employed, and since the same man evidently designed the Durham House groats, it may be that Grapple and Martlet coins are of the Durham House period, 1548-9.

No initial mark. A coin with no initial mark and roses in the forks is probably of this period.

SOUTHWARK (*Civitas London*)

I.m. E. This is the only mark found on this class of groats and appears on the reverse only. The coins are of two varieties, the first with crescents in the forks showing bust 4 (Pl. XIX, 12) and 5. These coins have lozenge stops or pierced crosses and saltires with the monogram E for Z. The second variety has roses in the forks (busts 5 and 6, Pl. XIX, 13, 14) and square or round pellet stops or, on reverse, none.

There is of course another variety, the rare coins with Edward's name and portrait; they come quite early in the series and have lozenge stops with crescents in the forks (Pl. XIX, 11).

No initial mark. A coin with no initial mark and roses in the forks belongs to the latter part of the reign (Pl. XIX, 15).

Morrieson illustrates an obverse² with alleged Annulet stops, but they appear to have been produced from a faulty pellet puncheon. Two reverse dies are remarkable, one with crescents in the forks showing E struck over Arrow, and the other with roses in the forks with E struck over Lis. A mule between the Tower and Southwark has obverse K, reverse E.

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xii, 146.

² *Ibid.* xii, Pl. II, 3.

As with Arrow-marked Tower coins the presence of both crescents and roses in the forks gives reason to suppose that i.m. E was in continuous use at Southwark probably from 1547 to 1550.

DURHAM HOUSE

I.m. Bow. These well-known rare coins reading *Redde Cvique Quod Svm Est* on the reverse have the initial mark on both sides and show bust 6 only. They have in the forks either a kind of crescent or a more elaborate mark, a sort of floral spike (Pl. XIX, 16, 17). The stops are, on obverse, square pellets, sometimes with a saltire on either side of the i.m. Bow, and, on reverse, saltires. They were presumably struck simultaneously with the shillings and half-sovereigns with the same mark but Edward's name (December 1548–October 1549). Brooke records as doubtful a groat with i.m. Grapple; he perhaps refers to a mule cited by Evans, who writes (presumably influenced by Snelling's Plate III, 45) "the mark (grapple) occurs associated with the bow on a *redde cvique* groat".¹ I know no other reference to this coin.

CANTERBURY, *Henry VIII*

The coins have no initial mark and at first the Roman letters of 1545, the year the mint was opened. These in turn give way to Lombardic, both having either trefoil or saltire stops; there is no mark in the forks. Some with Roman letters read *Di Gra*, a variant elsewhere only on some contemporary groats of York.

A privy mark on the reverse of these groats is, as Mr. Carlyon-Britton has noted,² a short spur or stalk joining the shield to the inner circle, usually in the fourth quarter (Pl. XX, 1, 3), though on some with Roman letters in the third (Pl. XX, 2). This ingenious mark might easily be mistaken for a flaw or a blundered striking of the long cross but can invariably be found in one of these positions.

This spur appears in several positions on York coins also and as will appear is found on both half-groats and pence and possibly in another form on halfpence.

The busts on Canterbury groats are nos. 1 and 2 or variants of them; the absence of busts 3 and 4 has already been explained.

CANTERBURY, *Edward VI*

The rest of the Canterbury groats have Roman letters and either crescents or roses in the forks. None of these have the spur. For these coins busts 5 and 6 were both used and the stops are lozenges or square or round pellets, or pierced crosses and saltires with the monogram T for Z. This mark is also found unexpectedly on a late groat with pellet stops and roses in the forks.

A late variety with roses in the forks and bust 6 has i.m. Rose (Pl. XX, 6). Morrieson gives also i.m. Lis, though this is doubtful.³

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 135.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxiv. 32.

³ *Ibid.* xii, Pl. II, 15.

YORK, Henry VIII

These coins are more extensive and varied than those of Canterbury. The earliest coins are similar, with bust 1 (var.), Roman letters (Pl. XX, 7, 8), and trefoil or saltire stops. They include the variant *Di Gra* found at Canterbury. The lettering then becomes Lombardic (Pl. XX, 9), still with trefoil stops and busts 1 and 2. Then come coins not paralleled at Canterbury, as already noted. The first has bust 3 and trefoil stops. All these coins have the spur at the right-hand top corner of the shield on the reverse. Bust 3 now follows with sleeve stops (or on reverse none) and the spur at first still at the right-hand corner but soon changing to the left (Pl. XX, 10). These are probably the last coins of Henry's lifetime. All the coins have open forks.

YORK, Edward VI

The first coins are mules with obverse bust 4, Roman letters, and lozenge stops and a reverse of Henry VIII with sleeve stops. A coin that is the converse mule has curiously reverse i.m. Lis with Roman letters and lozenge stops (Pl. XX, 12). A true coin with i.m. Lis (on obverse) has Roman letters and lozenge stops both sides (Pl. XX, 11). It will be seen that the spur is still in use and the forks still open.

The rest of the coins have either crescents (busts 4 and 5) or roses (busts 5 and 6), and the stops are lozenges, pierced crosses, and saltires on coins with crescents in the forks, some of which have the monogram \mathfrak{E} for Z, or of the coins with roses in the forks round pellets. The types are often muled. Morrieson illustrates a groat¹ with a normal reverse and roses in the forks, but on obverse Lombardic letters foreshadowing once more the fount of the fine coinage of 1551. The coin appears to have an initial mark but is too badly struck to be sure about.

Half-groats

The half-groats, save at Canterbury and York, are much rarer than the groats. Not surprisingly therefore no coin has been analysed, but for fineness they doubtless follow the pattern of the groats. The bust on all half-groats, save for a few late coins of York, is one resembling bust 1 of the groats. At York, however, late in Edward's reign a "three-quarter" bust was employed.

TOWER, Henry VIII (Posvi, &c.)

The earliest and perhaps the only coins have, like the groats, i.m. Lis. They have saltire or trefoil stops and usually an annulet in the forks, though this seems to be occasionally absent. The coins are quite rare.

TOWER, Edward VI (Posvi, &c.)

These coins are more numerous but still scarce. All have Roman letters and no marks in the forks. The initial marks known are the

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xii, Pl. III, 3.

same as on the groats save for Martlet and Lis which are unknown. The muling is rather remarkable, and an obverse with i.m. Arrow is found with three different reverses. This may be another pointer to the continuity of i.m. Arrow. The stops in general follow the pattern of the groats but are often absent on the reverse.

I.m. Arrow. The mark occurs on both sides (Pl. XXI, 3) or on reverse only, but mules are known with reverses having i.m. K, Grapple, or E. The stops are lozenges on such coins as I have seen, though pierced crosses should occur, if not also the late pellets.

The rare coins with Edward's name and portrait come early in this issue, some reading rather unexpectedly *Civitas London*. Perhaps as in the case of some groats in Henry's name with i.m. Lis essentially similar dies were used both at the Tower and Southwark at a period of some confusion.

I.m. K. The mark is found on the reverse only and the stops are lozenges. Mules occur with obverse Arrow (Pl. XXI, 4) and obverse K, reverse E.

I.m. Grapple. The mark occurs on reverse only (Pl. XXI, 5) or rarely on both sides. The mule with Arrow has already been noted. The stops are pellets.

SOUTHWARK, *Henry VIII (Civitas London)*

These coins are extremely rare. They occur like the groats with either S or ꝰ and S (Pl. XXI, 2) in the forks. The coins with S have mixed letters and with ꝰ and S Lombardic. The stops when visible are trefoils.

SOUTHWARK, *Edward VI (Civitas London)*

I.m. E. An interesting mule is recorded between Tower and Southwark dies. It has obverse Arrow, reverse E.¹ True coins have i.m. E on both sides (Pl. XXI, 8) or on reverse only. The series is more extensive than that of the Tower, and the stops include lozenges, pierced crosses with saltires, including again the monogram E for Z (Pl. XXI, 6), and on later coins pellets. Lastly come some coins with no initial mark and lozenge or pellet stops. They doubtless belong here (Pl. XXI, 9).

The rare coins with Edward's name and portrait are early and have lozenge stops, one unusual coin having i.m. not E but Arrow on both sides; it may have been struck at the Tower despite the anomalous legend *Civitas London*.

DURHAM HOUSE

This mint produced a half-groat parallel to the groat with a shortened version of the *Redde civique* legend (Pl. XXI, 10). It has i.m. Bow and Annulets in the forks. The stops are saltires or on reverse none. The coin is extremely rare.

¹ Morrieson sale 274.

CANTERBURY, *Henry VIII*

The coins have no initial mark. The earlier pieces with Lombardic or mixed letters have broad pierced cross-ends, and either trefoil or saltire stops; the later coins have open forks and sleeve stops. On the earlier coins the spur noted on the groats again appears in the third quarter (Pl. XXI, 11, 12), but in the fourth quarter it changes to a pellet (Pl. XXI, 13). The later coins with Lombardic letters and sleeve stops have no spur or pellet (Pl. XXI, 14). Similar pieces with lozenge stops were probably struck by Edward VI (Pl. XXI, 15, 16).

CANTERBURY, *Edward VI*

There are three varieties of these coins in Henry's name, the above-mentioned coins with lozenge stops, the coins with large Roman letters and at first lozenge and then pellet stops (Pl. XXI, 17), and the rare coins with i.m. *t* and small Roman letters and lozenge stops. The letter *t* is presumably the mark of Tillesworth the master at Canterbury mint (Pl. XXI, 18). These are probably contemporary with the shillings with the same mark and dated 1549.

The scarce pieces with Edward's name and portrait were doubtless struck in 1547; they have no initial mark and lozenge stops (Pl. XXI, 19). The form of the name *Edoard* is perhaps the spelling of a French artist who is known to have been working at the mint about that time.¹

It is interesting to note that the Canterbury and York Royal mints continued the tradition of the ecclesiastical mints in supplying the bulk of the half-groats needed for currency. The coins are much commoner than those of the Tower or Southwark.

YORK, *Henry VIII*

These are rather less numerous than Canterbury coins. The early coins with Lombardic letters show a parallel to the early Canterbury half-groats in their pierced cross-ends and to the later in their open forks. Once more the spur recalls, even more exactly than at Canterbury, the privy marking of the groats; it appears at both right- and left-hand top corners of the shield on the reverse (Pl. XXI, 20, 21). On some coins an occasional Roman letter is found. The stops are saltires or trefoils, but I have not found sleeve stops on a York half-groat nor any with Lombardic letters and lozenge stops.

YORK, *Edward VI*

Edward's coins have Roman letters and lozenge or pellet stops with open forks (Pl. XXI, 22). Some late coins show a "three-quarter" bust with falling collar (Pl. XXI, 23). This is the only mint save Dublin at which this bust occurs on a half-groat.

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1913, p. 349.

Pence

All coins both at the Tower and Southwark read *Civitas London*.

TOWER, Henry VIII

I.m. Lis. These rare coins have Lombardic letters and a facing bust; the cross-ends are broad and pierced and the stops saltires, trefoils, or on reverse none (**Pl. XXII, 1**).

A coin is recorded¹ with uncertain initial mark having an Annulet on the inner circle both sides. This coin should exist and the initial mark might well be *Lis*.

No initial mark. In addition, coins are found with no initial mark, some with mixed or Roman letters, and trefoil or sleeve stops (**Pl. XXII, 5**). They have open forks.

TOWER, Edward VI

Coins which can safely be attributed to Edward have the following marks: all have open forks:

I.m. Arrow. Coins in Henry's name have the mark on obverse (**Pl. XXII, 7**) or reverse (**Pl. XXII, 8**). The letters are Roman, with an occasional Lombardic H for the king's initial, and the stops lozenges.

The coins in Edward's name have also lozenge stops and Roman letters (**Pl. XXII, 6**).

I.m. K. The mark is found on reverse only and the stops are lozenges (**Pl. XXII, 9**).

I.m. Grapple. The mark is found on obverse (**Pl. XXII, 10**) or reverse (**Pl. XXII, 11**). The stops are pellets and the Roman letters are smaller and neater.

I.m. Lis (?). So Montagu sale ii. 771. Morrieson says the initial mark appears on reverse only.²

No initial mark. Some of Edward's pieces have no initial mark. The earlier have large Roman letters and lozenge stops and there is a piedfort of this type at the British Museum which weighs 16.3 grs. The later coins have small neat Roman letters and square or round pellet stops and include a variety with the late "three-quarter" bust and falling collar (**Pl. XXII, 13**).

SOUTHWARK, Henry VIII

Pence of this type were not recorded at all by Brooke.

I.m. S. This is evidently the earliest coin; the coin shown (**Pl. XXII, 2**) is in the Fitzwilliam Museum. The cross-ends are broad and pierced and the lettering mixed Roman and Lombardic with trefoil stops. This coin is extremely rare, but may not be unique.

I.m. α. The mark is found on obverse (**Pl. XXII, 4**) or reverse (**Pl. XXII, 3**). The latter is doubtless the earlier coin in this case with its broad pierced cross-ends and apparently trefoil stops; the former has sleeve stops and open forks. These are the only two specimens known to the writer, but others may well exist.

¹ Spink, *Num. Circ.*, Nov. 1910.

² *Brit. Num. Journ.* xii. 147.

SOUTHWARK, *Edward VI*

I.m. E. Coins with this mark in Henry's name were overlooked by Brooke. They have lozenge stops and open forks (Pl. XXII, 12). About four specimens are known to exist.

The same *i.m. E* is found also on the rare penny with Edward's own name and portrait.

DURHAM HOUSE

There is also a very rare penny of Durham House reading in effect *Redde Cuique, &c.* (Pl. XXII, 14). It reads *H 8, &c.*, and has pellet stops.

CANTERBURY, *Henry VIII*

The coins have no initial mark. Those with Lombardic letters are comparatively scarce; they have the facing bust and broad pierced cross-ends and some have the spur below the third quarter of the shield on the reverse (Pl. XXII, 15, 16). These coins are early and have trefoil or saltire stops. Later coins have no spur and some have sleeve stops.

CANTERBURY, *Edward VI*

Edward's coins have either large Roman letters and lozenge stops (Pl. XXII, 17) or small Roman letters and pellet stops and on these there may be either a facing or a "three-quarter" bust (Pl. XXII, 18, 19).

YORK, *Henry VIII*

The earlier coins run true to type and have broad pierced cross-ends, and some with Lombardic letters and also Roman letters show the spur joining the right-hand top corner of the shield to the inner circle (Pl. XXII, 20, 21). The stops are trefoils, saltires, sleeves, or none.

YORK, *Edward VI*

Edward's coins may have large letters and lozenge stops with open forks (Pl. XXII, 23) or small letters, Roman of course, and pellet stops, again including on some the "three-quarter" bust (Pl. XXII, 24). The reading *Eborac* occurs under both kings (Pl. XXII, 22).

Halfpence

All halfpence I have seen have a facing bust and the old reverse with three pellets in each angle of a cross. The coins rarely have a visible initial mark, but a *Lis* appears on the coin shown on Pl. XXII, 25. A London coin recorded (Montagu ii. 771) to have *i.m. Lis* and a "three-quarter" bust would presumably be a late coin of Edward VI, but Pl. XXII, 26 shows how the cross above the King's crown may sometimes resemble a *Lis*.

LONDON, *Henry VIII*

Southwark coins are not distinguishable from those of the Tower.

I.m. Lis or none. The coins with Lombardic letters are Henry's, some showing trefoil stops (Pl. XXII, 25). The cross-ends may be either forked or a plain cross patty.

LONDON, *Edward VI*

The coins with Roman letters have open forks or plain broad ends. Stops, where visible, are lozenges or pellets (Pl. XXII, 26).

A coin unrecorded by Brooke is the profile halfpenny of Edward VI, though two specimens are known and have been illustrated.¹ There is no initial mark visible.

CANTERBURY, *Henry VIII*

Some coins with Lombardic letters have trefoil stops and broad cross-ends. Some show what may be the privy spur extending from the upright of the cross to one of the pellets on the reverse.

CANTERBURY, *Edward VI*

Again the forks may be open or plain and broad. Pl. XXII, 27 shows mostly Lombardic letters, but the stops are lozenges. Saltire stops are also known on some coins with Roman letters. The smaller Roman letters also occur (Pl. XXII, 28).

YORK, *Henry VIII*

The coins with Lombardic letters or mixed have again both kinds of cross-end. Stops are rarely visible. What is perhaps the spur appears as on some Canterbury coins.

YORK, *Edward VI*

Both large and small (Pl. XXII, 29) Roman letters are found on these coins. Both open and plain broad cross-ends are found and the stops are lozenges or pellets or none. Again, on some coins the reading *Eborac* occurs.

Farthings

These coins appear in the indentures, but are unknown.

LISTS

Base silver coins in the name of Henry VIII, 1544-51

TESTOONS

Two portraits (with variants): 1. With prominent side locks and wide open eyes. 2. With closer-cropped hair and half-closed eyes. Legends (mainly Lombardic): *Henric VIII* (8) *Di Gra* (D G) *Agf Fra Z Hib Rex* and *Posvi Deum Adivtorium* (*Adivtoevum*, *Adivtoerium*) *Mevm* or *Civitas London*.

¹ Wheeler sale, 330, and *Num. Circ.*, July 1949, Pl. II, 8.

TOWER (*Posvi*, &c.).A. *Henric VIII Di Gra*, &c. Bust 1, saltire or trefoil stops.(1) I.m. Lis, saltire stops, normal coin (*Adivtorivm*, **Pl. XVIII, 1**).Variants: *Adivtoerivm*; *a(i)*. Rev. i.m. Lis, saltire stops, Roman M.*a(ii)*. Rev. i.m. 2 Lis, saltire stops, Roman M (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 7).*a(iii)*. Rev. i.m. Lis, trefoil stops, Roman M (Roth, i. 253).*Adivtoerevm*; *b(i)*. Rev. i.m. 2 Lis, saltire stops, Roman M (Morrieson 249).*b(ii)*. Rev. i.m. Lis, trefoil stops, Roman M, Roman or Lombardic E (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 6).(2) I.m. Lis with Annulet-with-pellet at end of legends, trefoil stops, Roman M and E (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 8). Variant: *Adivtoerevm* (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 9).B. *Henric 8 D G*, &c. Busts 1 and 2, trefoil or sleeve stops.

(1) I.m. Lis with Annulet-with-pellet at end of legends, trefoil stops or, on reverse, none.

Variant: *Adivtoerevm*, Roman M and E (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 14).(2) I.m. *obv.* Lis with Annulet-with-pellet, *rev.* Annulet-with-pellet, trefoil stops both sides.(3) (?) I.m. Lis both sides, sleeve stops (*not noted, not in B.M.*).(4) I.m. *obv.* Lis, *rev.* Annulet-with-pellet, sleeve stops both sides (**Pl. XVIII, 2**).(5) I.m. Annulet-with-pellet, trefoil stops both sides, Roman or Lombardic E (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Figs. 10 and 15).(6) I.m. Annulet-with-pellet, trefoil stops both sides, Annulet on inner circle both sides, Roman E (*Hib Hib* for *Hib Rex*; *B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 12).(7) I.m. Annulet-with-pellet, *obv.* sleeve stops, *rev.* trefoils, Annulet on inner circle on reverse (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 13).(8) (?) I.m. Annulet-with-pellet, sleeve stops both sides (*not noted, not in B.M.*).(9) Struck under EDWARD VI. i.m. Annulet-with-pellet. *Obv.* lozenge stops, *rev.* sleeves (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 16).(10) Struck under EDWARD VI. *Obv.* no i.m., sleeve stops, *rev.* i.m. Annulet-with-pellet, lozenge stops (B.M.).SOUTHWARK (*Civitas London* with florets as the only stops).*Henric 8 D G*, &c. Busts 1 and 2, stops on *obv.* trefoils, saltires, or sleeves.(1) I.m. S, (chiefly) Roman letters on *obv.* (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 19) or on *rev.* (B.M.).(2) I.m. S, Lombardic letters (Roman or Lombardic E), trefoil stops, rarely saltires (**Pl. XVIII, 3**).(3) *Obv.* i.m. S, trefoil stops, *rev.* i.m. Θ (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 18).(4) *Obv.* i.m. S, trefoil stops, *rev.* i.m. E (over Θ ?). Struck under EDWARD VI (Montagu, ii. 769 and B.M., *ex* L. A. Lawrence collection).(5) *Obv.* i.m. Θ , trefoil stops, *rev.* i.m. S.(6) *Obv.* i.m. Θ , sleeve stops, *rev.* i.m. S (*B.N.J.* xxiv. 116, Fig. 17).(7) I.m. Θ both sides, trefoil stops.(8) I.m. Θ both sides, sleeve stops (**Pl. XVIII, 4**).

GROATS

Six busts: No. 1, **Pl. XVIII, 5, 6**, and **10**. No. 2, **Pl. XVIII, 11**. No. 3, **Pl. XVIII, 8**. No. 4, **Pl. XVIII, 9**. No. 5, **Pl. XIX, 2**. No. 6, **Pl. XIX, 8**.Legends: *Henric 8 D.G. Agl Fra Z Hib Rex* and *Posvi Devm Adivtoere' Mevm* (*Mev'*) or *Civitas London, Cantor* or *Eboraci*, or *Redde Cuique Qvod Svum Est*.

TOWER (*Posvi*, &c.). I.m. Lis both sides, Lombardic letters unless otherwise stated.

Henry VIII

- A. 1. Saltire in forks, bust 1, saltire stops; one analysed, 9 oz. 2 dwt. 12 grs. (Pl. XVIII, 5).
2. Annulet in forks (one has annulet over saltire), bust 1 or 1 (var.), saltire stops.
3. Annulet in forks, bust 1 (var.) or 2, trefoil stops (Pl. XVIII, 6).
- B. Annulet-with-pellet in forks. Variants:
 1. Bust 2, trefoil or saltire stops.
 2. Bust 2, trefoil or saltire stops, annulet on inner circle both sides (Pl. XVIII, 7).
 3. Bust 3, trefoil or saltire stops, annulet on inner circle on rev. (Pl. XVIII, 8).
 4. Bust 3, trefoil stops, Roman E on rev.
 5. Bust 3, sleeve stops; a variant has i.m. on obv. only.
 6. Bust 4, perhaps struck by Edward VI, sleeve stops.

Mules with Edward VI

1. I.m. Lis both sides, *obv.* Henry VIII, bust 3, sleeve stops, *rev.* Edward VI, Annulet-with-pellet in forks, Roman letters, lozenge stops.
2. I.m. Lis both sides, *obv.* Edward VI, bust 4, Roman letters, lozenge stops, *rev.* Henry VIII, Annulet-with-pellet in forks, sleeve stops (Pl. XVIII, 9).

Edward VI

- (a) I.m. Lis, bust 4, lozenge stops, Lombardic or Roman letters, Annulet-with-pellet in forks. Variants:
 1. *Obv.* Lombardic letters, *rev.* Roman letters.
 - 2 (?) *Obv.* Roman letters, *rev.* Lombardic letters (*not noted, but should exist*).
 - 3 (?) Roman letters both sides (*not noted, but should exist*).
- (b) I.m. Arrow, Roman letters; the first has Edward's name and portrait, the rest Henry's. Variants:
 1. Crescent in forks, *Edward* 6, &c., lozenge stops (*English Coins*, Pl. XL, 8).
 2. Crescent in forks, bust 4, lozenge stops (Pl. XIX, 1).
 3. " " bust 5, stops pierced crosses and saltires, T for Z.
 4. Crescent in forks, bust 5, i.m. Arrow inverted, stops, pierced crosses and saltires, T for Z (Pl. XIX, 2).
 5. Crescent in forks, *obv.* no i.m., pellet stops, *rev.* i.m. Arrow, stops, pierced crosses and saltires.
 6. Rose in forks, bust 5, pellet stops (Pl. XIX, 3).

Mule. *Obv.* i.m. K, *rev.* i.m. Arrow (Morrieson 263).

- (c) I.m. K, stops, lozenges or pierced crosses and saltires, one analysed, 4 oz. dwt. 12 grs., crescent or rose in forks. Variants:
 1. Crescent in forks, bust 4, i.m. K on rev. only, sometimes over Arrow, lozenge stops.
 2. Crescent in forks, bust 5, i.m. K on obv. only, lozenge stops.
 3. As no. 2, but stops pierced crosses and saltires, T for Z (Pl. XIX, 5).
 4. Crescent in forks, bust 5, i.m. K both sides, lozenge stops (Pl. XIX, 4).
 5. Rose in forks, bust 5, i.m. K on obv. only, stops, *obv.* lozenges, *rev.* pellets.
- (d) I.m. Grapple on rev. only, rose in forks, busts 5 and 6 (Pl. XIX, 6), stops, square or round pellets or, on rev., none; one analysed, 4 oz. 8 dwt. 12 grs., one obv. die has Lombardic letters and square pellet stops (Pl. XIX, 7).
- (e) I.m. Martlet (normally facing right) on both sides or rev. only; rose in forks, busts 5 (Pl. XIX, 9) and 6 (Pl. XIX, 8), stops, saltires, or square or round pellets or, on rev., none; one analysed, 4 oz. 1 dwt. 12 grs.

For a coin with i.m. Martlet facing left, with Lombardic letters and rose in forks, see *B.N.J.* xii. 146.

31C *The Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name*

Mules with i.m. Lis.

1. *Obv.* Arrow, *rev.* Lis, bust 5, rose in forks, lozenge stops on *obv.*
2. *Obv.* K, *rev.* Lis, bust 5, rose in forks, lozenge stops on *obv.*
3. *Obv.* Lis, *rev.* Grapple (Spink, *Num. Circ.*, March 1894).
4. *Obv.* Lis, *rev.* Martlet, bust 5, rose in forks, pellet stops (C. A. W.).
- (f) I.m. Lis both sides (Pl. XIX, 10) or on *rev.* only, bust 5, rose in forks, stops square or round pellets.
- (g) No i.m., bust 5, either crescent in forks, stops, *obv.* pellets, *rev.* lozenges or rose in forks, E for Z omitting D G, stops on *obv.*, pierced crosses and saltires. These coins are apparently both mules between early and late dies.

SOUTHWARK (*Civitas London*). No i.m. or, rarely, Lis.

Henry VIII

1. S in forks, bust 1 (var.) or 2, letters, *either* mixed or Roman (Pl. XVIII, 10, some read *Hibe*, one analysed, 6 oz. 5 dwt. 12 grs.); or Lombardic (Pl. XVIII, 11); stops trefoils or, rarely, saltires.
2. G in upper and lower, S in side forks, busts 2, 3, and 4, letters, rarely Roman (often with Lombardic on *rev.*; one analysed, 4 oz. 5 dwt. 12 grs.) or Lombardic, stops trefoils (bust 2, Pl. XVIII, 12), sleeves (bust 3, Pl. XVIII, 13) or on *rev.* none (bust 4, Pl. XVIII, 14), one reads *Divitas*.

Mules (all read Civitas London).

1. Lombardic letters, *obv.* i.m. Lis (Tower die), bust 4, sleeve stops, *rev.* G and S in forks.
2. *Obv.* i.m. Lis (Tower die of Edward VI), bust 4, Roman letters, lozenge stops, *rev.* Lombardic letters, G and S in forks, sleeve stops (Pl. XVIII, 15).
3. Similar to no. 2, but the *rev.* has G in side fork (B.M.).
4. Lombardic letters, *obv.* no i.m., bust 4, sleeve stops, *rev.* i.m. Lis, lozenge stops, nothing in forks (Pl. XVIII, 16).

Edward VI

1. As Henry VIII, G and S in forks, *obv.* bust 4, Lombardic letters, lozenge stops, *rev.* Roman letters, no stops (C. A. W.).
2. I.m. E, the first has Edward's name and portrait, the rest, Henry's with i.m. E on *rev.* only. Variants:
 - (a) Crescent in forks, *Edward 6*, &c., lozenge stops (Pl. XIX, 11).
 - (b) Crescent in forks, bust 4, lozenge stops (Pl. XIX, 12).
 - (c) As (b) but with bust 5.
 - (d) Crescent in forks, bust 5, stops, pierced crosses and saltires, E for Z (one analysed, 4 oz. 2 dwt. 12 grs.).
 - (e) Rose in forks, bust 5, pellet stops, one has i.m. E over Lis.
 - (f) As (e) but bust 6 (Pl. XIX, 14).
- 3 (a) No i.m., Edward's name and portrait, S in forks (*B.N.J.* xii, Pl. v, 6).
 (b) No i.m., Henry's bust 5, rose in forks, pellet stops (Pl. XIX, 15).

DURHAM HOUSE, *Henric 8*, &c., and *Redde Cuique (Cuiq) Qvoad (Q) Svum Est*.

- I.m. Bow both sides ("reverse Grapple", recorded by Snelling, Pl. III, 45); bust 6, in forks, either crescent or floral spike, stops, *obv.* square pellets, sometimes with saltire before and after i.m. Bow, *rev.* saltires (Pl. XIX, 16, 17).

CANTERBURY (*Civitas Cantor*).

Henry VIII

- (a) No i.m., busts 1 (var.) or 2, trefoil stops, open forks, Roman or mixed letters (some with *Di Gra*) often muled with Lombardic letters on *rev.*, a spur from shield to inner circle below 3rd or 4th quarter (Pl. XX, 1, 2).

- (b) No i.m., bust 2, trefoil stops, open forks, Lombardic letters (*D G*), spur from shield to inner circle below 4th quarter (Pl. XX, 3). No groats known at Canterbury with busts 3 or 4.

Edward VI

- (c) Not known, see York.
 (d) No i.m., bust 5, crescent in forks, stops, lozenges (Pl. XX, 4, *Civitan*), pierced crosses with saltires (*E* for *Z*), or on rev. none.
 (e) No i.m., busts 5 and 6, rose in forks, pellet stops (Pl. XX, 5); a coin with bust 5 and pellet stops has *E* for *Z*, exceptionally.
 (f) I.m. Rose, bust 6, rose in forks, round pellet stops (Pl. XX, 6).

YORK (*Civitas Eboraci*).

Henry VIII

- (a) No i.m., busts 1 (var.) or 2, open forks, trefoil or saltire stops, Roman or mixed letters (some with *Di Gra*), often muled with Lombardic letters on rev., spur from right-hand top corner of shield to inner circle (Pl. XX, 7, 8).
 (b) No i.m., bust 2 or 3, open forks, Lombardic letters, stops, trefoils or sleeves (bust 3), usually a spur from top left- or right-hand corner of shield to inner circle (Pl. XX, 9, 10).

Edward VI

- (c) 1. Mules with rev. of Henry VIII; *obv.* bust 4, Roman letters, lozenge stops, *rev.* Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (spur at top right corner), sleeves or none (spur at top left corner of shield), open forks.
 2. Mule with *obv.* of Henry VIII; *obv.* bust 4, Lombardic letters, sleeve stops, *rev.* i.m. Lis, Roman letters, lozenge stops (spur at top left corner of shield), open forks (Pl. XX, 12).
 3. I.m. Lis on *obv.*, bust 4, Roman letters and lozenge stops both sides, spur at top left corner of shield, open forks (Pl. XX, 11).
 (d) No i.m., busts 5 and 6, crescent in forks (Pl. XX, 13), stops lozenges or pierced crosses with saltires (*E* for *Z*).
 (e) No i.m., busts 5 and 6, rose in forks (Pl. XX, 14), stops pierced crosses and saltires (*E* for *Z*), square or round pellets or on rev. none. One has Lombardic letters and perhaps an i.m. (*B.N.J.* xii, Pl. III, 3).

HALF-GROATS

Bust as no. 1 on groats or, on late coins of York, as no. 6 on groats.

Legends: *Henric 8 D G Agl* (*Ag, A*) *Fra* (*Fr, F*) *Z Hi* (b) *Rex* and *Posvi*, &c., or *Civitas London*, *Cantor*, or *Eboraci*; or *Redde civique*, &c.

TOWER (*Posvi*, &c.).

Henry VIII

I.m. Lis both sides, annulet in forks, Lombardic letters, trefoil or saltire stops (Pl. XXI, 1).

Edward VI. 1547-51, all with Roman letters and open forks.

- (a) I.m. Arrow. Variants:
 1. Edward's name and portrait, *Edward 6*, &c., lozenge stops (*B.N.J.* xii, Pl. v, 7); for *Civitas London* legend see Southwark.
 2. Henry's name and portrait, lozenge or pellet stops, i.m. both sides (Pl. XXI, 3) or on rev. only.
 (b) Mule *obv.* Arrow, square pellet stops, *rev.* K (Mr. R. C. Lockett, Pl. XXI, 4). I.m. K on rev. only, lozenge stops.
 (c) Mule, *obv.* Arrow, *rev.* Grapple (*B.N.J.* xii. 146).
 (d) I.m. Grapple both sides (R. Carlyon-Britton sale 206), or on rev. only, pellet stops (Pl. XXI, 5).

Mule, *Tower/Southwark*.

Obv. Arrow, *rev.* E, lozenge stops (Spink, *Num. Circ.*, Nov. 1910).

312 *The Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name*

SOUTHWARK (*Civitas London*).

Henry VIII

1. No i.m. S in forks, mixed letters, stops, trefoils (?).
2. No i.m., **Æ** in upper and lower, S in side forks, trefoil stops (**Pl. XXI, 2**).

Edward VI

1. I.m. Arrow both sides (*B.N.J.* xii, Pl. v, 8), Edward's name and portrait, lozenge stops, *Civitas London*.
2. I.m. E. Variants:
 - (a) Edward's name and portrait, open forks, lozenge stops (see Wheeler 324).
 - (b) Henry's name and portrait, i.m. E both sides, pierced cross stops, **Æ** for Z (**Pl. XXI, 8**).
 - (c) As (b), but i.m. on rev. only (**Pl. XXI, 6**).
 - (d) As (c), but lozenge stops (**Pl. XXI, 7**).
 - (e) I.m. E on rev., round pellet stops.
3. No i.m., Henry's name and portrait, stops, lozenges (**Pl. XXI, 9**), pierced crosses (R. Carlyon-Britton sale 200 (g)), or round pellets.

DURHAM HOUSE. *Henric 8 D G Agl Fra Z Hi Rex and Redd' Cuiq' Qd Svum Est*.

I.m. Bow on rev., bust as no. 1 on groats, stops, saltires, or on rev. none (**Pl. XXI, 10**).

CANTERBURY (*Civitas Cantor*). All have bust as no. 1 on groats.

Henry VIII

- (a) No i.m., Lombardic letters, saltire or trefoil stops, pierced cross-ends; *either* spur from shield to inner circle below 3rd quarter of shield (**Pl. XXI, 11, 12**), *or* pellet (*vice* spur) below 4th quarter of shield (**Pl. XXI, 13**).
- (b) No i.m., Lombardic or mixed letters, pierced cross-ends or open forks (no spur or pellet), stops saltires, trefoils, sleeves (**Pl. XXI, 14**), or none.

Edward VI

- (c) Lombardic or mixed letters, open forks, lozenge stops (**Pl. XXI, 15, 16**).
- (d) Edward's name and portrait, no i.m., *Edoard* and as variants, *Canton*, *Castor*, lozenge stops (**Pl. XXI, 9**).
- (e) Henry's name and portrait; no i.m., open forks, stops round pellets, or none (**Pl. XXI, 17**).
- (f) Henry's name, &c.; i.m. *t* on obv. or rev.; small neat letters, open forks, lozenge stops (**Pl. XXI, 18**).

YORK (*Civitas Eboraci*). Bust as groats no. 1 or no. 6.

Henry VIII

- (a) No i.m., Lombardic or mixed letters, pierced cross-ends or open forks, stops, saltires or trefoils, spur from top right or left corner of shield to inner circle (**Pl. XXI, 20, 21**).

Edward VI

- (b) No i.m., Roman letters, large with lozenge stops (**Pl. XXI, 22**) or small with pellet stops, open forks.
- (c) Bust as groats no. 6, smaller Roman letters, pellet stops, open forks (**Pl. XXI, 23**).

PENCE

Busts, either facing or on late coins "three-quarter" (as on groats 6); legends: *H D G Rosa Sine Spina* (*Spine*, *Spinis*, *Spini*), usually abbreviated, and *Civitas London*, *Cantor*, or *Eborac* (*i*). London coins with no i.m. may be either Tower or Southwark.

TOWER

Henry VIII

- (a) I.m. Lis both sides, facing bust, Lombardic letters, pierced cross-ends, stops saltires (P1. XXII, 1) or trefoils, or on rev. none.
Variant: A coin is recorded (Spink, *Num. Circ.*, Nov., 1910) with annulet on inner circle both sides and uncertain i.m.
- (b) No i.m., facing bust, Lombardic or mixed letters or on rev. Roman, pierced cross-ends or open forks, stops, trefoils, sleeves (P1. XXII, 5), or none. Some read *London*.

Edward VI

- (c) I.m. Arrow, coins with Edward's name and portrait, open forks, lozenge stops; *E D G Rosa*, &c. (P1. XXII, 6).
- (d) I.m. Arrow, Henry's name, &c., i.m. on obv. (P1. XXII, 7) or on rev. (P1. XXII, 8), facing bust, lozenge stops, open forks.
- (e) I.m. K on rev., facing bust, lozenge stops, open forks (P1. XXII, 9).
- (f) I.m. Grapple on obv. (P1. XXII, 10) or rev. (P1. XXII, 11), facing bust, open forks, stops square or round pellets, smaller letters.
- (g) No i.m., facing bust, large letters with lozenge stops or small letters with pellet stops (var. *Spini*, *Spinis*), open forks. A piedfort at B.M. with large letters weighs 16.3 grs.
- (h) No i.m., "three-quarter" bust, small letters, pellet stops (P1. XXII, 13).

SOUTHWARK

Henry VIII

- (a) I.m. S on obv., facing bust, chiefly Roman letters, trefoil stops, pierced cross-ends (P1. XXII, 2, Fitzwilliam Museum).
- (b) I.m. G on obv. (P1. XXII, 4, C. A. W.), sleeve stops and open forks, or on rev. (P1. XXII, 3), trefoil stops and pierced cross-ends; Lombardic or mixed letters.
- (c) I.m. E, coins with Edward's name and portrait, *E D G*, &c.
- (d) I.m. E, coins with Henry's facing bust, open forks, pellet stops (P1. XXII, 12).

DURHAM HOUSE. *H 8 D G Rosa*, &c., and *Red Cuiq Q S Est*; i.m. Bow (?) on rev., facing bust, square pellet stops, ornamental cross-ends (P1. XXII, 14).

CANTERBURY (*Civitas Cantor*).

Henry VIII

- (a) No i.m., facing bust, Lombardic letters, pierced cross-ends, spur below 3rd quarter of shield (P1. XXII, 15, 16, *Cantas*), or open forks and no spur, stops, saltires, trefoils, or sleeves.

Edward VI

- (b) No i.m., facing bust, Lombardic letters, lozenge stops.
- (c) No i.m., facing bust, Roman letters, either large with lozenge stops (P1. XXII, 17, some with Lombardic H), cross-ends patty or open forks, or small letters with pellet stops, open forks (P1. XXII, 18).
- (d) No i.m., "three-quarter" bust, small letters, pellet stops, open forks (P1. XXII, 19).

YORK (*Civitas Eboraci*).

Henry VIII

- (a) No i.m., facing bust, Lombardic or chiefly Roman letters (P1. XXII, 20), some with spur from right-hand top corner of shield to inner circle (spur, P1. XXII, 20, 21, without spur, *Eborac*, P1. XXII, 22), all with pierced cross-ends and saltire or trefoil stops; or with open forks and sleeve stops or none.

314 *The Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name*

- (b) No i.m., facing bust, either large Roman letters and lozenge stops (**P1. XXII, 23**), or none, or small Roman letters and pellet stops or none; all with open forks.
- (c) No i.m., "three-quarter" bust, small Roman letters and pellet stops, open forks (**P1. XXII, 24**).

HALFPENCE

Legends: *H D G Rosa Sine Spina* (abbrev.) and *Civitas London, Cantor, or Eborac(i)*; all reverses have cross and pellets. Southwark coins are indistinguishable.

TOWER

Henry VIII

- (a) I.m. Lis (**P1. XXII, 25**) or none, facing bust, Lombardic letters, trefoil stops, cross-ends patty, Annulet-with-pellet in centre of rev.; some read *London*.

Edward VI

- (b) I.m. uncertain, Edward's own name and portrait, *E 6 D G*, &c. (Wheeler 330, *ill.*).
- (c) No i.m., facing bust of Henry, Roman letters, pellet stops, cross-ends patty or open (**P1. XXII, 26**, with cross above arch of crown showing fortuitous resemblance to Lis).
- (d) I.m. Lis, "three-quarter" bust, recorded only in Montagu ii. 771; perhaps doubtful.

CANTERBURY (*Civitas Cantor*).

Henry VIII

- (a) No i.m., facing bust, Lombardic or mixed letters, stops, trefoils, saltires or none, cross-ends patty, some read *H 8*, &c.

Edward VI

- (b) No i.m., facing bust, Roman letters, stops, lozenges, pierced crosses, saltires, pellets or none, some read *H 8*, &c., cross-ends patty (**P1. XXII, 27, 28**).

YORK (*Civitas Eborac(i)*).

Henry VIII

- (a) No i.m., facing bust, mixed letters, trefoils stops, cross-ends patty.

Edward VI

- (b) No i.m., facing bust, Roman or mixed letters, lozenge or pellet stops, cross-ends patty or open, some read *Eborac* (**P1. XXII, 29**).

PART 4. THE BRISTOL MINT UNDER HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI

The Bristol coins of this period are treated separately for two reasons: first, because, with few exceptions, they show a marked difference from those of other mints, and secondly, because, unlike other provincial mints, Bristol struck both gold and silver.

The history of the Bristol mint under Henry VIII and Edward VI has been recorded by the late Henry Symonds in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1911, p. 331. The same writer made further reference to the subject in his account of the Irish coinage of this period (*ibid.*, 1915, p. 207), and again in the *British Numismatic Journal*, x. p. 134 and xi. p. 123). The Bristol mint probably opened in April 1546 and remained in operation until October 1549. Presumably, therefore, all

Bristol gold is of 20 ct. and the silver 4 oz. fine. The mint accounts extend nominally until Lady Day 1550, the formal reckoning day for the closure of the accounts, but the last six months were occupied with the winding up of the work; by January 1550 the mint was already dissolved and the workmen either discharged or transferred to London.¹

Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547, with the mint in full production, and it is not possible to draw a clear dividing line between the last Bristol coins of Henry and the first coins of Edward VI. The Master, William Sharington, or as he is styled in the Bristol documents the Under-treasurer, struck precisely similar coins under both kings, and placed his monogram WS as initial mark on all coins large enough to receive it, that is, on all coins save pence and halfpence.

The supposition that Sharington struck coins after Henry's death is not based on inference alone. Early in 1549, as already noted, Sharington was taxed with certain irregularities in his work at the mint, whereupon he admitted, among other derelictions, that during May, June, and July 1547 (some six months after Henry's death) he had coined testoons "to a great sum" in defiance of the prohibition against striking such pieces. No doubt other denominations were also struck.

In February 1549 Sharington was replaced in his office by Thomas Chamberlain, who for some time probably continued to use the irons of his predecessor, including the i.m. WS. His own coins, the groats and half-groats bearing the monogram TC, Henry Symonds supposes to have been struck between May and October 1549. Apart from this initial mark the coins are substantially the same as Sharington's.

Chamberlain also issued certain shillings with monogram TC² as initial mark dated 1549 and bearing the name of Edward VI. These too have reasonably been assigned to Bristol, although they show no mint name; but documentary evidence exists establishing a commission authorizing Chamberlain to strike shillings of 6 oz. fine.³ The new term "shilling" is of some importance; it represents an attempt to escape the obloquy attaching to the baser testoons and the illicit copies of them.

Lastly there are the rare Bristol pence and halfpence with Edward's name and portrait, and these also were perhaps struck by Chamberlain in 1549, though bearing no monogram or initial mark. In any case it is clear that after Henry's death in January 1547 Bristol coins were issued in both Henry's and Edward's name. The coins show, moreover, that Edward's order of February 1550 to recoin old testoons into smaller coins with the "hole face and inscription of our most dear late father" had been anticipated at least at Bristol, and indeed suggests, as Symonds also does,⁴ that the order of 1550 merely regularized a widely accepted *fait accompli*.

¹ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xi. 140.

² This monogram should be distinguished from the fortuitous combination on some shillings of a small *t* struck seemingly over G; this G is unknown as an independent mark.

³ *Brit. Num. Journ.* xi. 140.

⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 346.

The organization of the Bristol mint was from the outset remarkable in one respect. It included the appointment of a special die-engraver, whose name we know was Giles Evenet. Hitherto all dies, wherever the coins were to be struck, had been engraved in London. But though Evenet designed the bulk of the Bristol dies, some of them continued to be produced by the engraver at London. Evenet's lettering is probably represented by the picturesque Lombardic fount which in several styles and adorned with an exuberant variety of stops is found on almost all Bristol coins. A few dies, however, in most denominations show the lettering and stops of the normal London coins. These London-made dies are all rather scarce, and their continued issue until Henry's death and even afterwards is puzzling. It may be that the issue of dies from London was not wholly for the benefit of Bristol, but was an assertion of the London engraver's intention to maintain the full privileges of his appointment. It may be added that the Irish harp groats struck at Bristol with Sharington's monogram during this period also similarly reveal the work of two different engravers, Evenet of Bristol and the London official.

The elaborate Lombardic fount which was probably the work of Evenet I have called "Bristol lettering"; the Lombardic letters which resemble those of the London coins I have called "London lettering". All coins with London lettering which include the English title preserve the London spelling *Agl* or *Aglie*; Evenet restores the N and always writes *Ang(l)* or *Anglie*. Some coins, generally with London lettering, read *Bristoli*. Another, a penny, reads *Bristole* and is unusual in showing Roman lettering and was probably struck by Edward VI; a variety of it shows Evenet's lettering on obverse.

Indeed, once the London-made dies reached Bristol they were combined indiscriminately with Evenet's own dies. A testoon and a groat are illustrated (Pl. XXIII, 9 and Pl. XXIV, 2) showing London and Bristol lettering on either side, while two of the crowns (Pl. XXIII, 4 and 5) show the same reverse die combined, first with an obverse of London lettering, and then with one of Evenet's dies. Evenet clearly worked, moreover, for both Sharington and Chamberlain, for his handiwork is visible on coins with both their monograms WS and TC. Indeed documentary evidence confirms this.¹ All groats and half-groats of Evenet's work also show his version of the fashionable query-shaped abbreviation mark after the king's name; they include perhaps the only groats and half-groats of Edward VI to show this mark. At other mints a comma is used by Edward for this purpose.

It has already been remarked² that all the groats and half-groats with Bristol lettering have a very small pellet in the field below the third or lower left-hand quarter of the shield on the reverse (the Irish groats have a pellet beside the harp also). On the testoons the pellet is placed below and to left of the large rose on the reverse. Some dies of the crowns have the pellet below the rose or the shield but others,

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1911, p. 341.

² By Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton, *Brit. Num. Journ.* xxiv. 32.

and all half-crown dies, omit it. Evenet's groats and half-groats also have a pellet at about "5 o'clock" on the inner circle of the reverse. Evenet also designed his own busts, varying slightly on the groats but apparently uniform on the half-groats; the penny shows head and shoulders and the halfpenny a small facing head. On the groats with London lettering two London busts were used, nos. 2 and 3; on the half-groats the bust with fur collar and on the penny the facing bust.

The coins struck at Bristol include: *gold*: of Henry VIII, sovereign, half-sovereign, crown, and half-crown; of Edward VI, sovereign, crown, and half-crown; *silver*: of both kings, testoon, groat, half-groat, penny, and halfpenny; and in addition, portrait pieces in Edward's name, the shilling of 1549 (i.m. TC, **Pl. XXIV, 16**) and the penny (**Pl. XXIV, 15**) and halfpenny (Brooke, *English Coins*, Pl. XL, 16). Some of these portrait pieces, though strictly beyond the scope of this paper, are illustrated here for the sake of completeness.

Sovereigns

Some of these are difficult to classify. Bristol sovereign dies show two entirely different styles. Both were produced for Sharington and bear his monogram WS, though neither reveals the handiwork of Evenet. One of them shows almost the same Lombardic lettering and workmanship as, and so is probably contemporary with, London sovereigns with i.m. Lis or Annulet-with-pellet, and these coins can safely be assigned to the early Bristol period as being struck in Henry's lifetime (**Pl. XXIII, 1**). The other type of sovereign has Roman letters and rosette stops (**Pl. XXIII, 3**). Brooke assigns these partly to the same period and partly to that of Edward's First Coinage. They seem out of place in Henry's reign, for it does not seem likely that dies of such importance and costliness and two such totally different styles would be contemporary products from the London engraver's workshop. I have already explained why I think the Bristol sovereigns with Roman letters and rosette stops can be exclusively reserved to the First Coinage of Edward VI. The rosette stops can be matched by those on some of the profile gold in Edward's own name, and the lettering and other details by that on undoubted pieces of Edward VI. Nevertheless, these sovereigns, and the Lis-marked London sovereigns which resemble them (**Pl. VI, 1-3**), remain something of an enigma and indeed all, as Brooke thought possible, may have been struck at Bristol. One curious feature of the coins with i.m. WS is the wide divergence in their weight. A coin at the British Museum weighs 196.4 grs. (wrongly given by Kenyon, Evans, and Grueber as 199.5 grs.), and Mr. Fred Baldwin has exhibited one to the Society weighing 195 grs.; another at the Museum weighs 185 grs., but another in a private collection is as low as 172 grs.

Half-sovereigns

Only one pair of dies is known. They are of rather rough work and show London Lombardic letters and trefoil stops; and like the

corresponding sovereign have the i.m. WS on the obverse only (Pl. XXIII, 2). Evenet's lettering is unknown on a half-sovereign.

Crowns

On all coins the crown above rose or shield is decorated with a central leaf and two fleurs-de-lis. A few coins of poor workmanship show London Lombardic lettering and trefoil stops (Pl. XXIII, 4), but most coins, and they are fairly plentiful, show Evenet's work; the dies showing the two types are also muled (Pl. XXIII, 4 and 5, same reverse die). Evenet's dies are remarkable not only for their fine, if somewhat precious, lettering but for their elaborate stops, the legend being freely interspersed with different shapes and sizes of roses, lis, trefoils, crosses as well as saltires, annulets, and pellets. There seems to be no discernible theme in their arrangement. The i.m. WS is usually placed on the reverse only, but rarely on the obverse also. The earlier coins show a barred London-type A, the later a Bristol-type A. A few coins show the Roman numeral VIII, but most of them have the Arabic 8, some of the latter reading *Henricus* in full. All coins omit *Rutilans*. Some dies show a small pellet below the rose on obverse and below the shield on reverse. Some crowns and half-crowns were perhaps struck under Chamberlain, but they cannot be distinguished from Sharnington's.

Half-crowns

The crown over rose or shield shows a cross patty and two fleurs-de-lis. All coins apparently show Evenet's lettering in a smaller fount. The stops are less elaborate and seem uniform, being saltires on obverse and pellets on reverse. The i.m. WS is now on the obverse and the legends show the same transposition as the London coins, the rose-type obverse reading *Rutilans Rosa*, &c., and the shield-type reverse *Henric 8*, &c. Perhaps for lack of space the pellet below the rose and shield is omitted. I have seen only Lombardic A on these coins; this and their comparative scarcity may suggest that their issue was early discontinued.

Testoons

Both London and Bristol lettering are found on these coins and the two are sometimes combined (Pl. XXIII, 9). The London-made dies show trefoil stops and record the spelling *Bristoli*. Evenet's dies show the crown over rose on reverse decorated with an elaborate leaf instead of the cross patty. They also have the usual elaborate lettering and stops and include the small pellet below the rose. A perhaps early die shows the abnormal spelling *Bristollie* (Pl. XXIII, 9); the normal spelling has one L.

Groats

Dies are again found with both Bristol and London lettering. The scarce London dies have trefoil or sleeve stops with open cross-ends; some again reading *Bristoli*. The i.m. WS is on the reverse only, but

one London-made obverse (Pl. XXIV, 2) shows the H of *Henric* apparently struck over WS. On Evenet's dies the lettering and stops closely follow the pattern of the crowns. In the forks there are usually either annulets, lis, or trefoils, and below the third quarter of the shield there is a small pellet; also, as noted above, a pellet on the inner circle. But early reverse dies of Evenet's, like those made at London, show open forks and rather different lettering and stops, e.g. an unbarred A and a small rose in the legend. They also omit, like the London-made dies, the pellet below the shield, and the diamond stops are unusual (Pl. XXIV, 2, rev.).

The coins with i.m. TC have a slightly different bust but are otherwise similar to those with WS; they have trefoils in the fork and the usual pellets on the reverse.

Half-groats

The crown ornaments on all Bristol groats and half-groats are a cross patty and two fleurs-de-lis. Most coins are struck from Evenet's dies. The stops are chiefly pellets or saltires, but there is an occasional cross, lis, or trefoil in the legend. A few scarce coins, however, are struck from London-made dies and have trefoil stops and again include the reading *Bristoli*. The initial mark again appears on the reverse only; those with WS have lis quatrefoils or trefoils in one of the forks but sometimes have open cross-ends. I have seen no half-groats with annulets in the forks, but contrariwise quatrefoils in the forks seems to occur on half-groats only. The coins with i.m. TC, not mentioned by Brooke, have trefoils or no mark in the forks but are otherwise similar. Evenet's but not the London-made dies show pellets on the reverse like groats.

Pence

The coin with Roman letters of London make has been mentioned. Lombardic letters of London style are also known, with sleeve stops, but most dies are of Evenet's work and insert the numeral thus: *He 8 D G*, &c., and show a variety of elaborate stops. Some, but not all, have trefoils in the forks on the reverse. The initial mark is omitted; it was wrongly given as WS by Brooke. The pellet below the shield is likewise absent.

Halfpence

This piece was not included by Brooke in *English Coins* in 1932, but had been recorded in the *Numismatic Circular* in May 1909, and has since appeared in the Longbottom sale, 232 (Sotheby, May 1934). Mr. Carlyon-Britton had another. The reverse shows a cross and pellets and reads *Bristoli*, and the dies are by Evenet (Pl. XXIV, 14).

Of the portrait coins in Edward's name the pence and halfpence clearly show the characteristics of Evenet's work, especially the fine Lombardic lettering, but the lettering on the shilling is apparently the same as that on the Tower shillings. Yet these Bristol shillings do

show an echo of Evenet's exuberance. In the legend on either side is placed, as on many Bristol groats, an ornamental rose. This occurs on no other profile shilling.

LISTS

All coins of Henry VIII have Lombardic lettering; either the "London lettering" of contemporary London coins, or the "Bristol lettering" of Giles Evenet; the former are exclusively Henry VIII's, the latter are shared also by Edward VI. All gold is 20 ct. fine; all silver is 4 oz. fine, save the shillings of Edward VI which are 6 oz. fine.

HENRY VIII (1546-7)

Sovereign. As London sovereign II (B), small module; i.m. WS on obv. only. Wt. 192 grs. *Obv.* King seated, holding sceptre and orb, on a throne with pillars adorned with birds; a rose at his feet; *rev.* crowned shield with supporters, HR (monogram) below; London Lombardic lettering but Roman E and R; trefoil stops. (Pl. XXIII, 1.)

Henric 8 Di Gra Agl Franci Z Hiber Rex.

Ihs Avtem Transiens per Medium Illorv Ibat.

Half-sovereign. Wt. 96 grs. Similar to sovereign; i.m. WS on obv. only, similar lettering but all Lombardic letters, trefoil stops (Pl. XXIII, 2).

Henric 8 D G Agl Francie Z Hib Rex.

Ihs Avt Transiens Per Medi Illor Ibat.

Crown. Wt. 48 grs. *Obv.* Crowned rose with h R both crowned, king's name and titles, *rev.* crowned shield with h R crowned, Rutilans omitted.

1. London Lombardic lettering, i.m. WS on rev., trefoil stops (Pl. XXIII, 4, same rev. die as Pl. XXIII, 5).

Obv. Henric 8 Rosa Sine Spine.

Rev. Dei Gra Aglie Fra Z Hib Rex.

2. Bristol lettering; i.m. WS on rev., rarely on obv. also, stops, pellets, varied by annulets, saltires, trefoils, crosses, lis, or roses.

Obv. Henric VIII or 8 (Henricus 8) Rosa Sine Spine (Spina).

Rev. Dei Gra Angl Franc (D G Anglie Fra) Z Hib Rex.

Variants: 1. I.m. WS on obv.; rev. from same die as Pl. XXIII, 4, with London lettering (Pl. XXIII, 5).

2. *Henricus* (Pl. XXIII, 6).

3. Pellet below rose and shield (Pl. XXIII, 6).

4. Rh beside shield (Pl. XXIII, 7).

Half-crown. Wt. 24 grs. As Crown but with Bristol lettering only; letters HR on both sides are uncrowned; i.m. WS on obv. only (showing crowned rose); stops *obv.* saltires, *rev.* pellets (Pl. XXIII, 8).

Obv. Rutilans Rosa Sine Spi.

Rev. (Crowned shield) Henric 8 D G Ang Fr Z Hib Rex.

Testoon. Wt. 120 grs.; i.m. WS on rev. only.

1. London Lombardic lettering (Pl. XXIII, 9, obv.), stops, trefoils:

Obv. Henric 8 D G Agl Fra Z Hib. Rex.

Rev. Civitas Bristol(e).

2. Bristol lettering (Pl. XXIII, 10 and 9, rev.), stops, pellets varied by roses, lis, crosses, trefoils, &c.; pellet below rose on rev.

Obv. Henric 8 D G Ang Franc Z Hib Rex.

Rev. Civitas Bristol(e) (Bristol, Bristollie, Pl. XXIII, 9).

Groat. Wt. 40 grs.; i.m. WS on rev.

1. London lettering; busts 2 and 3; stops, trefoils or sleeves, nothing in forks (PI. XXIV, 1 and 2, obv.).
Obv. *Henric 8 D G Agl Fra Z Hib Rex.*
Rev. *Civitas Bristolie*.
2. Bristol lettering; stops, lozenges (PI. XXIV, 2, rev.), or pellets, varied by crosses, trefoils, lis, roses, &c.; pellet below 3rd quarter of shield and on inner circle; in forks either no mark (PI. XXIV, 2, rev.), annulets (PI. XXIV, 3), lis (PI. XXIV, 5), or trefoils (PI. XXIV, 4).
Obv. *Henric 8 D G Ang(l) Fra Z Hib Rex.*
Rev. *Civitas Bristolie*.

Half-groat. Wt. 20 grs. I.m. WS on rev. only.

1. London lettering; trefoil stops, with a trefoil (?) in forks (PI. XXIV, 7).
Obv. *Henric 8 D G Agl Fr Z Hib Rex.*
Rev. *Civitas Bristolie*.
2. Bristol lettering; stops, pellets, with quatrefoils, crosses, or trefoils in legend; in forks, lis, trefoils, quatrefoils or nothing; pellet below 3rd quarter of shield and on inner circle (PI. XXIV, 8, 9).
Obv. *Henric 8 D G Ang Fra Z Hib Re(x).*
Rev. *Civitas Bristolie*.

Penny. Wt. 10 grs. I.m. none.

1. London bust and London Lombardic lettering, Roman N, sleeve stops (obv. only, none on rev.); open forks (PI. XXIV, 11).
Obv. *H D G Rosa Sine Spine.*
Rev. *Civitas Bristolie*.
2. Bristol lettering; stops, pellets or saltires, with trefoils, quatrefoils, or crosses in legend; in forks, trefoils or nothing (PI. XXIV, 12, 13).
Obv. *He 8 D G Rosa Sine Spina, Spine, Spna*; one die omits *Sine*.
Rev. *Civitas Bristolie*.

Halfpenny. Wt. 5 grs. I.m. none (?), Bristol lettering, pellet stops; double leaf in forks on rev. which has cross and three pellets in each quarter (PI. XXIV, 14).

Obv. . . . *G Rosa Sine Spin.* . . .
Rev. *Civitas Bristolie*.

EDWARD VI (1547-9)

Sovereign. Similar to London sovereigns of Edward VI (i.m. Lis with feelers) in Henry's name. Wt. 192 grs. (Jan. 1547-Jan. 1549). I.m. WS both sides; Roman lettering; rosette stops (PI. XXIII, 3).

Obv. *Henric Dei Gra Agl Fran Z Hib Rex.*
Rev. *Ihs Avtem Transiens Per Medium Illor Ibat.*

Crowns and Half-crowns. As the coins of Henry VIII.

Testoon. Wt. 120 grs. (Jan. 1547-Jan. 1549 (?)). As testoon of Henry VIII, i.m. WS on rev.

Shilling. Wt. 80 grs.; 6 oz. fine (May-June 1549). I.m. TC obv., profile portrait of Edward, rev., garnished shield with ER; lozenge stops with roses in legends; Roman letters, dated 1549 (PI. XXIV, 16, Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton).

Obv. *Edward VI D G Agl Fra Z Hib Rex.*
Rev. *Timor Domini Fons Vite Mdxlix.*

Groat. Wt. 40 grs.

1. (Jan. 1547–Jan. 1549), as groat of Henry VIII, i.m. WS on rev.
2. (Jan.–Oct. 1549), similar to groats of Henry VIII, but with i.m. TC on rev.; Bristol lettering, pellet stops but roses, quatrefoils, &c., in legend; pellet below 3rd quarter of shield and on inner circle; trefoils in forks (**Pl. XXIV, 6**).

Obv. *Henric 8 D G Ang Fra Z Hib Rex.*

Rev. *Civitas Bristolie.*

Half-groat. Wt. 20 grs.

1. (Jan. 1547–Jan. 1549), as half-groats of Henry VIII; i.m. WS on rev.
2. (Jan.–Oct. 1549), similar to half-groats of Henry VIII, but i.m. TC on rev.; Bristol lettering; stops, pellets on obv., none on rev., quatrefoils or trefoils in legend; trefoils or nothing in forks; pellet below 3rd quarter of shield and on inner circle (**Pl. XXIV, 10**).

Obv. *Henric 8 D G Ang Fr Z Hib Rex.*

Rev. *Civitas Bristolie.*

Penny

1. Wt. 10 grs. (c. 1547–8). No i.m., London bust, Roman letters, lozenge stops; also muled with an obv. of Evenet's.

Obv. *H D G Rosa Sine Spi.*

Rev. *Civitas Bristolie.* (*B.N.J.* xii, Pl. II, 12.)

2. Wt. 10 grs. (Jan.–Oct. 1549). I.m. none; profile portrait, Bristol lettering; stops, pellets or saltires with trefoil or quatrefoil in legend; trefoils in forks.

Obv. *E(D) 6 D G Rosa Sin(e) Spin(a).*

Rev. *Civitas Bristolie* (**Pl. XXIV, 15**).

Halfpenny. Wt. 5 grs. (Jan.–Oct. 1549). I.m. none; profile portrait, rev. type, cross and pellets; Bristol lettering; stops, pellets or saltires; double leaf in forks.

Obv. *E 6 D G Rosa Sie Spin.*

Rev. *Civitas Bristolie.* (*English Coins*, Pl. xI, 16.)

KEY TO THE PLATES

PLATE I. Sovereigns, obverses, First and Second Coinages.

1. Sovereign of Henry VII, *obv.* i.m. Lis, *rev.* i.m. Crosslet.
2. False Ryal of Henry VIII, a contemporary foreign (?) imitation.
- O1a. *Obv.* of 1st Coinage, i.m. Portcullis.
- O1b. *Obv.* of 2nd Coinage, i.m. Sunburst over Portcullis, same die as O1a.
- O1c. " " i.m. Lis over Sunburst (i), same die as O1a.
- O2. " " i.m. Lis, new die.
- O1d. " " i.m. Lis over Sunburst (ii), same die as O1a, but reconstructed.
- O1e. *Obv.* of 2nd Coinage, as O1d, but cross over orb of crown tooled (?).

PLATE II. Sovereigns, reverses, First and Second Coinages.

- R1. *Rev.* of 1st Coinage, i.m. Portcullis, 1st die, *Transiens*, E unbroken.
- R2. " " i.m. Portcullis, 2nd die, *Transiens*, E broken.
- R3a. " " i.m. Portcullis, 3rd die, *Transiens*, E broken.
- R3b. *Rev.* of 2nd Coinage, i.m. Sunburst over Portcullis, same die as R3a.
- R3c. " " i.m. Lis over Sunburst, same die as R3a.
- R4. " " i.m. Lis, new die A, large saltires in spandrels.
- R5. " " i.m. Lis, new die B, small " "
- R6. " " i.m. Lis, new die C, saltires in spandrels partly erased, perhaps die B altered.
- R7. " " i.m. Arrow die A, double tressure.
- R8. " " i.m. Arrow die B, single tressure.

PLATE III. Sovereigns, Third Coinage.

- A. *Obv.* i.m. Lis, Class I, 200 grs., 23 ct., large module, saltire stops.
- B. *Obv.* i.m. Lis, *either* Class IIa, 200 grs., 23 ct., small module, trefoil stops; *Angl*; *or* (same die) Class IIb, 192 grs., 22 ct.
- C. *Obv.* i.m. Lis, Class IIb, 192 grs., 20 (?) ct., small module, sleeve stops; *Agl*.
- D. *Obv.* i.m. Annulet-with-pellet, Class IIb, 192 grs., 22 (?) ct., trefoil stops; *Agl*; Roman E and R.
- E. *Obv.* i.m. S, Class IIb, 192 grs., 22 (?) ct., trefoil stops; *Agl*; Roman E and R.
 - a. *Rev.* i.m. Lis, Class I, 200 grs., 23 ct., large module, saltire stops.
 - b. „ „ *either* Class IIa, 200 grs., 23 ct., small module, trefoil stops; *or* (same die) Class IIb, 192 grs., 22 ct. Roman M, *Transiens* [sic].
 - c. *Rev.* i.m. Lis, similar in all respects to b but reads *Transiens*.
 - d. *Rev.* i.m. Lis, similar to b and c but Roman E and new Roman M; new trefoil stops; 192 grs. and 22 ct. only; *Transiens*.
 - e. *Rev.* i.m. Lis, Class IIb, 192 grs., 20 (?) ct., sleeve stops; Roman R.
 - f. *Rev.* i.m. S, Class IIb, 192 grs., 22 (?) ct.; same lettering and stops as d, but reads *Transiens*.
 - g. *Rev.* i.m. Θ with Θ below shield, Class IIb, 192 grs., 20 (?) ct., sleeve stops and same lettering as e.

PLATE IV. Half-sovereigns (i), Henry VIII.

1. I.m. Lis, Class IIa, 100 grs., 23 ct., small Roman letters, small saltire stops, ET for Z.
2. I.m. ☉, Class IIb, 96 grs., 22 ct., *obv.* small Roman letters, small saltire stops, ET for Z; *rev.* large Roman letters, trefoil stops.
3. I.m. ☉, Class IIb, 96 grs., 22 ct., similar to 2 but small saltire stops both sides, and Z.
4. I.m. ☉, similar to 3 but Lombardic S on reverse.
5. I.m. ☉, similar to 4 but new mixed lettering, *obv.* small saltire stops, *rev.* trefoils.
6. I.m. ☉, similar to 5 but trefoil stops both sides.
7. I.m. ☉, Class IIb, 96 grs., 22 ct., larger mixed lettering, saltire stops both sides.
8. I.m. ☉, large mixed lettering, trefoil stops, 22 (?) ct., similar to 7.
9. I.m. ☉, Class IIb, 96 grs., 20 ct., annulet on inner circle (*obv.*), Lombardic letters, trefoil stops.
10. I.m. ☉, similar to 9, annulet on inner circle; another die.
11. I.m. ☉, similar to 10, but no annulet and sleeve stops.

PLATE V. Half-sovereigns (ii), Henry VIII and Edward VI.

1. I.m. S, Class IIb, 96 grs., 22 ct., small Roman letters, trefoil stops, cf. **Pl. IV, 5** and **6**; no letter below shield.
2. I.m. S, Class IIb, large mixed letters, Roman M, trefoil stops, 22 (?) ct.; no letter below shield.
3. I.m. S, similar to 2, but Lombardic M.
4. I.m. S, with Θ below shield, Class IIb, 20 (?) ct., large mixed letters, *obv.* trefoil stops, *rev.* saltires.
5. I.m. S, with Θ below shield, similar to 4, but *obv.* saltires, *rev.* trefoils.
6. I.m. S, with Θ below shield, similar to 5, but Lombardic letters and trefoil stops.
7. I.m. *obv.* S, *rev.* Θ, with Θ below shield, Class IIb, 20 ct., *obv.* mixed letters, saltire stops, *rev.* Lombardic letters, sleeve stops.
8. I.m. Θ, with Θ below shield, Class IIb, 20 ct., Lombardic letters, sleeve stops.
9. I.m. Θ, with Θ below shield, Class IIb, 20 ct., *obv.* Roman letters and lozenge stops, *rev.* Lombardic letters, sleeve stops.
10. Mule with *rev.* of Edward VI; i.m. *obv.* Θ trefoil stops, Lombardic letters, *rev.* i.m. E (over Arrow) with E below shield, Roman letters, lozenge stops.
11. Edward VI, i.m. Arrow, name of Henry, lozenge stops, same *rev.* die as 12.
12. Edward VI, i.m. Arrow, name of Edward, lozenge stops, same *rev.* die as 11.

324 *The Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name*

PLATE VI. Sovereign and Half-sovereigns (iii), 20 ct., Edward VI, all in Henry's name.

1. *Obv.* of sovereign, i.m. "Lis with feelers", Roman letters, rosette stops, 192 grs.
- 2, 3. *Revs.* of sovereign, i.m. "Lis with feelers"; *Tranciens* (one die with C over S).
4. Half-sovereign, *obv.* arrow, *rev.* ☉ (Henry VIII, Lombardic letters, sleeve stops).
5. " i.m. Arrow, lozenge stops, 96 grs.
6. " i.m. Arrow, stops, pierced crosses and saltires, *Angl*, *Ʒ* for Z.
7. " i.m. K on *rev.*, with K below shield, lozenge stops.
8. " no i.m., but K below shield, same *obv.* die as no. 9, lozenge stops.
9. " no i.m., but grapple below shield, same *obv.* die as no. 8, stops, *obv.* lozenges, *rev.* pellets.
10. " i.m. Grapple both sides, with grapple below shield, pellet stops.
11. " i.m. Martlet both sides, pellet stops.
12. " *obv.* Martlet, *rev.* Lis, pellet stops (Fitzwilliam Museum).
13. " i.m. Lis both sides, pellet stops.

PLATE VII. Half-sovereigns (iv), Edward VI.

1. I.m. E over Arrow (*rev.* only), name of Henry, same *rev.* die as 2.
2. I.m. E both sides (over Arrow on *rev.*), name of Edward, same *rev.* die as 1.
3. I.m. E on *rev.*, with *Ʒ* Lombardic below shield.
4. I.m. E on *rev.*, E Roman below shield.
5. I.m. E (broken, like square C) on *rev.* and same E in legend and below shield.
6. I.m. E both sides and E reversed below shield, reading *Dei Gra*, with small neat lettering on *rev.* (cf. **Pl. VI, 7**, with i.m. K).
7. I.m. E over Arrow (*rev.* only); *obv.* pierced cross stops, *Angl* and *Ʒ* for Z (obscure).
8. I.m. E both sides, on *rev.* over a stop or Arrow (?); nothing below shield.
9. I.m. E both sides, E below shield, large round pellet stops.
10. I.m. E on *rev.* only, E below shield, pellet stops, no sceptre.

PLATE VIII. Crowns (i), 1526-44.

1. Crown of the Rose, i.m. Rose.
 2. Crown of the Double Rose, i.m. Rose, HK on *obv.*, mixed letters *obv.* and *rev.*
 3. " " " i.m. Rose " " " " on *obv.*
 4. " " " i.m. Rose " " " " on *rev.*
 5. " " " i.m. Rose " " " Lombardic letters only.
 6. " " " *obv.* Rose, *rev.* Lis, HK both sides.
 7. " " " i.m. Lis, HK both sides, Roman N on *obv.*
 8. " " " i.m. Lis " " " Roman N on *rev.*, *Agl*.
 9. " " " i.m. Lis " " " Lombardic letters, *Aglie*.
 10. " " " i.m. Arrow (on *obv.* over Lis), HK both sides.
 11. " " " i.m. Arrow, *obv.* HK, *rev.* HA.
 12. " " " i.m. Arrow, *obv.* HA, *rev.* HK.
 13. " " " i.m. Arrow, HA both sides.
 14. " " " i.m. Arrow, *obv.* HK, *rev.* HI.
 15. " " " i.m. Arrow, HI both sides.
 16. " " " i.m. Arrow, *obv.* HR, *rev.* HI.
 17. " " " i.m. Arrow, HR both sides.
 18. " " " i.m. Pheon, HR both sides, reading *Hib Rex*.
- (For *obv.* HA, *rev.* HR, i.m. Arrow, see p. 173.)

PLATE IX. Crowns (ii), 1544-51; Half-crowns, 1526-9 (?).

1. I.m. ☉, trefoil stops, Lombardic letters but HR both sides; 22 (?) ct.; neater work.
2. I.m. ☉, trefoil stops, *Rutilans* omitted, annulet on inner circle; hR both sides.
3. I.m. ☉, trefoil stops, *Rutilans* omitted.
4. I.m. ☉, sleeve stops, *Rutilans* omitted.

5. I.m. S both sides, trefoil stops, *Rutilans* omitted (Ashmolean Museum), hR both sides.
6. I.m. G both sides, trefoil stops, *Rutilans* omitted.
7. I.m. *obv.* E, *rev.* S, stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* saltires (Roman letters).
8. Edward VI, i.m. Arrow both sides, Roman letters, lozenge stops.
9. „ i.m. Arrow (*rev.* only), legends transposed, King's numeral omitted, pellet stops.
10. *Obv.* Edward VI, i.m. Arrow, ER in field, *rev.* Henry VIII, i.m. O.
11. Edward VI, i.m. K, both sides, lozenge stops (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
12. „ i.m. Grapple both sides (?), pellet stops; D G, &c.
13. „ i.m. Martlet both sides, pellet stops.
14. „ i.m. E both sides, legends transposed, pellet stops (Baldwin).
15. Henry VIII, Half-crown, i.m. Rose, no initials in field, same *rev.* die as next, mixed letters both sides.
16. Henry VIII, Half-crown, i.m. Rose, HK on *obv.*, same *rev.* die as last, mixed letters on *rev.*

PLATE X. Half-crowns, 1529-51. (Type, *obv.* Rose, *rev.* Shield.)

1. I.m. *obv.* Rose, *rev.* Lis (over Rose), HK both sides.
2. I.m. Lis, HK both sides, Roman N on *rev.*
3. I.m. Lis „ „ all Lombardic letters.
4. I.m. Arrow (on *rev.* over Lis, same *rev.* die as no. 3), HK both sides.
5. I.m. Arrow, HI both sides; I with pellets on *obv.*
6. I.m. Arrow, HI „ „ „ „ *rev.*
7. I.m. Pheon, HR „ „ reading *Hib Rex*.
8. I.m. O, neat work, trefoil stops, 22 ct.
9. I.m. O, coarser work, stops, *obv.* trefoils (Roman N), *rev.* saltires.
10. I.m. O, stops, *obv.* trefoils, *rev.* sleeves.
11. I.m. O, trefoil stops, annulet on inner circle.
12. I.m. O, Roman letters, lozenge stops.
13. I.m. S, Roman letters, trefoil stops.
14. I.m. G, legends transposed, *Rutilans* omitted.
15. Edward VI, i.m. *obv.* O, *rev.* Arrow, Roman letters, lozenge stops both sides.
16. „ i.m. Arrow, *rev.* H. D G Rosa, &c., *obv.* lozenges, *rev.* pellets.
17. „ i.m. Arrow inverted, saltire stops, T for Z, hR both sides.
18. „ i.m. Arrow, lozenge stops, ER in field.
19. „ i.m. K (*obv.*), lozenge stops.
20. „ i.m. Grapple (*obv.*), square pellet stops.
21. „ i.m. Martlet both sides, pellet stops.
22. „ i.m. E (*obv.*), HR both sides, pellet stops.

PLATE XI. Angels.

1. First Coinage, i.m. Pheon.
2. „ „ i.m. Castle with pellet, both sides.
3. „ „ i.m. Castle both sides.
4. „ „ *obv.* i.m. Castle with towers, *rev.* Castle with saltires.
5. „ „ i.m. Portcullis (with saltire on *obv.*).
6. „ „ i.m. Portcullis, countermarked with arms of Zeeland.
7. „ „ i.m. Portcullis, rose omitted on *rev.*
8. Second Coinage, i.m. Sunburst, unique (?).
9. „ „ i.m. Lis.
10. Third Coinage, i.m. Lis, reading *Hib Rex*, no annulet by halo or on ship, saltire stops.
11. „ „ i.m. Lis, reading *Hib Rex*, annulet by halo and on ship, saltire stops.

326 *The Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name*

12. Third Coinage, i.m. Lis, reading *Hib Rex*, annulet by halo but not on ship, stops, slipped trefoils, resembling saltires.
13. „ „ i.m. Lis, reading *Hib Rex*, annulet by halo and on ship, stops, slipped trefoils.

PLATE XII. Half-angels, George Nobles, and Half-George Noble.

1. First Coinage, i.m. Castle, King's numeral omitted.
2. „ „ *obv.* i.m. Castle with pellet, *rev.* Castle.
3. „ „ i.m. Castle.
4. „ „ i.m. Castle with towers both sides.
5. „ „ *obv.* i.m. Portcullis, *rev.* i.m. Rose, a die of Henry VII.
6. „ „ i.m. Portcullis, King's numeral omitted.
7. „ „ i.m. Portcullis.
8. Second Coinage, i.m. Lis, the only two dies known, same *rev.* die as next.
9. Third Coinage, i.m. Lis, reading *Hib Rex* (and *He'ric*), *obv.* saltire stops, *rev.* annulet stops struck over saltires on the same die as no. 8; no annulet on ship.
10. „ „ i.m. Lis, reading *Hib Rex*, stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* annulets, three annulets on ship.
11. „ „ i.m. Lis, reading *Hib Rex*, annulet on ship, stops, *obv.* slipped trefoils, *rev.* annulets.
12. Quarter-angel, i.m. Lis, angel of old style, Roman N both sides, stops, slipped trefoils resembling saltires.
13. „ „ i.m. Lis, angel of new style, stops, slipped trefoils resembling saltires.
14. George Noble, i.m. Rose, *Hibernie*.
15. „ „ i.m. Rose, *Hiberi*.
16. Half-George Noble, i.m. Rose, *Hybe*, Roman letters save Lombardic H (British Museum).

PLATE XIII. First and Second Coinages, Groats.

1. First Coinage, i.m. Pheon.
2. „ „ i.m. Castle, on *obv.* with pellet.
3. „ „ i.m. Portcullis, pellet before *Gra*, no chains on *rev.*
4. „ „ i.m. Portcullis, on *obv.* with pellet, pellet in legend before *Gra*; Portcullis without chains on *rev.* (Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
5. „ „ i.m. *obv.* Portcullis over *ᚠ*; trefoils in forks (*ex* R. Carlyon-Britton collection).
6. Second Coinage, i.m. Rose, Roman letters on *obv.* save Lombardic H, early bust, saltires in cross-ends.
7. „ „ i.m. Rose, flower in cross-ends on *rev.*
8. „ „ i.m. Rose, Roman D and E on *rev.*, saltires in forks, intermediate bust (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
9. „ „ i.m. Rose, later bust, *Adivtoe*.
10. „ „ i.m. *obv.* Rose, *rev.* Lis, *Adivtoe*.
11. „ „ i.m. *obv.* Lis, *rev.* Rose, flat-topped H and broken M, as on nos. 9 and 10.
12. „ „ i.m. Lis, C-like E as on Sunburst.
13. „ „ i.m. Sunburst, *Franc*, C-like E (C. A. W.).
14. „ „ i.m. Sunburst, *Fra*, C-like E.
15. „ „ i.m. Lis (revived?), E and N as on Arrow coins.
16. „ „ i.m. *obv.* Lis, *rev.* Arrow (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
17. „ „ i.m. Arrow with barbs both sides (on *obv.* over Lis, Mr. L. A. Lawrence).

PLATE XIV. First and Second Coinages, Groats to Farthings.

1. Second Coinage, i.m. *obv.* Lis, *rev.* Pheon.
2. " " i.m. *obv.* Pheon, *rev.* Lis.
3. " " i.m. Pheon.
4. " " with legend *Hib Rex* of Third Coinage, i.m. Pheon (Mr. C. E. Blunt).
5. " " with legend *Hib Rex* of Third Coinage, i.m. *obv.* Pheon, *rev.* Lis (Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
6. First Coinage, Half-groat, i.m. Portcullis.
7. Second Coinage, Half-groat, i.m. Rose, some Roman letters on *obv.*
8. " " " i.m. Rose, Lombardic letters.
9. " " " i.m. Rose on *obv.* only.
10. " " " i.m. *obv.* Rose, *rev.* Lis, saltires in forks.
11. " " " i.m. *obv.* Lis, *rev.* Rose.
12. " " " i.m. Lis, *obv.* only.
13. " " " i.m. Lis both sides.
14. " " " i.m. Arrow, on *rev.* over Lis, Roman M on *rev.* (C. A. W.).
15. " " " i.m. Sunburst on *obv.* only, Roman M, saltires in forks (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
16. " " " i.m. Arrow, on *obv.* over Lis.
17. " " " with legend *Hib Rex* of Third Coinage, i.m. Pheon (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
18. First Coinage, Penny, i.m. Castle.
19. " " Penny, i.m. Portcullis.
20. Second Coinage, Penny, i.m. Rose.
21. " " Penny, i.m. Sunburst (unique?, Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
22. " " Penny, i.m. Arrow.
23. First Coinage, Halfpenny, i.m. Portcullis.
24. Second Coinage, Halfpenny, i.m. Lis.
25. " " Halfpenny, i.m. Sunburst.
26. First Coinage, Farthing, i.m. Portcullis, Rose on *rev.*
27. Second Coinage, Farthing, i.m. ?, cross and 4 pellets on *rev.*
28. " " Farthing, i.m. Arrow, Rose on *rev.*

PLATE XV. Ecclesiastical Coins (i).

1. First Coinage, Canterbury Half-groat, Warham, i.m. Rose, no initials, *Posvi*, &c. (Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
2. " " " " Warham, i.m. Martlet, WA over shield, *Posvi*, &c.
3. " " " " Warham, i.m. Cross Fitchy, WA beside shield, *Posvi*, &c. (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
4. " " " " Warham, i.m. *obv.* Cross Fitchy, *rev.* Lis, WA beside shield, *Civitas Cantor*.
5. " " " " Warham, i.m. Pomegranate, WA beside shield, *Civitas Cantor*.
6. " " York Half-groat, Bainbridge, i.m. Martlet, on *obv.* over Rose, keys below shield (Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
7. " " " " Bainbridge, i.m. Martlet, keys below shield.
8. " " " " Bainbridge, i.m. Martlet, XB beside shield, no keys.
9. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Radiant Star, keys and hat below shield, *Posvi*, &c.
10. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Radiant Star, keys and hat below shield but *Civitas Eboraci* (C. A. W.).
11. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Plain Star, otherwise as no. 10.
12. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Pansy, otherwise as no. 10.

328 *The Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name*

13. First Coinage, York Half-groat, Wolsey, i.m. Escallop, otherwise as no. 10.
14. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. *obv.* Cross voided, *rev.* Escallop, otherwise as no. 10 (Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
15. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided, otherwise as no. 10 (Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
16. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided, keys below, and TW beside, shield.
17. Second Coinage, York groat, Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided, TW beside, hat below, shield.
18. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided as no. 17, but no saltires in forks.
19. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided, no initials (Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
20. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. *obv.* Cross voided, *rev.* Acorn, *rev.* as no. 18, without saltires in forks.
21. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Acorn, TW beside, hat below, shield.

PLATE XVI. Ecclesiastical Coins (ii).

1. Second Coinage, Canterbury Half-groat, Warham, i.m. *obv.* Warham's (uncertain) mark, *rev.* Rose, WA by shield (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
2. " " " " Warham, i.m. Warham's (uncertain) mark, no initials, saltires in forks, Roman E on *obv.*
3. " " " " Warham, i.m. Warham's mark, *obv.* only, saltires in forks, Roman N on *rev.*, WA beside shield.
4. " " " " Warham, i.m. Warham's mark both sides, WA beside shield.
5. " " " " Warham, i.m. Cross Patonce, WA beside shield.
6. " " " " Warham, i.m. Cross Patonce, WA beside shield.
7. " " " " Warham, i.m. *obv.* Cross Patonce, *rev.* T, WA beside shield.
8. " " " " Warham, i.m. *obv.* Cross Patonce, *rev.* T, WA beside shield.
9. " " " " Warham, i.m. T, WA beside shield.
10. " " " " Cranmer, i.m. Wheel, TC beside shield.
11. " " " " Cranmer, i.m. Wheel, *obv.* only, TC by shield.
12. " " York Half-groat, Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided, TW by shield.
13. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided with pellet, TW by shield.
14. " " " " *Sede Vacante* (?), i.m. Key, no initials.
15. " " " " Lee, i.m. Key, EL beside shield.
16. " " " " Lee, i.m. Key, LE beside shield.

PLATE XVII. Ecclesiastical Coins (iii).

1. First Coinage, Canterbury Penny, Warham, i.m. Martlet, WA over shield (Mr. C. E. Blunt).
2. " " " " Warham, i.m. Pomegranate, WA by shield.
3. Second Coinage " " Warham, i.m. Warham's mark, WA by shield (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
4. " " " " Warham, i.m. Cross Patonce, WA by shield (Mr. R. C. Lockett).

5. Second Coinage, Canterbury Penny, Warham, i.m. T, WA by shield (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
6. " " " " Cranmer, i.m. Wheel, TC by shield.
7. " " York Penny, Abp. Lee, i.m. Key, EL by shield (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
8. First Coinage, Durham Penny, Ruthall, i.m. Lis, TD over shield.
9. " " " " Ruthall, i.m. Lis, TD by shield, above line.
10. " " " " Ruthall, i.m. Lis, TD by shield, below line.
11. " " " " Ruthall, i.m. Radiant Star, TD by shield (C. A. W.).
12. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Spur rowel, DW by shield, hat below (Mr. C. E. Blunt).
13. Second Coinage " " Wolsey, muled with *obv.* of First Coinage, i.m. *obv.* Spur rowel, *rev.* Trefoil, TW by shield, hat below (Mr. E. J. Winstanley).
14. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Trefoil, TW by shield, hat below.
15. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. *obv.* Crescent, *rev.* Trefoil, TW by shield, hat below.
16. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Crescent (*obv.* only), TW by shield, hat below.
17. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Star (*obv.* only), TW by shield, hat below.
18. " " " " *Sede Vacante* (?), i.m. Star (*obv.* only), no initials.
19. " " " " Tunstall, i.m. Radiant Star (*obv.* only), CD by shield, Roman M in *Durram*.
20. " " " " Tunstall, i.m. Star (*obv.* only), CD by shield.
21. First Coinage, Canterbury Halfpenny, Warham, i.m. Pomegranate, WA by bust.
22. Second Coinage " " Warham, i.m. (?), WA by bust.
23. " " " " Warham, i.m. T, WA by bust; *rev.* of First Coinage.
24. " " " " Cranmer, i.m. Wheel, TC by bust.
25. " " York Halfpenny, Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided (?), TW by bust.
26. " " " " Wolsey, i.m. Cross voided, Key below, no initials (? *Sede Vacante*).
27. " " " " Abp. Lee, i.m. Key, EL by bust.

PLATE XVIII. Base Coinage, Tower and Southwark Testoons and Groats (i).

1. Testoon, Tower, i.m. Lis, saltire stops.
2. " " *obv.* Lis, *rev.* ☉, sleeve stops.
3. " Southwark, i.m. S, trefoil stops.
4. " " i.m. Θ, sleeve stops.
5. Groat, Tower, i.m. Lis, saltire in forks, bust 1, saltire stops.
6. " " i.m. Lis, annulet in forks, bust 1 (var.), trefoil stops.
7. " " i.m. Lis, ☉ in forks, bust 2, saltire stops, annulet on inner circle both sides.
8. " " i.m. Lis, ☉ in forks, trefoil stops, bust 3, annulet on inner circle on *rev.*
9. Groat of Edward VI, Tower, i.m. Lis, ☉ in forks, bust 4, *obv.* Roman letters, lozenge stops, *rev.* Lombardic letters, sleeve stops.
10. Groat, Southwark, no i.m., S in forks, bust 1 (var.), Roman letters (1545), trefoil stops.
11. " " no i.m., S in forks, bust 2, Lombardic letters, trefoil stops.
12. " " no i.m., Θ and S in forks, bust 2, Lombardic letters, trefoil stops.
13. " " no i.m., Θ and S in forks, bust 3, Lombardic letters, sleeve stops.

330 *The Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name*

14. Groat, *obv.* Tower, i.m. Lis, sleeve stops, bust 4, *rev.* Southwark, **Æ** and S in forks.
15. Groat, *obv.* Tower (Edward VI), i.m. Lis, lozenge stops, bust 4, *rev.* Southwark, **Æ** and S in forks, sleeve stops.
16. Groat, Southwark, *obv.* no i.m., trefoil stops, bust 3, *rev.* i.m. Lis, lozenge stops, nothing in forks (Edward VI).

PLATE XIX. Base Coinage, Tower and Southwark Groats (ii), Edward VI.

1. Groat, Tower, i.m. Arrow, annulet in forks, lozenge stops, bust 4.
2. " " i.m. Arrow inverted, annulet in forks, bust 5, stops, pierced crosses and saltires, **Ʒ** for Z (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
3. " " i.m. Arrow, rose in forks, bust 5, pellet stops (C. A. W.).
4. " " i.m. K both sides, annulet in forks, bust 5, lozenge stops.
5. " " i.m. K on *obv.*, annulet in forks, bust 5, stops, *obv.* pierced crosses and saltires, **Ʒ** for Z, *rev.* lozenges.
6. " " i.m. Grapple, roses in forks, bust 5, pellet stops.
7. " " i.m. Grapple, rose in forks, bust 6, pellet stops, Lombardic letters on *obv.*
8. " " i.m. Martlet both sides, rose in forks, bust 6, pellet stops.
9. " " i.m. Martlet on *rev.*, rose in forks, bust 5, pellet stops.
10. " " i.m. Lis both sides, rose in forks, bust 5, pellet stops.
11. Groat, Southwark, i.m. E, Edward's name and portrait, lozenge stops.
12. " " i.m. E, Henry's bust 4, annulet in forks, lozenge stops.
13. " " i.m. E, bust 5, rose in forks, pellet stops.
14. " " i.m. E, bust 6, rose in forks, pellet stop (one only).
15. " " no i.m., bust 5, rose in forks, pellet stops.
16. Groat, Durham House, bust 6, annulet in forks, stops *obv.* pellets, *rev.* saltires.
17. " " " as no 16 but floral spike in forks.

PLATE XX. Base Coinage Groats, Canterbury and York, 1544-51.

1. Canterbury, no i.m., open forks, Roman letters, trefoil stops, spur under 3rd quarter.
2. " no i.m., open forks, Roman letters (mixed on *rev.*), trefoil stops, spur under 4th quarter.
3. " i.m., open forks, Lombardic letters, trefoil stops, spur under 4th quarter.
4. " Edward VI, no i.m., annulets in forks, lozenge stops, *obv.* only, *Civitan* [sic].
5. " " no i.m., roses in forks, square pellet stops.
6. " " i.m. Rose, roses in forks, round pellet stops.
7. York, Henry VIII, no i.m., open forks, Roman letters, *Di Gra*, trefoil stops, spur over 2nd quarter.
8. " " no i.m., similar to no. 7 but *D G* and different lettering.
9. " " similar to no. 8 but Lombardic lettering.
10. " " no i.m., open forks, sleeve stops, spur over 1st quarter.
11. " Edward VI, i.m. Lis on *obv.*, open forks, Roman letters, lozenge stops, spur over 1st quarter.
12. " " i.m. Lis on *rev.*, open forks, Roman letters on *rev.*, stops, *obv.* sleeves, *rev.* lozenges, spur over 1st quarter.
13. " " no i.m., annulets in forks, stops, *obv.* pellets, *rev.* pierced crosses.
14. " " no i.m., roses in forks, lozenge stops.

PLATE XXI. Base Coinage Half-groats, Tower, Southwark, Canterbury, and York, 1544-51.

1. Henry VIII, Tower, i.m. Lis, annulet in forks, saltire stops.
2. " Southwark, no i.m., **Æ** and S in forks, trefoil stops.

3. Edward VI, Tower, i.m. Arrow, lozenge stops.
4. " " *obv.* Arrow, *rev.* K, lozenge stops (Mr. R. C. Lockett).
5. " " i.m. Grapple, pellet stops.
6. " Southwark, i.m. E, stops, *obv.* pierced crosses and saltires, E for Z.
7. " " i.m. E, lozenge stops.
8. " " i.m. E, both sides, pellet stops.
9. " " no i.m., pellet stops.
10. Durham House, i.m. Bow, annulet in forks, saltire stops.
11. Henry VIII, Canterbury Half-groat, no i.m., saltire stops, pierced cross-ends, spur below 3rd quarter.
12. " " " no i.m., sleeve stops, pierced cross-ends, spur below 3rd quarter.
13. " " " no i.m., trefoil stops, pierced cross-ends, pellet below 4th quarter.
14. " " " no i.m., sleeve stops, open forks, no spur.
15. Edward VI " " no i.m., mixed letters, lozenge stops, open forks, no spur.
16. " " " no i.m., Lombardic letters, lozenge stops, open forks, no spur.
17. " " " no i.m., pellet stops, open forks.
18. " " " i.m. t (*obv.*) square pellet stops (Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton).
19. " " " no i.m., Edward's name and portrait.
20. Henry VIII, York Half-groat, no i.m., trefoil stops, pierced cross-ends, spur above 2nd quarter.
21. " " " no i.m., saltire stops, pierced cross-ends, spur above 2nd quarter.
22. " " " no i.m., stops (?), open forks, spur above 1st quarter.
23. Edward VI " " no i.m., square pellet stops, open forks, "¾" bust.

PLATE XXII. Base Coinage, Pence and Halfpence.

1. Henry VIII, Tower Penny, i.m. Lis, trefoil stops, pierced forks.
2. " Southwark Penny, i.m. S, trefoil stops, mixed letters, open forks (Fitzwilliam Museum).
3. " " " i.m. A (*rev.*), trefoil stops, pierced forks.
4. " " " i.m. A (*rev.*), sleeve stops, open forks (E. J. W.).
5. " Tower (?) Penny, no i.m., sleeve stops, open forks.
6. Edward VI, Tower Penny, i.m. Arrow, Edward's name and portrait.
7. " " " i.m. Arrow (*obv.*), lozenge stops.
8. " " " i.m. Arrow (*rev.*), lozenge stops, Lombardic H.
9. " " " i.m. K, lozenge stops.
10. " " " i.m. Grapple (*obv.*), pellet stops.
11. " " " i.m. Grapple (*rev.*), pellet stops.
12. " Southwark Penny, i.m. E, pellet stops.
13. " Tower Penny, no i.m., "¾" bust, pellet stops.
14. " Durham House, i.m. ?, pellet stops, H 8 d g; *Red. Cviq.*, &c.
15. Henry VIII, Canterbury Penny, no i.m., saltire stops, pierced forks, spur below 3rd quarter.
16. " " " as no. 15 but trefoil stops.
17. Edward VI " " large Roman letters, plain cross-ends.
18. " " " small Roman letters, open forks, pellet stops.
19. " " " as no. 18 but three-quarter bust.
20. Henry VIII, York Penny, no i.m., trefoil stops, Roman letters on *obv.*, pierced forks, spur above 2nd quarter.
21. " " " as no. 20 but saltire stops and Lombardic letters.
22. " " " no i.m., pierced forks, trefoil stops, no spur.

332 *The Coinage of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's Name*

23. Edward VI, „ „ large Roman letters, lozenge stops.
24. „ „ „ square pellet stops, small letters.
25. Henry VIII, Tower Halfpenny, © in centre of *rev.*, i.m. Lis (E. J. W.).
26. Edward VI „ „ small Roman letters, pellet stops (cross above crown resembles a lis).
27. „ Canterbury Halfpenny, *H* 8, &c., lozenge stops, mixed letters.
28. „ „ „ *H* 8, &c., stops, pierced crosses.
29. „ York Halfpenny, large Roman letters, lozenge stops.

PLATE XXIII. Bristol (i), Gold and Testoons, 1546-9.

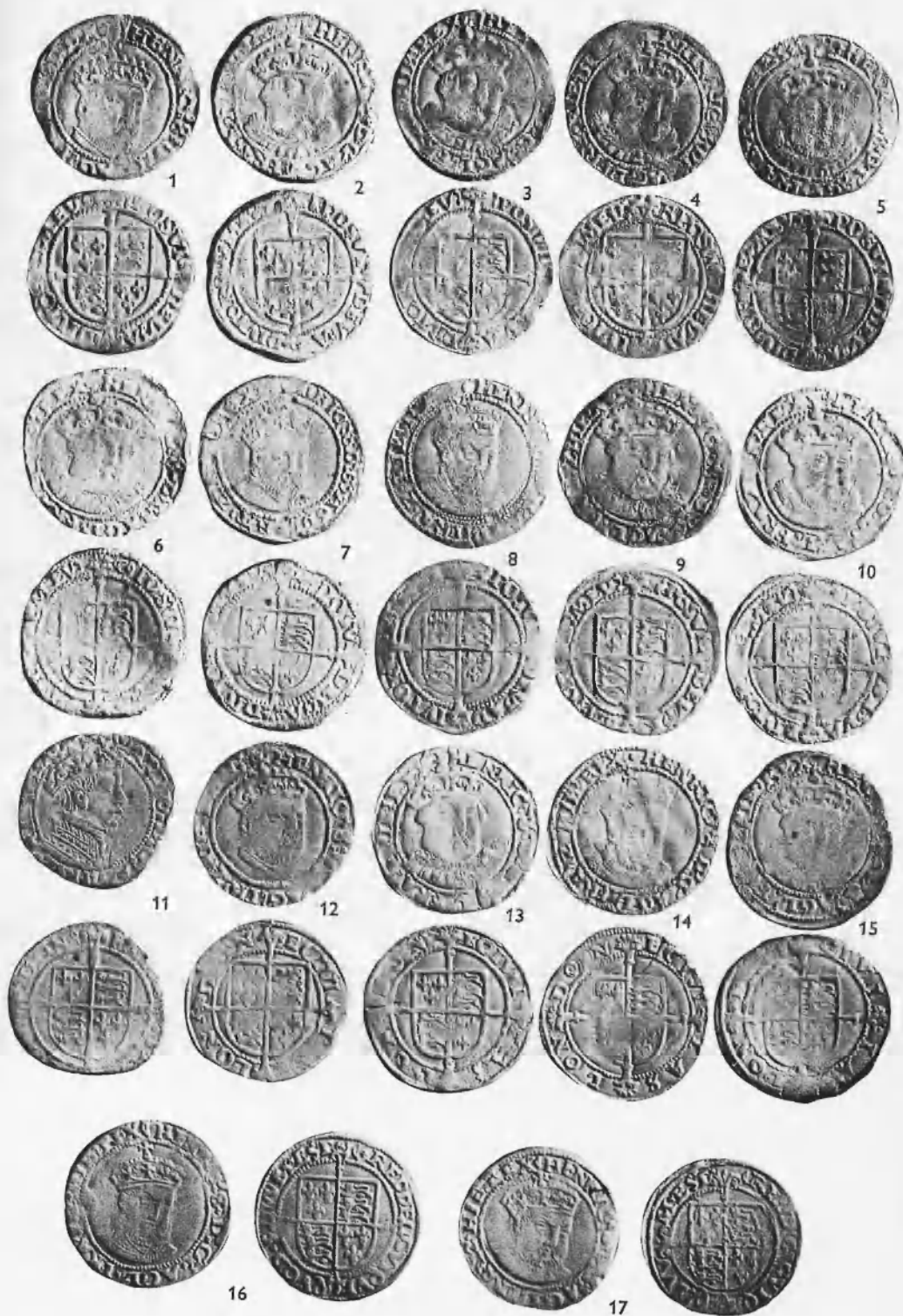
1. Henry VIII, Sovereign, i.m. WS monogram on *obv.*, Lombardic letters, trefoil stops.
2. „ Half-sovereign, i.m. WS monogram on *obv.*, Lombardic letters, trefoil stops.
3. Edward VI, Sovereign, i.m. WS both sides, Roman letters, rosette stops.
4. Henry VIII, Crown, i.m. WS on *rev.*, London lettering, trefoil stops (Mr. L. A. Lawrence).
5. „ „ i.m. WS both sides, *obv.* Bristol lettering and stops, *rev.* London lettering, trefoil stops, same *rev.* die as 4.
6. „ „ i.m. WS on *rev.*, Bristol lettering and stops, pellet below rose on *obv.* and below shield on *rev.*, *Henricus* 8.
7. „ „ i.m. WS on *rev.*, similar to 6 but no pellet and reads *Henric VIII*, and has Rh (for hR) on *rev.*
8. „ Half-crown, i.m. WS on *obv.*, stops, *obv.* saltires, *rev.* pellets.
9. „ Testoon, i.m. WS on *rev.*, *obv.* London lettering, trefoils stops, *rev.* Bristol lettering, *Bristollic*.
10. „ „ i.m. WS on *rev.*, Bristol lettering and stops both sides.

PLATE XXIV. Bristol (ii), Groats to Halfpence, Shilling of Edward VI, 1546-9.

1. Henry VIII, Groat, i.m. WS on *rev.*, London lettering and trefoil stops both sides, open forks.
2. „ „ i.m. WS on *rev.*, *obv.* London letters and trefoil stops, *rev.* Bristol letters and stops, open forks.
3. „ „ i.m. WS on *rev.*, Bristol letters and stops, annulets in forks, no pellet below shield.
4. „ „ i.m. WS on *rev.*, Bristol letters and stops, trefoils in forks, pellet below 3rd quarter on *rev.*
5. „ „ as no. 4 but with varying stops and lis in forks.
6. „ „ i.m. TC on *rev.*, trefoils in forks, pellet below 3rd quarter on *rev.*
7. Henry VIII, Half-groat, i.m. WS on *rev.*, *obv.* London lettering and trefoil stops, *rev.* Bristol lettering, trefoils in forks.
8. „ „ i.m. WS on *rev.*, Bristol letters and stops, open forks, pellet below 3rd quarter.
9. „ „ i.m. WS on *rev.*, Bristol letters and stops, quatrefoils in forks, no pellet below shield.
10. Edward VI „ i.m. TC on *rev.*, Bristol letters and stops, pellet below 3rd quarter of shield.
11. Henry VIII, Penny, no initial mark, London letters, sleeve stops on *obv.*, reads *Bristol* (C. A. W.).
12. „ „ no i.m., Bristol letters and stops, open forks.
13. „ „ similar to no. 12 but trefoils in forks (C. A. W.).
14. „ Halfpenny, no i.m., Bristol letters, trefoils in forks, reads *Bristol* (Baldwin).
15. Edward VI, Penny, no i.m., Bristol letters and stops, trefoils in forks (Seaby).
16. „ Shilling, i.m. TC monogram, London Roman lettering but roses in both legends, dated 1549 (Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton).



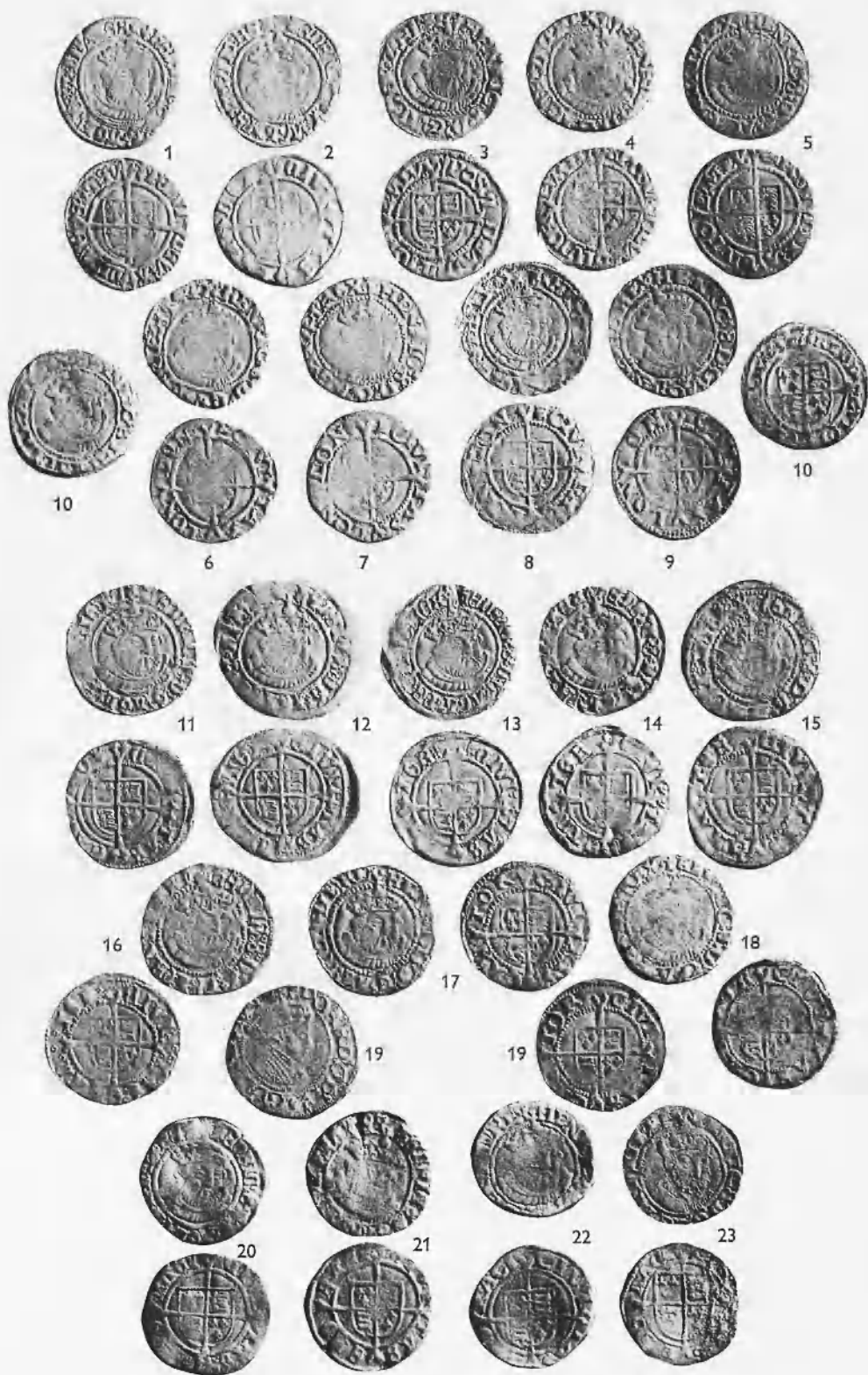
FESTOONS, BASE GROATS (i), HENRY VIII AND EDWARD VI,
TOWER AND SOUTHWARK



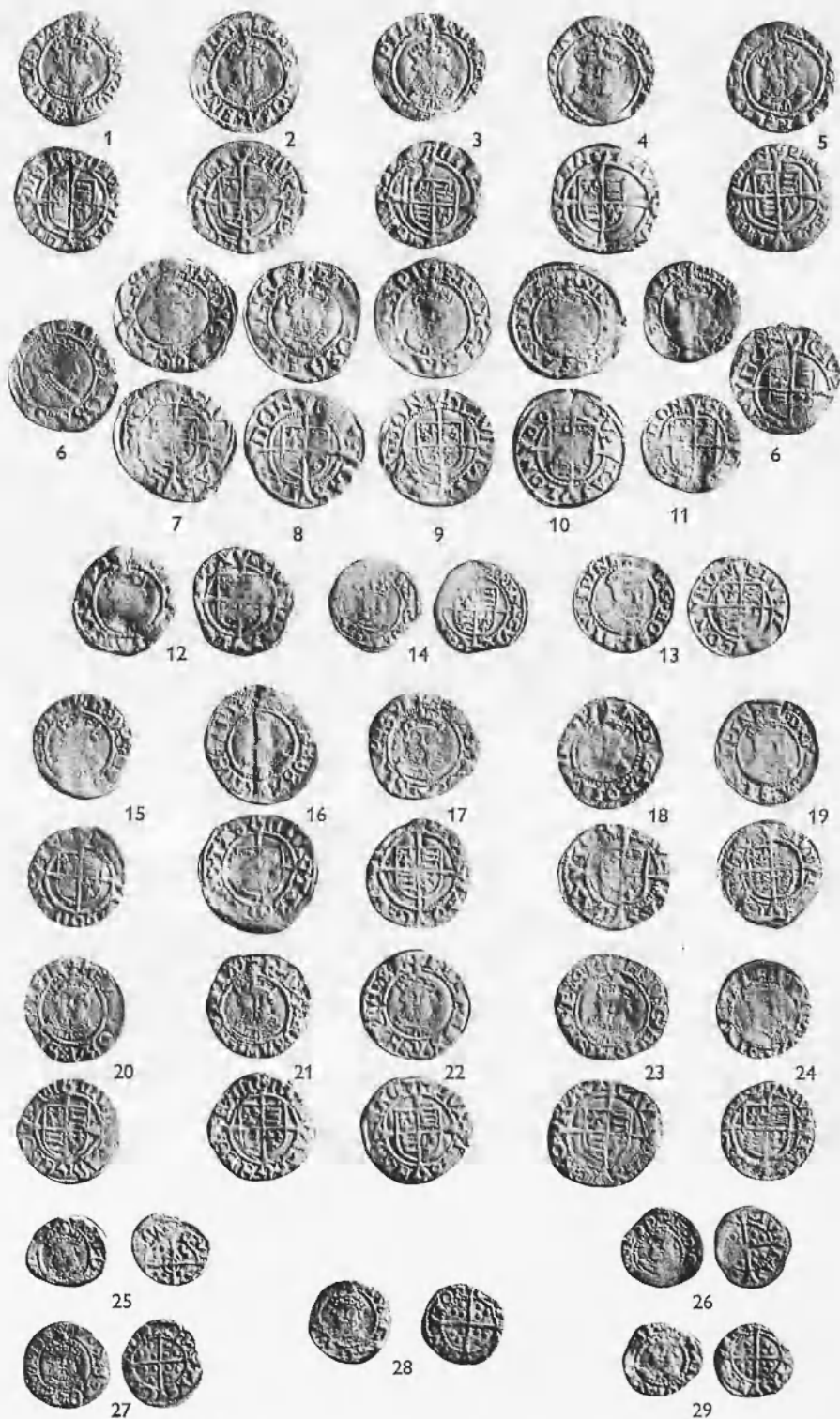
BASE GROATS (ii), EDWARD VI, TOWER, SOUTHWARK AND
DURHAM HOUSE



BASE COINAGE GROATS, CANTERBURY AND YORK, HENRY VIII,
EDWARD VI



BASE COINAGE HALF-GROATS, TOWER, SOUTHWARK,
CANTERBURY, YORK, HENRY VIII, EDWARD VI



BASE COINAGE; PENCE AND HALFPENCE, TOWER, SOUTHWARK,
CANTERBURY AND YORK, HENRY VIII, EDWARD VI



BRISTOL (i), GOLD AND FESTOONS, HENRY VIII, EDWARD VI



BRISTOL (ii), GROATS TO HALFPENCE, SHILLING; HENRY VIII,
EDWARD VI

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS: THE BROWNE WILLIS CABINET

By J. GRAFTON MILNE, D.LITT.

THE Oxford University collection of seventeenth-century tokens was started by Browne Willis of Christ Church, who gave in 1741 a cabinet containing over 1,100 specimens, with the proviso that they should be kept as a separate collection, though others might be added to it. The cabinet was housed in the Bodleian Library, and a fair number of coins were so added in the next few years by Willis himself and his friends, amongst them George Ballard. Interest in coins, however, seems to have waned in Oxford in the nineteenth century, and little was done with the tokens till E. W. B. Nicholson, appointed Bodley's Librarian in 1882, began to take opportunities of acquiring local issues. In 1921 the Bodleian cabinets were transferred to the Ashmolean Museum, which had already started acquiring Oxfordshire and Berkshire tokens as an essential part of its material for the study of the history of its district: thus purchases were made at the Hodgkin and Napier sales. A notable further addition came from Messrs. A. H. Baldwin and Sons in the Oxfordshire and Berkshire series from the collection of the late Mr. A. H. Baldwin. The result is that the Browne Willis cabinet (not the original one, which has had to be superseded by a larger) now contains an almost complete set of the issues of the two counties.

Some of the collaborators in the preparation of the second edition of Boyne consulted the collections in the Bodleian for the records of their special districts; but Willis had cast his net far and wide, as will appear from the list of collectors of tokens known to him printed below. Not a few of his tokens do not find a place in Boyne, though they are recorded by Willis in the "Alphabetical Series" of all the varieties that had come under his notice, which is bound up in a miscellaneous gathering of numismatic notes and papers now known as MS. Willis 63. His collection was naturally strongest in his home counties, Oxford and Buckingham; but he had diligent correspondents in London, Warwickshire, and Yorkshire. So far as concerns the two counties first named, and also Berkshire, the material supplementary to the second edition of Boyne has been fully treated in recent years: but it seems desirable to record those from other counties for the use of the compilers of the long-desired new edition. Four of them have already been published elsewhere, but three without illustrations and the fourth in a journal not ordinarily consulted by numismatists; so it may be helpful to republish them.

The "Alphabetical Series" mentioned above was apparently drawn up in the first instance by a son of Browne Willis about 1740, but additions were made for at least nine years, with the result that the entries are perplexingly tangled: the son wrote a clear hand, which

is more than can be said for his father. From other papers it is gathered that the collection was originally intended for the son, but he "sighted" it, and the University benefited. Some of the notes are merely side-lights: for instance, on Markham's token of 1672 (London 1085), "This is the last trader, they being this year cryed down. This cost 6d.", and on the King's Head token of 1648 (London 3220), "This is the first ever coined. Mr. West gave 5sh. for it and presented it to me." Others may be useful for the identification of issuers or places, and are copied out below.

On p. 23 verso is an entry "Collectors of traders' peices some in all cabinets but chiefly in :

Sir Hans Sloan	Dr Warren of Cambridge
Mr Sadler	Capt Battle has some
Mr West	Mr Leek Clarencieux
Mr Yarrow of Yorksh	Mr Mussell of Bednall Green
Mr Gill of York	Mr Smith of the Tower
Mr Collins of Hunts begins	Mr East of Bedf Row
Dr of Colchester	Mr Bush of the Tower
Dr Du Carrell of Drs Comms	Mr Giffard of Ormd Square"

A paper at the end of MS. Willis 63, in the hand of Francis Wise, sub-librarian at the Bodleian and afterwards librarian of the Radcliffe Library, has notes of tokens shown to him, presumably for communication to Willis. Of these six were shown by Mr. Drake, in November 1749, all of London or Southwark, of which two are not in Boyne, viz.

Richard Igorfei in | Pickadilly grocer 1671 His Halfe-penny
William Sands at | ye (3 Pidgeons) in More Lane

and one Welsh, not in Boyne, by Mr. Richard Langford

James Hughes in Cardiff 1668 I ^H_D I

These do not appear to have been added to the Willis cabinet.

NOTES IN THE "ALPHABETICAL SERIES", pp. 16-22, MS. Willis 63

- p. s.v.
16. *Aylesbury*. W.D.E. i.e. Will Dawney at the King's Head in Aylesbury 1659 (so in Manton, p. 24)
- 17v. *Derby*. Darby juxta Liverpool co. Lancaster (apparently refers to Derby 51. John Bancroft)
18. *Gloucester*. S A G C i.e. Samuel Allen Grocer in Gloucester City no date
- 21v. *Stathern*. Stathorne co. Leicester in Stathorne sadler
17. *Coleshill*. Coleshill parish John Cotterell of Bacon's Inne his halfpeny (= Boyne², London 105)
19. *London*. John Gidley of London Chirurgeon born May 21 1632
S L Surye R 1656 with the sign of the Gridiron NB In 1737 these 90 years this sign with the King's head added to it hath subsisted and tis now as then a noted Beefstake House
R ^K E The Castle in Cornhill 1657
John Reading 1666 in Grays Inn Lane his halfpenny
William Hadden at the Adam & Eve St James's Market Pewter

- p.* *s.v.*
 22v. *Walton.* Only I K on it John Kyler of Walton in Surey
 21. *Presteign.* Hugh Howell mercer in Presteign Radnorshire his halfpenny
 1668
 22v. *Welshpool.* Richard J mercer in Welshpool his halfpenny
 21. *Stratford-on-Avon.* I Brook in Stratford mercer (= Boyne², Suffolk 217)

ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS NOT IN
 BOYNE

Bedfordshire

- | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Woburn | <i>Obv.</i> THOMAS . HILL . OF | Scales |
| | <i>Rev.</i> WOOBVRNE. 1664 | T · H · A |

Essex

- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|-----|
| 2. High Easter | <i>Obv.</i> IAMES . SCRVBIE | I · S | (1) |
| | <i>Rev.</i> OF . HIGHESTR. | Dove with olive
branch | |

Gloucestershire

- | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------------|-------|-----|
| 3. Newnham | <i>Obv.</i> IAMES . IEFRYES . IN | Rose | (2) |
| | <i>Rev.</i> NVNOM . GLOSTERSHEAR | I I A | |

Lancashire

- | | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----|
| 4. Bolton | <i>Obv.</i> WILLIAM . SMALLSHAW | Two pipes and roll | (3) |
| | <i>Rev.</i> OF . BOVLTON . 1669 | of tobacco crossed.
HIS HALF PENY | |

Lincolnshire

- | | | | |
|------------|------------------------------------|---------|-----|
| 5. Spilsby | <i>Obv.</i> WILLIELMVS . TINGCOMBE | SPILSBY | (4) |
| | <i>Rev.</i> ECCE . SIGNVM . 1659 | Cross | |

London

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------------|-----|
| 6. Aldersgate
Street | <i>Obv.</i> AT . THE . KATRING . WHILL | Wheel | |
| | <i>Rev.</i> IN . ALDERSGATE . STREET | O · B · M | |
| 7. Coleman
Street | <i>Obv.</i> WILLIAM . HARTE | Deer | |
| | <i>Rev.</i> IN COLMANSTRET | Heart | |
| 8. Drury Lane | <i>Obv.</i> DRVRY . LANE . END . STRAND | T. P. | (5) |
| | <i>Rev.</i> T. P.
1653 | | |
| 9. Newgate
Market | <i>Obv.</i> BROOKE
ELIZ. SPARK
IN . NEWGATE
MARKET | | (6) |
| | <i>Rev.</i> Floral device | | |
| 10. New Street,
Covent
Garden | <i>Obv.</i> THOMAS . HOGGARD . IN . NEW | Griffin | |
| | <i>Rev.</i> STREET . IN . COVENT . GARDEN | HIS
HALF
PENY | |
| | | T · H · M | |
| 11. Nightingale
Lane | <i>Obv.</i> IOHN . HALL . IN | Wheatsheaf | |
| | <i>Rev.</i> NIGHTINGALE . LANE | I · H · M | |

336 *Seventeenth-century Tokens: The Browne Willis Cabinet*

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|--|------|
| 12. Smithfield
Bars | Obv. ROBERT . CVRD . FISHMONGER
Rev. AT . SMITHFIELD . BARRS | Fishmongers Arms
HIS
HALFE
PENNY
R · C · S | |
| 13. Thames
Street | Obv. WILL HADDOW
AT YE ADAM
& EVE
Rev. (ex.) IN . THAMES
STRET | Adam and Eve | (7) |
| 14. Whitecross
Street | Obv. ESTER . CRAWLEY . IN
Rev. WHITE . CROS . STREET | E. C. | |
| 15. | Obv. NICHOLVS . WARE . AT YE LIONS
Rev. HEAD . IN . WHITECROSSTREET | HIS
HALFE
PENY
N ^{WM} round Lion's
Head | (8) |
| <i>Middlesex</i> | | | |
| 16. Staines | Obv. RICHARD . BARNATT . IN
Rev. STANES . MALLSTER | Arms
R ^{BE} | (9) |
| 17. Uxbridge | Obv. EDMVND . NICHOLAS . IN
Rev. VXBRIDG . CHANDLER . 58 | E · N · E
Three lapwings | (10) |
| <i>Northamptonshire</i> | | | |
| 18. Rothwell | Obv. WILLIAM . MASON
Rev. IN . RODWELL | W ^{MA}
1666
HIS
HALF
PENY | |
| <i>Southwark</i> | | | |
| 19. | Obv. MILES . REILLY . AT . YE
Rev. SVN . IN . SOVTHWARKE | Sun
M. R. | |
| <i>Staffordshire</i> | | | |
| 20. Darlaston | Obv. WILLIAM . KEELING
Rev. IN . DARLASTON | W ^{KS}
1657 | |
| 21. Leek | Obv. IOHN . WARDLE . 1669
Rev. IN
LEEKE
HIS . HALF
PENNY
I · W · E | Mercers Arms | |
| 22. Rowley
Regis | Obv. IOHN . SIDAWAY . IN
Rev. ROWLEY . REGIS . 59 | Man carrying parcel
on head
I ^{SE} | |
| <i>Wales</i> | | | |
| 23. Denbigh | Obv. ROBERT . ROBERTS
Rev. IN . DENBIGH . 1666 | Mercers' Arms between
R R
HIS
PENY | |

Wiltshire

24. Great Obv. THOMAS . GREENE Three rabbits
Bedwyn Rev. OF . GREAT . BADEN 1669

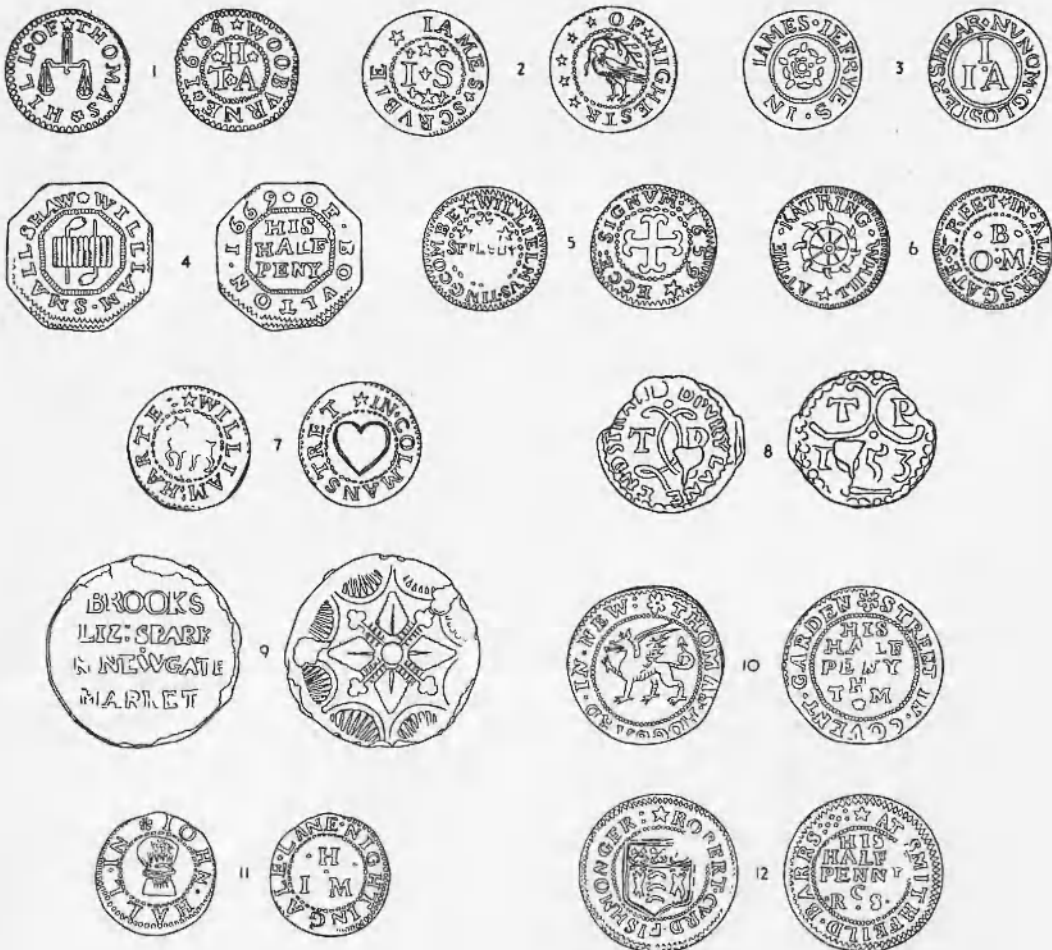
Ireland

25. Ballymote Obv. ROGER . HORROGHIE Woolpack
Rev. OF . BALLYMOTE . MAR rd.

Notes

1. *Essex Review*, July 1945.
2. Farthing size of Boyne², Gloucs. 135.
3. Octagonal.
4. See Boyne², Cornwall 107 and Uncertain 52.
- 5, 6, 7. Lead.
- 8, 9, 10. W. Gilbert in *Num. Chron.*, 1927, 356 and 360.

UNPUBLISHED SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOKENS





13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



21



22



23



24



25



MISCELLANEA

ON A FIND OF EARLY BRITISH TIN COINS AT SUNBURY-ON-THAMES

WHILE digging on a housing site at Sunbury-on-Thames on 4 April 1950 two workmen unearthed some portions of pottery and a number of coins. They were found in a pocket of clay which was itself situated in a terrace-like formation of rock believed to have been formed as a result of the Ice Age.

The find was made some 30 inches below the surface of the present ground level, and the Surveyor to the Sunbury Council is of the opinion that the ground at this point has not been disturbed below plough depth since historical time.

The fragments of pottery contained a total of 317 whole coins and the pieces of 56 others, and the coins were believed, when discovered, to be Anglo-Saxon pennies. For this reason an inquest upon the find was ordered, and was subsequently held. Closer inspection, however, revealed the coins to be Early British, of the type shown on plate H of Sir John Evans's *Ancient British Coins* and generally referred to as tin, since this metal predominates in the alloy of which they are made.

Members who are familiar with this series will know that these coins are crude in design, and are cast in a mould, which forms several pieces together, the coins being subsequently divided into separate specimens by being broken apart.

The coins in this find were in a very corroded condition, which gave rise to the mistaken idea as to their period and metal. We are very much indebted to Mr. Carson for his kindness in cleaning up the specimens and dividing them into their basic types.

The general design of the coins, as Members will know, is crude in the extreme, the device on the obverse being a roughly formed head, facing either left or right, and that on the reverse being a series of lines which are taken to represent a bull, again facing either to left or right. An ornament consisting of either a pellet, a circle, or a pellet within a circle appears on the coins, in the centre of the head.

The find has been divided by Mr. Carson into the following fourteen main groups:

Head to right, ornamental pellet in circle, bull to right. 18 specimens.

Head to left or right, ornament uncertain. 64 specimens. All these 64 pieces are too badly corroded for it to be certain which way either the head or the bull face.

Head to right, ornament a circle, position of bull uncertain. 5 specimens.

Head to right, ornament a circle, bull to left. 13 specimens.

Head to right, ornament a pellet in a circle, position of bull uncertain. 28 specimens.

Head to left, ornament uncertain, bull uncertain. 10 specimens.

Head to left, ornament a pellet in a circle, bull uncertain. 3 specimens.
 Head to left, ornament a pellet in a circle, bull to right. 26 specimens.
 Head to left, ornament a circle, bull uncertain. 13 specimens.
 Head to left, ornament a circle, bull to left. 25 specimens.
 Head to right, ornament a circle, bull to right. 7 specimens.
 Head to right, ornament uncertain, bull uncertain. 33 specimens.
 Head to right, ornament a pellet in a circle, bull to left. 71 specimens.
 Lastly, the most interesting specimen. Head to left, an ornament consisting of three pellets arranged in triangular formation, bull to left. 1 specimen.
 Total 317 coins.

Through the kindness of the Sunbury Council and of their Surveyor, Mr. Buttress, who now owns the coins, I was able to exhibit at the Society's meeting the find and the pieces of pottery, believed to belong to the Iron Age, in which the coins were found. The formation of the pieces of pottery shows that the pieces originally formed part of at least three vessels.

Finds of these tin coins occur mainly in the south-eastern district of England, specimens having been discovered at St. James's Park, Lenham Heath, the Isle of Thanet, Weycock (Berkshire), Hod Hill (near Blandford), Lilly Hoo (near Luton, Bedfordshire), Snettisham, and Maidstone. It is of interest to note that the specimen found at Hod Hill has the three-pellets-in-a-triangle ornament, instead of the ring or pellet in the centre of the head, and is the only one of this type mentioned by Evans.

The Sunbury find is now on permanent loan to the London Museum.

HOWARD LINECAR

THE END OF ROMANO-BRITISH COINAGE RECONSIDERED

IN a recent paper to the British Numismatic Society¹ I described the possible course of coinage in Britain between the end of the Roman period and the consolidation of the English conquests a century and a half to two centuries later. In it I adhered to the mid sixth-century dating for the cessation of Romano-British coinage—a theory which is shared by several students of the period, although others go to the opposite extreme and will not hear of the existence or manufacture of coins after the second quarter of the fifth century. While still not accepting this latter view, I have recently modified my opinions and am now inclined to place the end of Romano-British coinage to a date somewhere between the two.

For leading me to reconsider the extremely scanty evidence at our disposal I am indebted to my friend, Mr. E. J. W. Hildyard, F.S.A.,

¹ Published in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, 1949, pp. 1-27.

who has the advantage over many of us of being an archaeologist as well as a numismatist! Having read my Dark Age paper he immediately put forward some valuable and constructive criticisms. "Theoretic arguments", he wrote, "seem to me insufficient by themselves. By these I mean inferences based on literary, economic and stylistic arguments. The great weakness is that isolated hoards really don't help much. You cannot argue from coins in a vacuum. You must link them up with other types of objects if you are to associate them with a 'culture' of a particular date." He further observed that what was really needed to prove the production of coins by the Britons in the sixth century was either (a) coins of an entirely distinctive style, so distinctive that they cannot possibly be classed as mere copies, or (b) existing coins found in definite Dark Age archaeological association or, ideally, of course, both together. He considered it possible that we have the beginnings of (a) in our sceatta-like imitations, while evidence of (b) may yet turn up by excavating bombed city-sites. However, if, as seems likely, the sceatta-like imitations were produced by the English and not by the Britons,¹ they lie outside our present considerations and, as regards (b), no unquestionably Dark Age material has so far been recognized, and objects found in association with possible Dark Age hoards were not datable. (There is, however, the possibility, pointed out to me by Mr. Hildyard, that much of what has hitherto been regarded as fourth-century material may, in fact, belong to the fifth.)

Conclusive evidence for a mid sixth-century date, however, is sadly lacking, and it remains to be seen if an earlier date admits of easier proof. What pointers are available? Only three: (i) the historical background into which the coins can be placed; (ii) the economic background; and (iii) the literary evidence of Gildas, for what it is worth.

Before following these three lines of thought, however, it should be pointed out that this note is composed on the assumption that coins survived the Roman Occupation—and even the "Early School" admits the existence of coins a generation after the end of the Roman period (to c. A.D. 440).

i. The history of the period shows us first a gradual decline of the British fortunes until c. 450; then a sharp fall when, within the next few years, the invaders overran the country from east to west. A partial restoration of fortune followed the martial efficiency of Vortimer, Ambrosius, and Arthur, but the British position was still insecure until the early years of the sixth century, when Arthur's victory at "Mount Badon" (traditionally assigned to 516) drove the invaders back to the east of the island (and even, probably, overseas to Frisia and northern Gaul) and won for the Britons of the south and west a respite of some forty years. This period of comparative peace ended about the middle of the sixth century, after which the invaders made a supreme effort to conquer the country and all but succeeded, so that,

¹ See *N.N.M.* lxxx, pp. 111-17, especially pp. 112-13, and *Num. Chron.*, 1948, pp. 142-57.

with the exception of a few "hedgehogs" of British resistance, the whole of the island south of the Wall—apart from Strathclyde, Wales, and Damnonia—fell into their hands.

ii. An important economic factor of the post-Roman era was the metal scarcity, which had made itself felt as early as the fourth century and which grew steadily more acute throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. Moreover, the monetary situation had become almost impossible soon after 410 by reason of the stoppage of official coin from the continental mints.

iii. Gildas (*De Excidio Britanniae*, § 21) hints at a great increase of material prosperity after the failure of the appeal to Aëtius in 456, when the Britons, left to their own resources, defeated "the enemy" (presumably at this time the Picts and the Scots). Later (§ 26) he talks about "this present prosperity", which his fellow countrymen appear to be enjoying at the time when he was writing—i.e. in the mid sixth century. The late Professor Collingwood¹ has suggested that it was the able but unscrupulous rule of Vortigern which ushered in the period of prosperity of the fifth century, and we may not be far wrong in assuming that Gildas's "present prosperity" of the sixth was one of the results of Mount Badon. There was certainly no commercial intercourse with Europe until it was resumed by the English towards the close of the sixth century: whatever prosperity may have been in the British parts of the island during the first half of that century must have been of a strictly rural and localized nature.

If our interpretation of Gildas is correct, that there was a considerable revival of prosperity after Mount Badon, it is likely—though not necessarily certain—that, had coins then existed, this prosperity would have been reflected in individual coins and hoards. This is by no means the case. Apart from the sceatta-like imitations there is no evidence of a return to a large module for the coins and there is no doubt that the latest hoards are those which consist entirely of *minimissimi*. The date of Mount Badon is highly controversial, but we may not be far out if we place it early in the sixth century. Since the circulation of coins had apparently ended before that event, we cannot expect to find evidence of their production after c. 500. It must not be imagined, however, that Romano-British coinage came to a sudden halt. On the contrary, it must have petered out, probably during the second half of the fifth century, when the British position was becoming more serious. The same conclusion is reached by a study of the economic situation. By the second half of the fifth century the metal scarcity must have reached alarming proportions: hence the *minimissimi* and fragmentary coins which give to these hoards their impoverished appearance. Moreover, the metal in which the majority of *minimissimi* were struck contains a large percentage of lead:²

¹ *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford, 1945), p. 315.

² This had been the case earlier in the century (probably c. 450), when the Bermondsey hoard, which contained no *minimissimi*, was deposited: see the analytical note by Mr. Mattingly in *Num. Chron.*, 1947, p. 91.

occasionally they were struck entirely in lead—further evidence of the great scarcity of copper.

A practical result of this modification of my former opinion is that the probable burial dates of late hoards (*c.* 470, *c.* 500, and *c.* 550) in the lists of hoards appended to my various papers should be put back some years (say, to *c.* 450, *c.* 470, and *c.* 500 respectively). These remarks do not apply to the Richborough Radiate hoard ("Richborough IV") and must be modified in the case of the Bermondsey hoard, which should be put back from *c.* 500 to *c.* 450.

PHILIP V. HILL

A NEW TYPE FOR ARCHBISHOP WULFRED



WULFRED was Archbishop of Canterbury from 805 to 832 and as was the custom in those days he had an issue of coins struck at the Canterbury mint in his name.

This particular coin of his (Fig. above) is of a hitherto unpublished type and until recently was thought to be the only one in existence, but there was another in the Ryan sale (lot 595, bought by the British Museum) differing slightly in minor details (Pl. A, 1).

Both coins are unfortunately chipped. The type was unknown to Ruding and Hawkins.

The obverse bears a facing tonsured bust of the archbishop within an inner circle with the legend WLFREDI [AR] CHIEPI SCOP.

This is a similar obverse to that which Brooke classifies in *English Coins* as Group 3, no. 4, presumed to have been issued from 825 to 832; in other words towards the end of Wulfred's term of office. This is probably correct as the reverse of the Brooke Group 3, no. 4 coin, a cross-crosslet, is similar to the reverse of coins of Beornwulf of Mercia and his successor, struck perhaps at Canterbury after 824.

The reverse of this coin, however, has the alpha and omega monogram instead of the cross-crosslet within an inner circle, the legend being DOROVER [NI] AE CIFITATIS. There is no moneyer's name, but it is probably the work of either Saeberht or Swefheard, both of whom struck for Archbishop Wulfred at Canterbury during his later years.

The interesting point about this coin is, of course, the alpha-omega monogram and what it stands for. It is obviously of religious significance. One has only to read the Revelations, where "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end" is referred to more than once. One can therefore more or less understand the device being used by an archbishop. But why so good a reverse

type was not used by other archbishops when it was used by various kings both before and after Wulfred's time one cannot say.

As far as is known at present the alpha-omega monogram first appears on a coin of Beorhtric, King of Wessex from 786 to 802, before Wulfred's time and before the conquest of Kent by Wessex. This coin is therefore from a mint outside Kent, presumably Winchester. It also appears on coins of Ecgberht, Beorhtric's successor and contemporary of Wulfred, this time from the Canterbury mint. In Mercia it appears on coins of Ceolwulf I, also a contemporary of Wulfred, and later on coins of Berhtwulf, who reigned from 839 to 852.

There is then a gap of about 140 years before it reappears for the last time on coins of Æthelred II when the alpha and omega is placed on either side of a hand. Whereas in previous reigns the alpha-omega coins have been mainly confined to the Canterbury mint, in Æthelred's reign they are struck from nearly all of the very many mints that were operating during this reign.

It is interesting to note that the letter A alone forms the reverse type of coins of Coenwulf of Mercia and Æthelwulf of Wessex. The letter A also occurs on coins of the Kings of East Anglia, supposedly for *Anglorum*, but sometimes it is used in conjunction with an omega reverse, in which case it is possible the inference may be alpha-omega. The A is also used on the memorial coinage of St. Edmund.

Finally, the main difference between this coin and the Ryan specimen is in the spelling of CIVITATIS. His is spelt with a V and this coin with F. Also the Ryan coin has no pellets on either side of the alpha-omega monogram.

This coin came from Lord Grantley's sale in 1944. He purchased it from Messrs. Spink and Son in 1902, but there is no record of where it was before.

R. P. MACK

A NORMAN PENNY FROM COLCHESTER CASTLE

IN the excavations in the summer of 1950 at the back of the Norman keep of Colchester Castle there was found a silver penny (Pl. A, 8) of Henry I of the rare type X. The obverse shows the crowned bust of the king, facing, with the inscription [+ hENRI]CVS [REX AN]. The legend on the reverse is, unfortunately, only partly decipherable, but it would appear to be new. The certain letters of the legend are +A . . . NE ON . AR . . Mr. C. E. Blunt, who also examined the coin, has suggested that the mint name might be read as SAFTE (Shaftesbury) and the moneyer's name as ALDPINE who is known as a moneyer in the later type XIII. The mint name, however, does seem to be PARPE (Warwick). No moneyer at Warwick with a name such as Alfwine or Aldwine necessary to complete the indecipherable legend is, it is true, known at Warwick in the Norman period. A positive attribution must await the discovery of another example.

The coin has, through the kind offices of Mrs. Aylwin Cotton, been presented to the British Museum by the Colchester Museum Committee.

R. A. G. CARSON

AN UNPUBLISHED PENNY OF HENRY I, TYPE II

THE coin shown (Pl. A, 6) is a penny of Henry I of the second *B.M.C.* type.

Upon the obverse the king faces to your left, crowned and holding the sceptre before him. The inscription is divided by the lower part of the bust and begins in front of the king's face. Upon the reverse a cross fleury with a pellet in its centre is contained within an inner circle, outside which runs the reverse legend + Δ HGEMVND I ONE (Canterbury).

Brooke, in *Norman Kings*, vol. ii, lists but six coins of Henry I, type II: two of Southwark, and one each of Bristol, London, Thetford, and Canterbury of the moneyer Windi (or Winedi). The hitherto known types of the latter moneyer for Henry I are II, XIV, and XV, whilst the above coin, as can be seen from the reverse legend, is of the moneyer Aghemund, hitherto known as a Canterbury moneyer from the type I of the Walters sale, 1913 (lot 61), the type XI in the Hunterian Collection, and the type XV in the British Museum.

Thus a new type II can be added to the known coins of this very rare moneyer.

W. J. Andrew in his *Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I* observes that a moneyer of this name occurs of Lincoln in the last type of Edward the Confessor and in the first two types of the Conqueror. He considered that the consecration of Alexander Bishop of Lincoln by Archbishop William in July 1123 might be related to the transfer of a Lincoln moneyer Aghemund from that city to Canterbury.

This surmise cannot possibly hold water, however, in the light of the evidence of the Canterbury coins of types I and II of Henry's reign, which must have been issued many years prior to Alexander's consecration. In fairness to Andrew it should be mentioned that he had assigned one coin of Henry I type I to a Lincoln moneyer Aghemund, but this presumably springs from a misreading of what later may have become the Walters sale coin.

G. V. DOUBLEDAY

SIX COINS OF HENRY I CLASS XIV FROM AN UNCERTAIN HOARD

RECENTLY I was entrusted for a few hours with a group of six coins of Henry I, the property of a resident of Bournemouth. Examination showed them all to be of Class XIV and in excellent condition. The accompanying plate¹ is made from the rough casts I was able to take in the very limited time at my disposal. It seems reasonable to

¹ It is regretted that the plate will have to appear in the next number. Editor.

suppose that the coins are from a single hoard and the Bournemouth provenance strongly suggests the Canterbury find of 1901. However, Mr. H. W. Taffs lists elsewhere in this volume twelve more coins from the same locality, bringing to eighteen the total of coins unknown to Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton. Was there a genuine Poole or Bournemouth hoard at about the same time—possibly his lot X—or is the Canterbury provenance of X, Y, and Z a myth?

Three of the coins present no special difficulty or interest. They are as follows:

1. Mint of Chichester. Moneyer Godwine.
22.4 grains (*B.M.C.* 121 from the same dies).
2. Mint of London. Moneyer Godwine.
18.3 grains (*B.M.C.* 141, and *P.W.C.-B.*, 1385 from the same dies).
3. Mint of London. Moneyer Ordgar.
21.1 grains (*B.M.C.* 144 from the same dies).

A fourth coin is of a scarce moneyer and mint not as yet represented for this type in the National Collection.

4. Mint of Wareham. Moneyer Derlig.
21.4 grains (cf. *P.W.C.-B.* 1418, which has, however, P for W)
Obv. HENRIGV ··· EX *Rev.* ✱ DERLIG:ON:W...

A fifth coin provides striking corroboration of Mr. Elmore Jones's attribution of the mis-struck *P.W.C.-B.* 1398 to Wulfric of Sandwich, being in splendid condition and from the same dies.

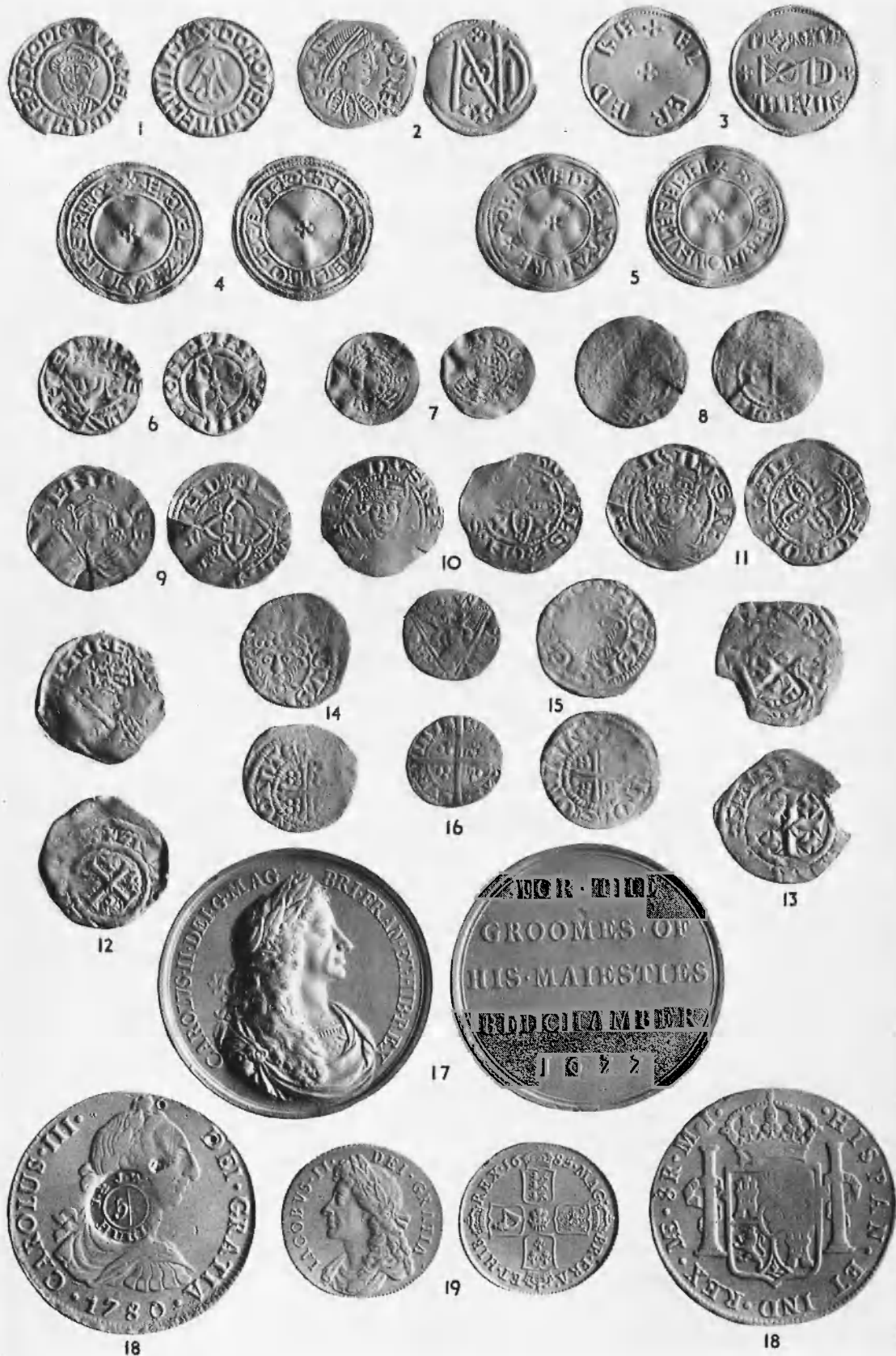
5. Mint of Sandwich. Moneyer Wu(l)fric.
22.3 grains (Wulfric is known for this mint under Stephen).
Obv. HENRIGVS · R: *Rev.* ✱ PVFRIC:CI:SANPI.

The moneyer of the sixth coin is certain and known, but the mint is completely illegible.

6. Mint of ? Moneyer Ailward.
21.6 grains.
Obv. ··· ENR ··· S *Rev.* ✱ AILFA · RD: ···

Ailward is known for Bristol only for this type. Two spellings of his name are known with readings AILWALD and ALPOLD (cf. *B.M.C.* 107/8). The latter reading is by far the most common (cf. *B.N.J.* xix. 95). Wilton is much more likely with *B.M.C.* 187, and the six coins listed by Carlyon-Britton (*B.N.J.* xix. 105). I was anxious, however, not to rule out the possibility of Winchester where Ailward is known for Class XV (Rashleigh, 470). However, one of the coins listed by Mr. Taffs proved to be from the same dies, and the coin must be given to Wilton.

R. H. DOLLEY



COINS OF HENRY I FROM THE BOURNEMOUTH DISTRICT

THE following coins of Henry I were exhibited by Mr. H. W. Taffs at the Society's Meeting on 31 October 1951. Most of those of type XIV, and Mr. Taffs thinks probably all of this type, were acquired by him in the Bournemouth district many years ago. They are published here for comparison with those listed by Mr. Dolley in this number of the *Journal*.

B.M.C., type XIV

1. Bristol, moneyer Alwold. As *B.M.C.* 108.
Obv. +hENRICVS R -
Rev. +ÆLPOLD --- BRIS :
2. Canterbury, moneyer Willem. As *B.M.C.* 114.
Obv. -- ENRICV ---
Rev. +WIL --- ON : CÆN -
3. Dorchester, moneyer Osbern. Quoted in *B.M.C.* (p. ccix) from the P. W. Carlyon-Britton specimen (lot 1923 in his sale).
Obv. ----- CVS RE :
Rev. +OSBERN : ON : DORECE :
4. Gloucester, moneyer Wulfwi. As *B.M.C.* 127.
Obv. +hENRICVS R
Rev. PVLFI : ON : GOLPEC
5. London, moneyer Alfred. Quoted in *B.M.C.* (p. ccxxi) from the P. W. Carlyon-Britton specimen (lot 1383 in his sale).
Obv. - ENRICVS RE -
Rev. +ÆLFRED • ON • LVNDE
6. London, moneyer Alfwine. As *B.M.C.* 138.
Obv. +hENRICVS R :
Rev. - ÆLPINE : ON : LVN •
7. Oxford, moneyer Ailnot. As *B.M.C.* 160 (same reverse die) (**Pl. A, 11**).
Obv. +hENRICVS R :
Rev. +ÆILNOT : ON : OXINE :
8. Sandwich, moneyer Godhese. Cf. *B.M.C.* 163 (**Pl. A, 10**).
Obv. +hENRICVS REX
Rev. - GODHESE ∴ ON ∴ S ---
- 9/10. Southwark, moneyer Algar. 9. Cf. *B.M.C.* 170-3. This spelling of the mint name differs. 10. As *B.M.C.* 170-1.
Obv. +hENRICVS R
Rev. +ÆLGÆR : ON : SVDP :
Obv. +hENRICVS R :
Rev. +ÆLGÆR : ON : SVDPER
11. Wallingford, moneyer Rodberd. Cf. *B.M.C.* 184.
Obv. - hENRICVS R :
Rev. +RO - BERD : ON : PÆLI :

12. Wilton, moneyer Ailward. Cf. *B.M.C.* 187.

Obv. + - ENRIEVS -

Rev. +AILPARD:ON:PILT

B.M.C. type IX. London, moneyer Derman (*Pl. A*, 9).

Obv. - hENR - REX

Rev. +D - RMAN ON LVND: (only final stops visible).

This moneyer is recorded in *B.M.C.* for type XV only.

B.M.C. type XV. Northampton, uncertain moneyer, apparently unrecorded.

Obv. - EN --- V -

Rev. +STOI --- RhA

A HOARD OF ENGLISH GROATS AND FLEMISH DOUBLE PATARDS FROM NORHAM CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND

THIS hoard was found by Mr. J. Malone, a Ministry of Works employee, a short distance inside the South or "Sheep" Gate of Norham Castle. In August 1950 two groups, of seven and eight coins respectively, were found embedded on edge at 6 and 8 yards from the Sheep Gate; the two groups were not kept separate. In April 1951 a third group of eight coins was found about 3 feet away from the previous find. These coins (Nos. 5, 7, 9, 13-15, 18, and 22 in the list) were packed together as though originally wrapped in a screw of paper or inside a small bag. There can be little doubt that the three groups form part of the same hoard and were buried at the same time. The hoard is to be deposited in the Black Gate Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Although the *terminus post quem* of the hoard is *c.* 1507, it was probably buried in or just before the siege of 1513, which resulted in the capture of the castle by the Scots, just before the battle of Flodden. It is presumed that the depositor was killed and never recovered it. The absence of Scottish coins suggests that he was not one of the Scots, who, of course, lost the castle after their defeat. The absence of "profile" groats of Henry VII suggests that these took some time to gain favour in remoter parts of the country.

The presence of coins of Charles the Bold in a Henrician hoard suggests parallels with the hoards from Hounslow (HVI-HVII to Cinquefoil or Pansy),¹ and another of unknown source (HVI-RIII),² in which the Flemish coins were likewise all of the immensely popular "double patard" type and had seen many years of circulation before deposition. This type, superseded by the "Briquet" series in 1474,

¹ *Num. Chron.* N.S., i, p. 140 (86 Double Patards).

² *Brit. Num. Journ.*, i, pp. 123 ff. (39 Double Patards). According to preliminary reports, the new Maidstone hoard is another case in point.

was revived later in the century,¹ but all these examples date from the reign of Charles. They may have already left the country before the lower-standard Briquet was introduced to reduce the outflow of bullion.

The presence of the Edward III coin is remarkable: it is a little below weight² but well above the reduced weight of Henry IV, let alone that of Edward IV. Nevertheless, the finder's account makes it pretty certain that it belonged to the hoard and had been kept for its bullion value. This suggests that the hoard was a poor man's treasure, not a rich man's pocket money, hurriedly deposited.

CONTENTS OF HOARD FROM NORHAM CASTLE

The lettering throughout is Lombardic save for Roman Ns on nos. 2 and 23.

Edward III

1. Groat, London, Treaty period (1363/9; late lettering suggests a date towards 1369); DNS:HIB:Z:AQ; saltire stops, worn.

Edward IV

2. Groat, London, first reign, light coinage; i.m. Rose (c. 1464/5); extra pellet in first quarter of rev.; quatrefoils beside neck.
3. Groat, London, same coinage; i.m. Sun (rev.), Rose (?) on obv. (c. 1465/6); extra pellet in first quarter (contrary to Brooke and Whitton); quatrefoils beside neck.
4. Groat, London, same coinage; i.m. Crown (c. 1467); quatrefoils beside neck; worn and broken.
5. Groat, London, same coinage; i.m. Crown (?); quatrefoils beside neck.
6. Groat, Bristol, same coinage; i.m. Crown (? rev. only) (c. 1467); saltire stops, fleured tressure; quatrefoils beside neck, B on breast. VIL/LAB/RIS/TOW
7. Groat, London, second reign; i.m. Cinquefoil (c. 1481/3); rose after DEVM and on breast.

Richard III

8. Groat, London; i.m. Rose and Sun dimidiated (? rev. only) (1483-5); pellet below bust.

Henry VII

9. Groat, London, first issue (unarched crown); i.m. Lis and Rose dimidiated (c. 1485/7); saltire stops; barred A in ANGL and CIVITAS only.
10. Groat, London, third issue (?), but double-arched crown, apparently unjewelled; i.m. Pansy or regular Cinquefoil (not Heraldic Cinquefoil, in spite of crown) (c. 1495/6); ANGL•Z•FR, CIVI/TAS•/•LON/DON; double and single saltire stops, ornate cross-ends with circular apertures.
11. Groat, London, third issue (double-arched crown, jewelled); i.m. Pansy (c. 1495/6); ANGL•Z•FR, :CIVI/TAS/•LON/DON; saltire stops, cross-ends forked with a single nick, as on 12-15.
12. Groat, London, same issue (taller crown); i.m. Pansy or Cinquefoil (c. 1495); FR:, CIVI/TAS/LON/DON (without stops).
13. Groat, London, same issue; i.m. Pansy (c. 1495/6); rosette stops; Z.F, CIVI/TAS/LON/DON.
14. Groat, London, same issue; i.m. Pansy or regular Cinquefoil (c. 1495/6); harsh bar to cross on crown, saltire stops; Z•FR:, CIVI/TAS•/•LON/DON.

¹ Under the regency of Maximilian.

² 63 grains.

15. Groat, London, same issue; i.m. Pansy (?); saltire stops; **CIVI/TAS • LON/DON**.
16. Groat, London, same issue; i.m. Anchor (down, obv., up, rev.) (c. 1501/3); **FR.; :CIVI/TAS • / • LON/DON**; saltire stops, cross-ends plain (?).
17. Groat, London, same issue, but i.m. Anchor (down on both sides) (c. 1501/3); **• FR', CIVI/TAS/LON/DON**, (without stops, elsewhere saltires); cross-ends forked.
18. Groat, London, same issue; i.m. Greyhound's Head (c. 1504); saltire stops, cross-ends plain; **CIVI/TAS • LON/DON**.
19. Groat, London, fourth issue (single-arched crown); i.m. Cross-crosslet (c. 1506/7); **ANGLIE • Z • FR', :CIVI/TAS/ : LON/DON**; cross-ends with wide fork as usual.
20. Groat, London, same issue and crown; i.m. Cross-crosslet (c. 1506/7); **• Z • FRA:CIVI/TAS/ : LON/ : DON**; cross-ends as 19.

Burgundian Netherlands: Charles the Bold (1467/77)

21. Double Patard (4 groot = 1 groat English), Bruges,¹ first issue (1469-74); i.m. Briquet (Fire-steel) (rev.); **DVX:BVRG:CO:FLA**; annulet stops, normal plain shield, double inner circle on obv.; rev., lis in centre of cross-fleury.
22. Double Patard, Bruges, similar; single inner circle on obv.
23. Double Patard, Antwerp, first issue (1467-74); i.m. AN (rev.), **DVX:BVRG:BRAB:Z:LI (MB)**; annulet stops; shield in trilobe; rev. lion in centre of cross-fleury, which reaches inner circle.

S. E. RIGOLD

TWO UNPUBLISHED IRISH COINS

MR. RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON has kindly supplied particulars of the following unpublished Irish coins in his collection:

1. Edward III halfpenny of Dublin (**Pl. A, 16**).

Obv. Star &DW/AR&DV/SR&X. Crowned head in triangle.

Rev. &IVI/T&S star /DVBL/INI&. Cross and pellets.

The stars in the legend associate this coin with the London issue of 1335-43. It is the only Irish coin Mr. Carlyon-Britton has seen which, he considers, can be definitely attributed to Edward III.



2. Richard III penny of Waterford.

Obv. R1&X..... Crowned bust facing.

Rev./T&S/W&T/.... Cross and pellets; quatrefoil in centre.

This coin is badly clipped, but the readings given above seem reasonably certain. As a cast would not produce a satisfactory reproduction, Commander R. P. Mack has kindly done the above drawing.

Grueber in his *Handbook of the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland* notes (p. 225) that, in addition to groats, which are of course known today, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies were ordered under an

¹ So Engel et Serrure. Mr. Forrer, in *Brit. Num. Journ.*, i, p. 132, says Ghent.

Act of the Parliament held in Dublin on 17 March 1483 (O.S.), but he adds that none of the three smaller denominations have been met with.

These two coins constitute therefore useful additions to the Irish series.

REVIEW

Coin Collecting for Beginners. By KENNETH A. JACOB. Weatherheads Ltd., Market Square, Cambridge. 2s. 6d. Paper, 52 pp., 1 pl.

This is an excellent little book, for it gives the information that the beginner wants, which so many books for beginners do not. The author has not concentrated on describing the various series of coins but on telling the beginner how to collect.

After chapters on "Why collect coins?" and "Why and how coins are made" there is a longer chapter on "Coins through the Ages" which gives a description of Greek, Roman, and English coinage which is perhaps adequate, though a clean jump from Æthelred II to Edward I leaves it a little sketchy. Then follows a chapter on what to collect in which, as elsewhere in the book, the author warns so very rightly against getting together an accumulation of coins instead of a collection. Then starts the most valuable part of the book, the long chapter on "How to collect" subdivided into sections on how to start a collection; how to house the collection; how to arrange the coins; labelling and cataloguing; condition; "shall I clean my coins?" (on which the author is eminently sound); and forgeries and fakes; ending with a note on numismatic societies and museums which is an urging of the beginner to learn about his coins by these means rather than exclusively by books. A useful appendix of numismatic abbreviations, terms, and books follows. There are a number of illustrations in the text and one plate.

It is a pity that neither the publishers, the printers, nor a friend read through the manuscript with any care. Coins do not "lay"—eggs or anything else: they "lie". And "latter" is *not* the same thing as "later".

H. H. K.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY 1951

PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

1903-8	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1909	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1910-14	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1915-19	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
1920-1	FREDERICK A. WALTERS, F.S.A.
1922	J. SANFORD SALTUS— <i>till 22 June</i>
1922	GRANT R. FRANCIS— <i>from 28 June</i>
1923-5	GRANT R. FRANCIS
1926-7	MAJOR W. J. FREER, V.D., D.L., F.S.A.
1928	MAJOR P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.— <i>till 20 February</i>
1928	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.— <i>from 22 February</i>
1929-32	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A., F.R.S.A.
1933-7	V. B. CROWTHER-BEYNON, M.B.E., M.A., F.S.A.
1938-45	H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.
1946-50	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.
1951	EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY

THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS GOLD MEDAL

This medal is awarded by ballot of all the members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interest of numismatic science".

The Medal was founded by the late John Sanford Saltus, Officier de la Légion d'Honneur, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society, the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

Medallists

1910	P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, D.L., F.S.A.
1911	MISS HELEN FARQUHAR
1914	W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
1917	L. A. LAWRENCE, F.S.A.
1920	LIEUT.-COL. H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.
1923	H. ALEXANDER PARSONS
1926	GRANT R. FRANCIS, F.S.A.
1929	J. SHIRLEY-FOX, R.B.A.

1932	CHARLES WINTER
1935	RAYMOND CARLYON-BRITTON
1938	WILLIAM C. WELLS
1941	CUTHBERT A. WHITTON, B.A.
1944	<i>Not awarded.</i>
1947	R. CYRIL LOCKETT, J.P., F.S.A.
1950	CHRISTOPHER E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL 1951

President: EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY, ESQ.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL; MISS HELEN FARQUAHR, F.R.HIST.S.;
SIR JOHN HANHAM, BT.; H. H. KING, M.A.; H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Director: C. E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

Treasurer: F. ELMORE JONES.

Librarian: W. FORSTER.

Secretary: G. V. DOUBLEDAY.

Council: LT.-COL. H. ALLCARD, D.S.O.; ALBERT H. F. BALDWIN; W.
HURLEY; COMMANDER R. P. MACK, R.N.; D. MANGAKIS; C. WILSON
PECK; S. E. RIGOLD; W. SLAYTER; C. B. SMITH; D. F. SPINK;
J. D. A. THOMPSON; L. V. W. WRIGHT.

ORDINARY MEETING

24 JANUARY 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Nominations:

Mr. B. R. Osborne, 26 Church Street, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwickshire.

Dr. W. A. Mayne, 191 Bitterne Road, Southampton.

Resignations:

Mr. A. D. Passmore, The South African Numismatic Society, Mr. Eric Brown, Mr. W. H. Day, Mr. J. Y. Marshall, and Mr. S. V. Hagley.

The Royal Mint

The President reported that Dr. Sutherland had been in conversation with the new Deputy Master, who was sympathetic towards the Society's suggestion that a 1951 Crown Piece should be struck to commemorate the Festival of Britain.

Letters from Honorary Members

The Secretary read letters from Miss Helen Farquhar and Mr. L. Forrer, Sen., in reply to formal notification of their election to Honorary Membership of the Society.

Exhibitions

By THE HON. R. W. H. ERSKINE:

1. A penny of Anlaf (Cuaran or Guthfrithsson), 939-43, of the "Flower" type. Moneyer INGELGAR.
2. On behalf of SIR JOHN HANHAM: A penny of the same ruler of the "Raven" type. Moneyer, AEDELFERÐ.
3. A number of casts of coins of the period covered by his paper.

By MR. TAFFS:

Two coins of Athelstan:

1. *Obv.* +EDEL••Z:TΛ||RE+BR; *Rev.* ★BYRHTEL|||OTFEARI• (Pl. A, 4) (unpublished coin of Derby mint). "The art and lettering of the coin are distinctly Northumbrian in character and of the class of dies which I have traced back to York. The form of the letters, the absence of TO in Athelstan's title REX TO(tius) BR(itan-niae), the reversed Z for S, the incompleted N and M, which are represented by two, and three, disconnected straight strokes respectively, the use of the initial cross for the X, the grouping of the triple pellets to fill in the legend, and finally the curious introduction of the unknown letter ƿ, are all peculiar to the York cuneator and, with perhaps the exception of the reversed s, occur only on dies made by him. The curious form ƿ seems to have been used by the York cuneator as a symbol, or substitute, for any letter which perhaps puzzled him in his manuscript instructions, for he was, no doubt, a Northumbrian Dane. At York I find it substituted for B, E, G, L, M, R, S, usually for T, and for X; at Derby for B, L, R, and S; on the very few coins of Nottingham for L, and at Chester, during the period only in which it was under Danish rule, for L and R." (W. J. A.)
2. Athelstan type V of Chester mint. *Obv.* ÆDELSTAN RE+ TO BRIE *Rev.* ★TIDGER M●IN LECEFI+ (Pl. A, 5).

By COMMANDER MACK:

1. A penny of Anlaf Cvnvnc of the moneyer AEDELFERÐ.
2. A penny of Eric of the moneyer LEOFIC.

By MR. BLUNT:

1. A penny of Alfred—probably a Danish imitation of the London Monogram Type (Pl. A, 2).
2. A normal London penny for comparison.
3. An illustration of an Edward the Elder penny with comparable bust, also a Danish imitation.

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

Four coins recently acquired from a family long resident in Lancashire and believed to be from the Cuerdale Hoard:

1. An Alfred cut halfpenny of B.M.C. type V.

2. A London penny, *B.M.C.* type X, of the moneyer Tilewine. The specimen illustrated in *B.M.C.* ii, p. 35, has hitherto been regarded as unique (**Pl. A, 3**).
3. An Oxford penny.
4. A penny of Edward the Elder of the Bust type, of the moneyer Wulfred.

By MR. ELMORE JONES:

A wax impression of an Edward the Confessor penny. *B.M.C.* type III; Brooke, type I; Hildebrand no. 634, of Petherton, reading + **BRIHTRIC ON PEDI**. (correcting the attribution from Reading, **REDI**).

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY:

A penny of Henry I, type I, of London, reading +**BRVNIC ON LVN**.

Paper

THE HON. R. W. H. ERSKINE read a paper entitled "The Coins and Chronology of the two Anlafs". This paper will appear in a later number.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 FEBRUARY 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Resignation

Mr. P. C. Carter.

Elections

Dr. W. A. Mayne and Mr. B. R. Osborne were elected members of the Society.

Exhibitions

By COL. GRANT:

1. A set of commemorative medals of the Peninsular Wars by Mudie.
2. A set of the same of politicians, &c., by A. J. Stothard.
3. Volume I of Thomason's *Scenes from the Bible* (of which there are four volumes in all).
4. A large working model of the Victoria Cross. Col. Grant gave a short and interesting talk on the subject of medals and laid stress upon their artistic merit, particularly when employment was made of copper as a striking medium.

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

Medals as follows: Charles II, Scheveningen, 1660; Charles I memorial medal; Van Tromp obituary medal; two Nelson medals; George III Seringapatam, 1779; Scientific Congress of France, and its prototype, a coin of Octavius and Agrippa; Recovery of

Prince of Wales, 1872; New Council Chamber of the Guildhall, 1884; Box Medals of Wellington and Nelson containing coloured prints of battles and naval actions. Also a set of ten engraved pieces depicting local and political events of the period of the Napoleonic Wars.

By MR. C. E. BLUNT:

A lead uniface medal of the Emperor Charles V, dated 1537, by Hans Reinhart the elder, and a medal of Angelus Cato, Archbishop and Count of Vienne.

By MR. D. F. SPINK:

The Peninsular Gold Cross for Nivelles, Toulouse, Nive, and Orthes, and the Peninsular Field Officer's Gold Medal for Nivelles, with bars for Nive and Orthes. The pair issued to Lieut.-Col. William Beatty, 12th Portuguese Infantry and 64th Foot.

By MR. H. W. A. LINECAR:

Commemorative medals as follows: William II and III of Orange, 1654; Charles II Restoration; James II, Religious State of England, 1688; James II, Birth of Prince James, 1688; William III, Coronation; Charles I, Return to London, 1633; William and Mary, Battle of Aghrim, 1691; William and Mary, Distrust of Louis XIV, 1693; George I, Birth of Prince Charles, 1720; The Crystal Palace, 1851; and a gold medal struck in Japan for the Victoria Jubilee of 1887.

By MR. A. BALDWIN:

1. An unpublished medal of Charles II, *rev.* "FOR THE GROOMES OF HIS MAJESTIE'S BEDCHAMBER, 1677" (Pl. A, 17).
2. A Victoria Cross group awarded to Henry Howey Robson, Private, 2nd Battalion, the Royal Scots (Lothian Regt.).
3. A Peninsular Gold Cross, and Badge and Star of Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, awarded to Sir William Howe de Lancey.

By DR. E. C. LINTON:

A Pipe Stopper, devised from a medallion and possibly made from one, showing on one side Charles I and on the other Henrietta Maria.

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY:

A series of commemorative medals showing the portraits of twelve famous British admirals and other British naval commanders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

ORDINARY MEETING

28 MARCH 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Nomination

M. A. Powills, 9645 South Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois.

Exhibitions

By MR. C. E. BLUNT:

1. A penny of Alfred, *B.M.C.* type XIV, reading ELDA ME FEC.
2. Another of similar type and reverse reading retrograde.

By MR. F. ELMORE JONES:

Two Tealby pennies of Canterbury of unpublished moneyers. (1) Bust A, Adam, (**Pl. A, 12**) and (2) Bust F, Lambrin (Lambrinus Frese of the Pipe Rolls) (**Pl. A, 13**).

By MR. H. W. TAFFS:

A large exhibit of rare and interesting coins of Great Britain and the United States, which included an unpublished penny of Stephen, *B.M.C.* type I, reading IVN:ON: &c. (Bury St. Edmunds); an Edward I pattern groat; siege pieces of Pontefract and Newark; a Charles II crown of 1666, with elephant under bust; a U.S.A. 5 dollars, 1808, and a Quarter Eagle of 1805.

By MR. D. F. SPINK:

A series of North American Chief Medals, notably one George II of 1757, a George III of 1763, and a George III of 1814, engraved for 1860 (unpublished).

By MR. P. J. SEABY:

1. A Charles I half-crown of the Tower Mint. *Obv.* i.m. triangle over anchor; *rev.* i.m. possibly the same (Grant R. Francis, pl. iv, no. 6).
2. A photostat copy of a deed confirming the grant c. 1250-80 of a house to three men, of whom two, Clement and Alexander de Stalles, were Wallingford moneyers. Mr. Seaby read a short paper which dealt mainly with the interest attached to the deed.

By MR. D. G. LIDDELL:

1. A Gaulish gold stater inscribed Viros.
2. Six Anglo-Hanoverian coins; three in gold and three in silver.
3. A Peruvian 8 Reales of Charles III, 1780, countermarked J. & J. W. Hurlet, in centre 5/- (believed unpublished) (**Pl. A, 18**).
4. A fine selection of seven Scottish portrait gold coins.

By MR. H. SCHNEIDER:

Cast of a Charles I Briot (hammered issue) Unite, i.m. prostrate anchor, probably one of three known.

By MR. A. BALDWIN:

Two James II shillings of 1685 with Welsh plume in centre of reverse. Unrecorded and possibly the only two known (Pl. A, 19).

By DR. E. C. LINTON:

A seventeenth-century gaming box containing 41 Elizabeth mill sixpences of 10 varieties.

By MR. G. V. DOUBLEDAY:

A Henry I, type II, penny of Canterbury of the moneyer Aghe-mund. Unpublished and possibly unique. A note on this coin is published in this number under "Miscellanea".

By MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY:

1. An Edward I penny, class III *f.* with Lombardic N on obverse.
2. Henry VI groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies of the Leaf-Masclie issue.
3. Henry VII, two halfpennies of London, i.m. Lis, with saltire stops, which are hitherto unpublished.
4. Two Lis-marked halfpennies of Henry VIII for comparison.

ORDINARY MEETING

25 APRIL 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Nomination

Mr. R. H. Dolley, Dept. Coins and Medals, British Museum.

Election

Mr. M. A. Powells was elected a Member of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. TAFFS:

1. A pattern 1900 four-shilling piece with the head of Victoria by Huth.
2. The same for 1911 with the head of George V.
3. A striking with crowned head of Victoria, and reverse the Imperial Institute, 1887.

By MR. BAGNALL:

Two Scottish 30s. pieces of Charles I, i.m. Thistle; two half-crowns of Charles I, one with i.m. Triangle; and the other *obv.* Lis and *rev.* Grapes; a George I "Rosa Americana" penny and half-penny; a Hog Money Bermuda shilling and sixpence, 1616-19; an Edward VI testoon, i.m. Bow.; a Henry VIII testoon; an Edward V groat, i.m. Boar's Head; and a Royalist badge of Charles I.

Paper

MR. J. D. A. THOMPSON read a paper entitled "Some Suggestions for a New British Coinage". He contrasted the technical efficiency of the Mint with the decline in artistic elegance of the modern coinage, and in suggesting improvements he weighed the advantages of originality and tradition. A number of slides of Mr. Thompson's own drawings were shown in illustration of his theories. He praised the appearance of the 1951 Crown, and concluded by summing up the fundamental maxims for the success of a new coinage.

In the discussion which followed the paper, Members, although not all agreeing with Mr. Thompson's designs, admitted the merit of many of them. Members who spoke on the paper included the Deputy Master of the Mint, who quoted some of the pitfalls between the artist and the technical expert. He exhibited a 1951 "Festival" Crown, which was admired, and defended its reverse legend which Mr. Anthony Thompson had tended to criticize.

ORDINARY MEETING

23 MAY 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Nominations

Le Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 58 Rue de Richelieu, Paris.

Martin David Kebbell, 59 Harrow Road, Carshalton, Surrey.

For Junior Membership, John Hankinson, 18 Trebovir Road, London, S.W.5.

Election

Mr. R. H. Dolley was elected a Member of the Society.

Presentation of the Sanford Saltus Medal for 1950

The President, before handing the medal to Mr. C. E. Blunt, referred to it as a most pleasant duty, and went on to speak of the importance of Mr. Blunt's numismatic publications. He referred firstly to his paper on the Mint of Berwick which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1931, and he reminded Members that Mr. Blunt's classification is the one still used by the British Museum, which in itself pays great tribute to a living scholar. He referred particularly also to his papers on the coinage of Edward IV and V, the latter work being so well known on account of the stimulating storm of controversy which it had aroused. He then went on to speak of Mr. Blunt's post-war work with the late C. A. Whitton on Edward IV, and the paper on "The Coinage of Edward IV and Henry VI Restored" which appeared in volume XXV of the *B.N.J.* and which was, he thought, the basis of the Sanford Saltus award. He concluded by speaking of the

gratitude which the Society felt towards Mr. Blunt for his efforts as President and Editor.

Mr. Blunt in his reply gave personal appreciation of the honour which had been conferred upon him, and he told members of his experiences in the study of coins since the time some thirty years ago when he, in his innocence, had labelled a certain Di-stater from the cabinet of his grandfather as a "Disaster", and went on to give the opinion that the successful appreciation of coin collecting was largely a matter of chance. Mr. Blunt ended by praising the work of the late C. A. Whitton touching the research they had done together on the coinage of Edward IV.

Paper

MR. HAROLD MATTINGLY read a paper entitled "The Numismatic Aspect of a Journey to Australia and New Zealand". This consisted of a most interesting account of his travels and contacts with numismatists and their societies.

ORDINARY MEETING

27 JUNE 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Exhibitions

By MR. P. V. HILL:

Five Saxon sceattas, in illustration of his paper.

By MR. A. BALDWIN:

1. Fifteen Saxon sceattas.
2. A Piedfort of a "sovereign" penny of Henry VIII, 1st Coinage, Durham (Bp. Ruthall).

By MR. D. MANGAKIS:

An Edward IV Rose noble, *obv.* i.m. Sun and possibly no *rev.* i.m.

By MR. D. F. SPINK:

A forgery of a testoon of Mary of Scotland, struck in gold.

By MR. H. H. KING:

A William I, type IV, penny of Lewes; moneyer, *IELFRIC* (unpublished). From Lord Bute's sale, lot 61 (illustrated).

Obituary

The death was recorded of Mr. Ernest Streeter of Petworth, a Member since 1943.

Elections

The following were elected to membership of the Society: Le Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Martin David Kebbell; and to Junior Membership, John Hankinson.

Presentation of the Accounts

The Treasurer laid before the Society the accounts for the year to 31 October 1950. The President called for the adoption of the accounts and coupled with this a vote of thanks to the Treasurer. The vote was moved by Dr. Linton, seconded by Col. Allcard, and carried unanimously.

Paper

MR. PHILIP V. HILL read a paper entitled "The 'Standard' and 'London' Types of Anglo-Saxon Sceattas". This paper is printed in the present number of the *Journal*.

ORDINARY MEETING

26 SEPTEMBER 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Obituary

The President paid respect to the recently deceased Mr. D. Glendining, a Founder Member; Mr. W. G. Wallace, a Member since 1918; and also to Dr. Milne, who, although not a Member of the Society, was well known to many Members.

Nomination

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, in the name of the Generaldirektor, Dr. Gustav Hoffmann.

Exhibitions

By MR. WINSTANLEY:

Two "Profile" half-groats of Henry VII and two of Henry VIII to illustrate his paper.

By MR. ELMORE JONES:

A Durham penny of Edward III, Fox 15d., with crown in centre of reverse, and two of the preceding type, one with plain cross i.m.

By COMMANDER MACK:

Twelve ancient British staters in gold, silver, and bronze, including two of Cunobelin.

By MR. R. H. DOLLEY:

A forgery of a William III crown dated 1699. Mr. Dolley read a short note on the subject of his exhibit and gave his reasons for the detection of this clever and interesting forgery.

Paper

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY read a paper entitled "New Thoughts on the Profile Half-Groats of Henry VII". He concerned himself with mint attributions of coins with the four initial marks, Lis, Pheon, Martlet, and Rose, the first two being accepted as of London, and those

with Martlet and Rose being in doubt, with the exception of those bearing keys upon the reverse, which would naturally belong to York. By a careful comparison of dies of the Martlet and Rose profile keyless half-groats of Henry VII with such coins as a Martlet over Rose half-groat of Henry VIII of York with keys in the British Museum, Mr. Winstanley produced a careful and detailed case for their assignment to York, instead of as formerly to Canterbury.

ORDINARY MEETING

31 OCTOBER 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Election

The Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich, in the name of the Generaldirektor, Dr. Gustav Hoffmann, was elected to membership of the Society.

Exhibitions

By MRS. J. R. PRITCHARD:

A sceatta of *B.M.C.* type 27*b*. The subject of her paper.

By MR. H. W. TAFES:

Seventeen pennies of Henry I of *B.M.C.* types IX, XIV, and XV.

A note on some of these coins appears under "Miscellanea".

By MR. C. E. BLUNT:

Three early half-groats of Henry V. Brooke I/I without annulet and pellet by crown; III/III ex Rashleigh Collection; IV/IV.

By DR. E. C. LINTON:

A volume containing plates of "British and Anglo-Saxon Coins" from Ruding with notes by Robert Bryer, dated August 1812, transcribed from notes of Taylor Combe.

Paper

MRS. J. R. PRITCHARD read a paper entitled "A Coin of the Fifth Century", in which she argued that the sceatta of the "bird on cross" type which she was exhibiting and which is normally attributed to the seventh century was in fact a piece of the fifth century. In pointing out certain differences of style, alike in attempted portraiture, ornamentation, and lettering, which might lead to placing the coin as a predecessor of the degraded types rather than a successor, she described the coin as a forerunner of a limited series which died a natural death with the arrival of Saxons and Jutes. Mrs. Pritchard went on to give her reading of the obverse runic inscription as A.U.H.T.G.A.N.N.G. which she linked up with the

reverse, which was in her opinion the Latin W E R H T G A N, and concluded by quoting from the Laudian MS. under the years 443, 445, and 449.

In the discussion which followed, certain members found difficulty in accepting the proposed attribution but thanked the reader for putting forward so challenging a theory.

MR. R. H. DOLLEY read a note on six coins of Henry I, type XIV, from an uncertain hoard. This note appears in the present number under "Miscellanea".

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

30 NOVEMBER 1951

MR. E. J. WINSTANLEY, *President, in the Chair*

Resignations

The resignation was reported of Mr. W. H. Browning and Major B. G. Carew Hunt.

Nominations

K. Miles, 28 Nursery Avenue, Onchan, Isle of Man.

For Junior Membership, A. C. Renfrew, 13 Mandeville Rise, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

Amovals:

In accordance with Chap. 3, para. 4 of the Rules, the Secretary received instructions to amove the names of C. Hay and E. H. Cooper from the Society's register of Members.

Numismatic Congress for 1952

The Secretary read a provisional programme for the Congress which is to be held at Cambridge on 10 May under the auspices of the Cambridge Numismatic Society.

Exhibitions

By MR. WINSTANLEY:

Two groats reading Edward, the first with i.m. Sun and Rose dimidiated on the obverse, and the second with Boar's Head on the obverse, both groats from the same obverse die.

By MR. ELMORE JONES:

Cast of a coin of Stephen, type VII, which corrects the attribution of *B.M.C.* no. 214 from Thetford to Hereford; and two Short-cross pennies of class VIII of London and Canterbury, both from the same obverse die (Pl. A, 14, 15).

By MR. TAFFS:

Six Edward the Confessor pennies and one of Harold I which are unrecorded in *B.M.C.*:

Edward the Confessor:

Type XV OVÐGRIM ON LINCOL (Lincoln). Unpublished moneyer for type of Lincoln.

Type IX ÆLFPINE ON PINC (Winchester). Unpublished spelling of Winchester for this type.

Type XI ÆLFPINE ON ÐITFOR (Thetford). Unpublished moneyer for this type of Thetford.

Type VII MORCERE ON EDM (St. Edmundsbury). Unpublished moneyer for this type.

Type IX EALDCAR ON LVND (London). Unpublished reading in this type.

Type I. PINEMAN ON SER (Salisbury). Not in *B.M.C.*

Harold I:

Type Vc SPERT ONN STA (Stamford). Not in *B.M.C.*, but recorded by W. C. Wells from Hildebrand.

Presidential Address

The President read his Annual Address. Mr. Albert Baldwin moved a vote of thanks to the President for his Address; this was seconded by the Secretary and carried unanimously.

Ballot for Officers and Council

The ballot was held for the election of Officers and Council for 1952. The following were declared to be elected:

President: E. J. WINSTANLEY, ESQ.

Vice-Presidents: A. E. BAGNALL; MISS H. FARQUHAR, F.R.HIST.S.; SIR JOHN HANHAM, BT.; H. H. KING, M.A.; H. W. TAFFS, M.B.E.

Director: C. E. BLUNT, O.B.E., F.S.A.

Treasurer: F. ELMORE JONES.

Librarian: W. FORSTER.

Secretary: G. V. DOUBLEDAY.

Council: A. BALDWIN; E. BURSTAL, M.D.; W. HURLEY; E. C. LINTON; COMM. R. P. MACK, R.N.; O. W. PECK; S. E. RIGOLD; H. SCHNEIDER; W. SLAYTER; D. F. SPINK; J. D. A. THOMPSON; and L. V. W. WRIGHT.

ADDRESS BY EDGAR J. WINSTANLEY

PRESIDENT OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, 30 November 1951

OUR Society completes tonight the forty-eighth year of its life. During the past twelve months our losses by death have been lighter than in the previous year—3 in number compared with 7. We have nevertheless to record with regret the death of Mr. Glendining—a Founder Member whose genial figure was familiar to us in his sale-room in Argyle Street, of Mr. Wallace of Bournemouth, and of Mr. Streeter of Petworth. We have lost 11 members by resignation against 15 in 1950. Four members have been removed under Chap. 4 of our By-laws.

Our numbers have thus suffered a loss during the year of 19. Against this loss we can put a gain of 8 new members elected during the year. Our over-all loss is therefore 11 or something approaching 5 per cent. of our strength. Eight is not a very large figure for the year's admissions to membership. Last year the figure was 11. To maintain health and vitality in such a society as ours a small over-all increase in numbers is needed each year. I think our losses this year are still to some extent the result of raising the subscription. I hope that we have now seen the end of losses from this source. If our gains are small in number, they do include the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and the State Library of Munich.

We have held the full number of meetings and we have had some excellent papers. The accent has been on the earlier periods of English coinage. This, I feel, is no bad thing as it is in these series that there lies the greatest scope and need for investigation. As in former years our exhibits have been large in number and of great excellence. We take pride in keeping up a high standard in this aspect of our meetings. It encourages Members to disclose their treasures and their views about them and to make known to us specimens and varieties that might otherwise go unrecorded.

We had the pleasure of welcoming to our April meeting the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint. He was admitted to membership and heard Mr. Anthony Thompson's paper "Suggestions for a New British Coinage". To our delight the Deputy Master spoke in the discussion that followed the paper.

At the May meeting we presented to Mr. Blunt the Sanford Saltus medal that had been awarded to him last November—an award that all Members view with satisfaction.

This year the publishing of the *Journal* has been delayed overlong. I regret this not only because of the disappointment it brings to Members but more especially because it is our only link with our Overseas and Library Members, and because we have very little but the *Journal* to offer them as evidence of our being alive and functioning.

I hope very sincerely it may be possible to avoid this delay in its appearance next year.

Early this year your Council was invited to collaborate with the Council of the Royal Numismatic Society in preparing a report for submission to the Committee appointed by the Government to inquire into the export of works of art from this country. Dr. Sutherland passed to us for consideration a memorandum that he and the Royal Numismatic Council had prepared. This was discussed by your Council, whose views and suggestions were passed back to Dr. Sutherland. The report in its final form went in embodying the joint recommendations of both Societies.

Another link between the two Societies has been forged by the decision taken just over a year ago by the Councils of both Societies to prepare and publish as one work a joint catalogue of the Libraries of both Societies. The value of this decision as a convenience, as an aid to research, and as a saving of expense is too evident to need emphasis from me. Until the preparation of our part of this catalogue was begun practically no cataloguing of our library had been done since the war. There was therefore a great deal of arrears to be made good. This has laid a heavy burden on our Librarian. It is work for which he has special competence and I learn from him that about three-quarters of the task is done. Mr. Forster has worked very hard for the Society and has sacrificed a great deal of his free time. I am glad to have the opportunity this evening of thanking him in your name.

Recently your Council has decided to invite Members to pay their subscription under covenant. The reason for this has been set out in a leaflet that has been posted to all private members. I would like to remind members again that the Society's income derived in the main from subscriptions—recently raised to two guineas annually—does little more than cover the cost of printing the *Journal*. Printing costs have risen very steeply during recent years and may easily rise still more. When the *Journal* is paid for what is left just pays our running expenses. This means that, were we so fortunate as to be offered suitable premises for a permanent home, the cost of renting such premises would not only be more than we pay at present for the use of this room but would be more than we could pay out of income. I appeal to Members therefore to adopt this method of paying their subscription because they will thereby be helping very materially to strengthen the Society's financial position.

It was made known to us early in the year that there was a lively feeling in the north that Coin Day should be held there this year and not in London. You asked me to represent this Society at the deliberations held by the bodies concerned in organizing Coin Day for 1951. The decision not to hold Coin Day in London but to support the Yorkshire Numismatic Society in organizing a Congress at Bradford was fully justified. I do not need to tell members how successfully the Congress was held there. Many of our members were present. You may re-

member too that out of conversations begun at Bradford on that day a representative organization has come into being to do the work of co-ordination that is needed throughout the year. We have just heard that the Cambridge Numismatic Society has undertaken to organize the Congress in 1952 at Cambridge. We have every reason to look forward to a very successful Congress at Cambridge. I hope it will be well supported by the Members of this Society.

At the British Museum the Department of Coins and Medals has moved to better premises. A new Assistant Keeper has been appointed, and our particular interests are once more looked after by an officer whose primary if not his whole duty is the care of the English coins in the National Collection. We welcome in the person of Mr. R. H. Dolley a new friend at the British Museum, a new Member, and Reader at our meetings, and a reinforcement to our band of scholars. Is it too much to hope that, with the Coin Room staff now up to establishment and with adequate premises, the work of cataloguing the English coins in the British Museum may now go forward a little more quickly? Chronologically it would seem that the short-cross pennies would be the next series to be done. In this Society there is a wealth of expert knowledge here that I know would be gladly made available to help in this work.

An event of importance to us has been the discovery last December at Chester of another hoard of Saxon coins. The number of coins found was over 500, of which 130 are new in one way or another. I am glad to place it on record that we owe it to the generosity of Mr. Graham Webster, Curator of the Gate Museum at Chester, that the hoard will not be broken up but will be kept in two places—the British Museum and the Chester Museum. The coins have been examined and listed by Mr. Dolley and Mr. Blunt. I am very happy to be able to tell you, and I have the authority of the Keeper, Mr. Robinson, for saying this, that not only are we to have a paper read to us on this hoard during the coming session but also that we are to have the privilege of publishing the hoard in our *Journal*. Another hoard was discovered in August 1950 at Iona in the Western Isles. It consisted of some 320 English pennies dating from Athelstan to Æthelred II. It contained a large number of pennies of Edgar. All the coins in this hoard, with the exception of duplicates, have gone to the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities. Four duplicates have been presented to the British Museum. The hoard is to be published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.

This year has seen the dispersal in the sale-room of the collection of English coins formed by the late L. A. Lawrence. It was a collection of importance to students because of the large number of significant coins it contained. So great indeed was the number of coins that Members of this Society gave willing help in the work of preliminary sorting and arrangement. That the coins should have sold so well is satisfactory evidence of the interest still taken in English coins and in particular in the hammered series. The success owed a great deal, too,

to the admirable way in which the catalogues were prepared. This was, I believe, the work of one person, our member and friend Mr. Albert Baldwin. Tribute has already been paid in another place to Mr. Baldwin. I would like to add here my tribute, indeed our tribute, to his scholarly achievement.

As is well known, before the Lawrence coins were sold the British Museum, acting in accordance with directions made by Mr. Lawrence in his will, selected a number of coins needed to fill gaps in the Museum trays. The number of coins selected is about 300 in the Plantagenet and Tudor series alone. Some of us have felt that, in order to complete the record of the collection that is made by the sale catalogues, a list should be prepared of the coins selected by the British Museum. I have taken some part in the work of preparing such a list, and while doing so I have discovered that Mr. Lawrence in the course of his long association with the British Museum presented or allowed the Coin Room to acquire from him in his lifetime a very large number of coins. I have counted in the Museum trays between 70 and 80 gold and silver coins of the reigns of Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III alone. Among them is the unique halfpenny of Class F of Edward III that was one of the prizes of the Wheeler sale. I have no doubt there are equally splendid coins for the period from Richard II to Henry VIII, as I expect to discover when I go through the trays of that period. Only the other day I noticed among the nobles of Henry V in the British Museum that of the three specimens of the very rare earliest noble of Class A that the Museum possesses—and I believe these are the only three known—by far the finest specimen of the three was acquired from Mr. Lawrence as long ago as 1917. Mr. Elmore Jones tells me that the British Museum collection of Tealby pennies includes some 300 acquired from Mr. Lawrence during his lifetime.

There are few parallels to public-spirited generosity of this order, but there is one. I speak only of the series in which I work, but I have been struck by the great number of coins of my series in British Museum trays ticketed as the bequest of Bryan Clarke Thornhill. If his benefactions in other series are as great as they are in the Plantagenet and Tudor series, they must amount to some hundreds of important coins. Clarke Thornhill was a man of substance and with him to desire a coin was usually in the long run to possess it. To collect rare and significant coins for the sole purpose of bequeathing them to our national collection is to most of us a new aspect of coin collecting. Should the Trustees ever decide to put up in the Coin Room a tablet bearing the names of notable benefactors—and I think this idea has something to commend it—then the name of L. A. Lawrence and of Bryan Clarke Thornhill should be prominently displayed as a lasting memorial, and a reminder to us of benefactions by which we profit so much in our studies and the example of which we might do well to bear in mind. It is pleasant to recall that recently Mrs. Lockett has presented to the British Museum the unique gold penny of Edward the Confessor that Mr. Lockett acquired not very long before his

death. Even more recently our Member Mr. Schneider has presented a laurel of James I of the last issue. So the spirit of generous giving is not dead.

I am reminded, too, of other aspects of coin collecting by some remarks made by Mr. Grierson in an essay, "Numismatics and History", published this year. Mr. Grierson, himself a notable collector, has some hard things to say of collectors. As I am a collector too and am speaking to collectors, I will attempt a few words in defence of our kind. First let me read to you what Mr. Grierson says:

"If Numismatics then is a subject of such importance to historians why is it so much neglected by them? For it can scarcely be denied that apart from classical historians, who, since the Renaissance have constantly used it in their work, it is a subject held in little esteem. The collecting of coins and their study is regarded as an agreeable hobby, more respectable than the collecting of stamps, since coins are earlier in date, more difficult to understand and more expensive to acquire, but a pursuit of an exactly similar kind."

[I skip here rather more than a page of Mr. Grierson's text and go on:]

"Numismatists, apart from those who are members of the staffs of museum coin rooms, are in the main recruited from the ranks of collectors and can often not rid themselves of their mentality. They love to amass rarities, to classify and describe their prizes, to possess and record varieties which have escaped the notice of their fellows. The accumulation of knowledge rather than its interpretation is often their primary aim. This type of learning should not be underestimated: it forms an essential part of the serious study of any subject, and the technical competence of collectors within their chosen field is often nothing short of amazing. But the historian may perhaps be forgiven if he does not always see the use of this accumulation of detailed observation, since it is often presented in a form quite incomprehensible to him."

Mr. Grierson, as you have heard, brings two charges against collectors. First that we are apt to do all the feverish, reprehensible, and delicious things that form the essence of collecting. We go out and hunt for the coins we want and when we have got them we hoard them and gloat over them. I have myself a good deal of sympathy with this aspect of collecting. It is a precious form of escape from the drab realities of daily life. Moreover, our eagerness to look for, and our willingness to pay for, good coins promotes an equal readiness on the part of the dealer to ferret them out for us. Without this stimulus, would not many an important coin remain buried and unknown? I suggest that it is the collector as such, rather than the research student or the museum coin room, that makes it worth the dealer's while to go to such trouble to find the coins that we want to acquire. Do we not remember, too, that some of our Members who were careful to insist that they were collectors and nothing more, have come regularly to

our meetings, thereby enriching them not only with their presence but also with their comments and their exhibits? Many of these collectors had a wide and intelligent knowledge of the coins they possessed and prized. I submit, then, that the collector is the friend rather than the enemy of man. His activities are in the long run beneficial to science. Within a short span of years his treasure of coins, got together at such pains and perhaps at great expense, has inevitably to be left behind. Sometimes it is released for nobler ends. Our museum collections not infrequently benefit by the testamentary dispositions of men who neither could nor would claim to be anything more than collectors. How much poorer would the British Museum collection of British coins be without the Clarke Thornhill bequest? What treasures would not the Fitzwilliam Museum have missed if the Henderson Collection of English coins had not been bequeathed to it?

Mr. Grierson's second charge is that we present the result of our studies in an unintelligent manner.

Most of us spend the greater part of our day and of our energy earning a living. When the day's work is over we come to our coins for relaxation and refreshment. Sometimes we may do little more than turn them over and admire them. If we do not settle down at once to some tricky problem in research, who is to blame us? How many of us have the background of the trained historian to guide us? How many of us have access to museum collections and great libraries and the freedom to go there during the day? Have we not all of us begun as just collectors—for the fun of it?

Some of us, however, have within us the spark of curiosity, and though indifferently equipped we try as hard as we may to get our coins to tell us something. Our efforts may be ill directed and our methods at fault. Let us acknowledge this and let us look to scholars like Mr. Grierson for encouragement and for direction such as is afforded by his brilliant paper.

I have been looking at the coins of Richard III and Henry VII for a long time now. It would be unreasonable to expect my coins to reveal to me whether it was Richard III or Henry VII that murdered the Princes in the Tower, if indeed they were murdered, and if indeed it was in the Tower that that dreadful crime was committed. But I can hope that diligent and persevering study, perhaps on the lines suggested by Mr. Whitton in a paper of his, may throw a little much needed light on King Richard's protectorship or even on his usurpation.

It has been the aim of this Society since its foundation nearly fifty years ago to promote the study of our English coinage and to encourage the collector to turn numismatist and also to some extent historian. Perhaps we may still claim as a body to be able to give in the matter of English coins a more authoritative verdict than any other body—be it museum, learned society, or commercial undertaking. If that is a proud boast we can uphold it by appeal to the long list of papers on vital matters of English coin study that have been appear-

ing for nearly half a century in our *Journal* and that are still appearing. So proud a claim carries with it an obligation too—to maintain unswervingly the high standard of scholarship that our *Journal* has achieved. It might perhaps be said that this is indeed our only justification for existing as a learned body. We have for a long while been under great obligation to our editor Mr. Blunt, who has always insisted that we should keep the *Journal* at the highest possible level of scholarship. Indeed, I recall hearing him say that we should strive to make and to keep the *Journal* of such quality that all concerned with our activities would feel that it is something they could not do without.

If our work as a Numismatic Society then is to promote the study of the coins of this country and of its Dominions and Colonies, does it not follow that our links with Numismatic Societies in the Dominions should be as close as we can make them? Can we be satisfied that we are doing all that we can to help and to encourage our fellow numismatists abroad?

We heard Mr. Mattingly speak to us last May of his visit to Australia and of the keenness he found there among students and collectors. He stressed the difficulties the student there had to contend with—the scarcity of coins and books. Should we perhaps not ask ourselves, privileged as we are in this country in the matter of material for our study, whether we should not try to pass on to our fellow workers abroad some measure of the advantages and of the riches that we enjoy here in Britain? We receive the publications of a number of the Dominion Numismatic Societies, and I believe that we send our *Journal* to most of them. Is that enough? Should we not look to see if there are other ways in which we can materially help them? This point was taken up, I remember, and discussed after Mr. Mattingly's paper, but I do not think any action has been taken.

Would it be practicable, would it be advisable or of service to them, to throw open a page or two of the *Journal* to communications from the Dominion Societies? By that I mean not to communications of an academic coin nature, but for information as to their activities, and perhaps more especially for the voicing of their needs. I make this one suggestion; I am sure others will come from minds more fertile and more imaginative than mine. I do feel that we have something of a duty in this, and I look forward, if what I say finds favour with you, to discussion and I hope action in the coming session.

When I look back over the year I am made aware how greatly I am indebted to our Director and to our Treasurer for encouragement and wise counsel. To the Secretary my debt is also very great. In his quiet self-effacing way Mr. Doubleday does necessary and valuable work for the Society and does it exceedingly well. I am grateful to him for so much that he does to make my way smooth. To the Council and indeed to all Members I am grateful for their support and their indulgence. If I may hope for the continuance of this support and this indulgence, then I think we may look forward to another year of steady progress.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF THE
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

ON 30 APRIL 1952

ROYAL MEMBERS

HER MAJESTY QUEEN MARY.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF WINDSOR.

In Alphabetical Order

HER MAJESTY ALEXANDRINE, QUEEN OF DENMARK AND ICELAND.

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELENA OF ITALY.

HIS MAJESTY HAAKON VII, KING OF NORWAY.

HIS MAJESTY GUSTAV VI, KING OF SWEDEN.

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN.

HONORARY MEMBERS

1905 RENDALL, VERNON HORACE, ESQ., B.A., Manor House, Devon Road,
Borden, Hants.

1903 FARQUHAR, MISS HELEN, F.R.HIST.S., 6 Lowndes Street, London,
S.W. 1.

1903 FORRER, L., ESQ., Helvetia, 24 Homefield Road, Bromley, Kent.

1903 TAFFS, H. W., ESQ., M.B.E., 109 Footscray Road, Eltham, London,
S.E. 9.

MEMBERS

* *Life Member* † *Junior Member*

1904 ABERDEEN, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, The Librarian.

1907 ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, c/o B. H.
Blackwell, Ltd., 48-51 Broad Street, Oxford.

1947 ALLCARD, LT.-COL. H., D.S.O., 29 Windsor Road, Selsey, Sussex.

1935 ALLEN, D. F., ESQ., B.A., P.O. Box 1360, Singapore.

1946 AMANN, A. F., ESQ., 1a Mayfield Road, Stroud Green, London, N. 8.

1906 AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 156th Street, West of Broadway,
New York.

1906 ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, THE SOCIETY OF, The Secretary, Burling-
ton House, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.

1915 ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND, THE SOCIETY OF, The Secretary, Queen
Street, Edinburgh.

1935 ARNOLD, F. O., ESQ., M.A., M.D., Wynthorpe, Murieston Road, Hale,
Cheshire.

1949 AUSTRALIAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, c/o The Nicholson Museum, The
University, Sydney, New South Wales.

1922 BAGNALL, A. E., ESQ., 3 Castle Road, Shipley, Yorks.

1923 BALDWIN, A. H. F., ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

1938 BALDWIN, ALBERT, ESQ., 3 Robert Street, Adelphi, London, W.C. 2.

1941 BALDWIN, W. V. R., ESQ., Mont Dore, West Hill, High Salvington,
Worthing, Sussex.

1949 BARBER, D. R. W., ESQ., 341 Banbury Road (Flat 3), Oxford.

- 1946 BARNES, A. E., ESQ., 33 Stratton Road, Beaconsfield, Bucks.
- 1947 BASMADJIEFF, LUBEN A., Postfach Fraumunster 1071, Zurich, Switzerland.
- 1909 BELFAST CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Chief Librarian, Belfast.
- 1904 BIRKENHEAD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The Librarian, The Central Library, Birkenhead.
- 1906 BIRMINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The City Librarian, Birmingham.
- 1947 BIRMINGHAM UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Edmund Street, Birmingham, 3.
- 1948 BLAKE, G. R., ESQ., Fountain Court, Brook, Lyndhurst, Hants.
- 1933 BLUNT, C. E., ESQ., O.B.E., F.S.A., Wilton House, Hungerford, Berks.
- 1907 BOOTLE CENTRAL LIBRARY AND MUSEUM, The Librarian and Curator, Oriol Road, Bootle, Lancs.
- 1950 BOURGEY, MONS. EMILE, 7 Rue Drouot, Paris, IX.
- 1930 BOURNEMOUTH PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The Borough Librarian, Central Library, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1948 BRAZENOR, H. C. F., ESQ., Art Gallery and Museum, North Gate House, Church Street, Brighton, 1.
- 1942 BRETTELL, R. P. V., ESQ., 17 Victoria Road, Exmouth.
- *1933 BRIGGS, MR. L. CABOT, Hancock, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
- 1947 BRISTOL CITY MUSEUM, The Keeper, Queens Road, Bristol, 8.
- †1946 BROWN, L. A., ESQ., Lockerbie, Riverbank, Hampton Court, Surrey.
- 1942 BURSTAL, E., ESQ., M.A., M.D., 46 Lansdowne Road, Bournemouth, Hants.
- 1945 BURTON, LT.-COL. G. S. M., M.B.E., M.C., West Court, Gravel Hill, Finchley, London, N. 3.
- 1908 CAMBRIDGE, THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, The Director, Cambridge.
- 1904 CAMBRIDGE, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Cambridge.
- 1904 CARDIFF FREE LIBRARIES, The Librarian, Cardiff.
- 1911 CARLYON BRITTON, R., ESQ., F.S.A., 32 Westgate, Chichester, Sussex.
- 1947 CAWTHORNE, T., ESQ., F.R.C.S., 149 Harley Street, London, W. 1.
- 1946 CHAINEY, H. G., ESQ., 21 Manor Way, Chingford, London, E. 4.
- 1929 CHECKLEY, J. F. H., ESQ., 26 Maple Avenue, Maidstone, Kent.
- 1914 CHRISTOPHER, R. T., ESQ., West View, Bradford on Avon, Wilts.
- 1949 CLARK, MAJOR A., 44 High Street, Pennistone, Sheffield.
- 1946 CLARK, J. W., ESQ., 56-58 Beaconsfield Street, Blyth, Northumberland.
- 1948 CLARKE, THE REV. J. W., B.A., Gormanston, Meath, Eire.
- 1909 CONGRESS, LIBRARY OF, WASHINGTON, D.C., c/o E. G. Allen & Son, Ltd., 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1937 DAVIDSON, DR. J., Linton Muir, West Linton, Peebles-shire, Scotland.
- 1926 DENTON, A. R., ESQ., The Hollies, 90 Haygate Road, Wellington, Salop.
- 1904 DERBY, THE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Director, Derby.
- 1949 DE VORE, WEBER, ESQ., Three Tuns, Ambler, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.
- 1951 DOLLEY, R. H., ESQ., Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, W.C. 1.
- 1946 DOUBLEDAY, G. V., ESQ., The Old Rectory, Langford, Maldon, Essex.
- 1948 DRESSER, MR. JOHN L., 167 East 90th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1944 DUBLIN, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND, The Librarian, Kildare Street, Dublin, Eire.
- 1904 DUBLIN, THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, The Librarian, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin, Eire.
- 1904 EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND, The Keeper, Edinburgh.

- 1903 EDINBURGH, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY, The Principal Librarian, Edinburgh.
- 1913 EDINBURGH, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Edinburgh.
- 1950 EDWARDS, R. A., ESQ., Kowloon Hospital, Hong Kong.
- 1949 ELST, CHARLES VAN DER, ESQ., 32 Longue Rue de L'Hôpital, Antwerp, Belgium.
- †1946 ERSKINE, THE HON. R. W. H., Ickworth, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
- 1903 EVANS, LT.-COL. C. L., Corris, Wash Hill, Newbury, Berks.
- 1949 FERGUSON, W. D., ESQ., Lindon, 39 North Terrace, Kelburn, Wellington, W. I., New Zealand.
- 1922 FINLANDS NATIONALMUSEUM, The Librarian, Arkeologiska Kommissionen, Helsingfors, Finland.
- 1950 FIRTH, C. J., ESQ., Mount View, 46 King Street, Hoyland, nr. Barnsley.
- 1946 FORRER, LT.-COL. L. S., 175 Piccadilly, London, W. I.
- 1947 FORRER, R., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son, 5-7 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W. I.
- 1950 FORSTER, W., ESQ., 26 Brondesbury Park, London, N.W. 6.
- 1951 FRANCE, LE CABINET DES MEDAILLES, Bibliothèque Nationale, 58 Rue de Richelieu, Paris.
- 1951 FRENCH, W. C., ESQ., Glendining & Co., 7 Blenheim Street, New Bond Street, London, W. I.
- 1906 GARDNER, DR. WILLOUGHBY, F.S.A., Y Berlfa, Deganwy, N. Wales.
- 1903 GLASGOW, THE MITCHELL LIBRARY, The Librarian, North Street, Glasgow.
- 1938 GRANT, COL. M. H., 18 Victoria Grove, London, W. 8.
- 1947 GRIERSON, P., ESQ., M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
- *1943 GRIFFITHS, N., ESQ., Trinity Chambers, 67 High Street, Tunstall, Stoke on Trent, Staffs.
- 1948 HAGLEY, S. V., ESQ., Renmark Avenue, Renmark, South Australia.
- *1944 HANHAM, SIR JOHN, BT., Deans Court, Wimborne, Dorset.
- 1951 HANKINSON, J., ESQ., 18 Trebovir Road, London, S.W. 5.
- 1949 HARKNESS, D., ESQ., 38 Redcar Road, Crookesmoor, Sheffield, 10.
- 1909 HARVARD UNIVERSITY, THE LIBRARY OF, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., c/o E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C. 2.
- 1947 HAY, C., ESQ., 140 King's Cross Road, London, W.C. I.
- 1949 HILL, J. W. F., ESQ., 2 Lindum Terrace, Lincoln.
- 1944 HIRD, H., ESQ., Fern Royd, 5 North Park Road, Bradford, Yorks.
- 1948 HOLZER, MR. H. W., 134 East 59th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1946 HOPKINS, G. S., ESQ., 45 Crosby Road, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.
- 1948 HORSMAN, H., ESQ., 99 Leyburn Road, Darlington, Co. Durham.
- *1906 HUNTINGTON, A. M., ESQ., 3 East 89th Street, New York 28, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1939 HURLEY, W., ESQ., 37 Thaxted Road, New Eltham, London, S.E. 9.
- 1946 IRONS, J. K., ESQ., 79 The Drive, Northampton.
- 1946 JACOB, K. A., ESQ., Lynstone, 32 Gilbert Road, Cambridge.
- 1944 JOHNSTONE, DR. E. A., Brunswick House, 121 North Road, Clayton, Manchester.
- 1948 JONES, DORAN A., ESQ., Box 268, Woodsville, New Hampshire, U.S.A.
- 1938 JONES, F. ELMORE, ESQ., 30 Finsbury Square, London, E.C. 2.
- 1948 KAPLAN, DR. ALEC, P.O. Box 132, Germiston, South Africa.
- 1937 KENNEY, L. A., ESQ., Shamrock, Joy Lane, Whitstable, Kent.
- 1951 KEBBELL, M. D., ESQ., 59 Harrow Road, Carshalton, Surrey.
- 1909 KING, H. H., ESQ., M.A., Brookside, North Chapel, Petworth, Sussex.
- 1938 KING, P. I., ESQ., Flat 1, Lamport Hall, Lamport, Northants.

- 1949 LAINCHBURY, A. W., ESQ., Trigmoor, Kingham, Oxon.
- 1949 LARSEN, MR. L. V., 721 Highland Boulevard, Coshocton, Ohio, U.S.A.
- 1947 LAWRENCE, G. W., ESQ., Lyndhurst, 111 Upton Road, Bexleyheath.
- 1904 LEE, E. H., ESQ., 71 Upper Parliament Street, Nottingham.
- 1948 LEE, CAPT. R., Woodgate House, Uttoxeter, Staffs.
- 1904 LEEDS PUBLIC FREE LIBRARIES, The Chief Librarian, Central Free Public Library, Leeds.
- 1905 LEICESTER, THE MUNICIPAL LIBRARIES OF, The Librarian, Leicester.
- 1947 LIDDELL, D. G., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son, 5-7 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
- 1946 LINECAR, H. W. A., ESQ., c/o Spink & Son, 5-7 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
- 1950 LINTON, DR. E. C., Lancaster Court Hotel, 66 Lancaster Gate, London, W. 2.
- 1947 LIVEING, COMMANDER R. G., Westerhouse, The Avenue, Alverstoke, Hants.
- 1922 LONDON LIBRARY, The Chief Librarian, 14 St. James's Square, London, S.W. 1.
- 1933 LONDON LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF, Goldsmiths Librarian, Senate House, Bloomsbury, London, W.C. 1.
- 1915 LONGMAN, W., ESQ., 42 Chelsea Square, London, S.W. 3.
- 1950 LUBRAN, DR. J., Prospect House, Honley, nr. Huddersfield.
- 1945 LYON, C. S. S., ESQ., 15 Ullet Road, Liverpool, 17.
- *1930 MABBOTT, PROF. T. O., PH.D., 27 Washington Square, N., New York, N.Y., U.S.A.
- 1947 MACK, COMMANDER R. P., West House, Droxford, Hants.
- 1904 MANCHESTER, THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, The Librarian, Manchester.
- 1903 MANCHESTER, PUBLIC FREE LIBRARY, The Chief Librarian, Manchester.
- 1945 MANGAKIS, D., ESQ., 7 Esmond Court, Thackeray Street, London, W. 8.
- 1946 MASON, C. L., ESQ., 1 Washington House, Basil Street, London, S.W. 3.
- 1942 MASON, N. B., ESQ., 144 Aldwich Avenue, Toronto, 6, Ontario, Canada.
- 1947 MATTINGLY, H., ESQ., M.A., 3 Mortimer Road, Cambridge.
- 1951 MAYNE, DR. W. A., 191 Bitterne Road, Southampton.
- 1905 MEHL, MR. B. MAX, Fort Worth, Texas, U.S.A.
- 1921 MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, THE LIBRARY OF, c/o H. Sotheran & Co., 2-5 Sackville Street, London, W. 1.
- 1952 MILES, K., ESQ., 28 Nursery Avenue, Onchan, Isle of Man.
- 1932 MITCHELL, D. D., ESQ., 18 Craneford Way, Twickenham, Middlesex.
- 1951 MUNCHEN, The Generaldirektor, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Arcisstrasse 12, Bavaria, Germany.
- 1927 NAPIER, D. S., ESQ., 3 Marchall Road, Edinburgh.
- 1921 NEVIN, J., ESQ., 136 Musters Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham.
- 1916 NEW SOUTH WALES, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, The Librarian, Macquaire Street, Sydney, Australia.
- 1904 NEW YORK LIBRARY, The Librarian, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- 1909 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, The Librarian, c/o Bernard Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, W. 1.
- 1935 NEWNHAM, A. J., ESQ., 35 Frogmore Lane, Lovedean, Hants.

- 1949 NIGHTINGALE, F. B., ESQ., 40 Osborne Road, Jesmond, Newcastle on Tyne.
- 1930 NORWICH CASTLE MUSEUM, The Curator, Norwich.
- 1919 NOTTINGHAM PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The City Librarian, Central Public Library, Sherwood Street, Nottingham.
- 1904 OLDHAM, THE FREE LIBRARY COMMITTEE, The Librarian, Oldham, Lancs.
- 1951 OSBORNE, B. R., ESQ., 26 Church Street, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwickshire.
- 1922 OXFORD, THE ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, The Heberden Coin Room, The Keeper, Oxford.
- 1904 OXFORD, THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, The Librarian, Oxford.
- 1946 PARSONS, O. F., ESQ., 59 Heathville Road, Gloucester.
- 1946 PECK, C. WILSON, ESQ., 31 Vineyard Hill Road, Wimbledon Park, London, S.W. 19.
- 1944 PEGG, H., ESQ., Sunny Nook, Wollaton Road, Beeston, Notts.
- 1945 PERRIN, MRS., Apt. 3, 2673 Bloor Street, W. Toronto 18, Canada.
- 1909 PHILADELPHIA, THE FREE LIBRARY OF, The Librarian, Philadelphia 3, Pa., U.S.A.
- 1951 POWILLS, M. A., 9645 South Leavitt Street, Chicago 43, Illinois, U.S.A.
- 1944 PRIDMORE, F., ESQ., 46 High Street, Skegness, Lincs.
- 1946 PRIESTMAN, A., ESQ., Brougham, Penrith, Cumberland.
- 1945 PRITCHARD, J. R., ESQ., 122 Kensington Park Road, London, W. 11.
- 1945 PRITCHARD, MRS. J. R., 122 Kensington Park Road, London, W. 11.
- 1903 RABY, H., ESQ., Kensington House, Withington, Manchester.
- 1948 RAYNER, P. A., ESQ., 35 Tennyson Road, Harpenden, Herts.
- 1926 READING PUBLIC LIBRARIES, The Chief Librarian, Reading, Berks.
- 1947 READING, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, The Librarian, Reading, Berks.
- †1952 RENFREW, A. C., ESQ., 13 Mandeville Rise, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.
- 1949 RIGOLD, S. E., ESQ., Dept. of Ancient Monuments, Ministry of Works, Lambeth Bridge House, London, S.E. 1.
- 1946 ROBINSON, E. S. G., ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., F.B.A., 89 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1.
- 1938 ROLFE, M. S., ESQ., 16 Chestnut Grove, Southend on Sea, Essex.
- 1950 ROYAL MINT, THE, The Deputy Master, Tower Hill, London, E.C. 3.
- 1947 SCHNEIDER, CAPT. H., 10 Place Leopold, Antwerp, Belgium.
- 1948 SCHULMAN, HANS M. F., 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 17, U.S.A.
- 1922 SEABY, H. A., ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.
- 1945 SEABY, P. J., ESQ., 65 Great Portland Street, London, W. 1.
- 1933 SELLWOOD, P. H., ESQ., 34 Paddock Road, Newbury, Berks.
- *1946 SHRIGLEY, MISS IRENE, M.A., c/o The Institute of Bankers, 10 Lombard Street, London, E.C. 3.
- 1941 SIMPSON, S., ESQ., Spitchwick Manor, Poundsgate, Newton Abbot, S. Devon.
- 1946 SLAYTER, W., ESQ., 63 Westway, Edgware, Middlesex.
- 1946 SMYTH, C. B., ESQ., Greensted, Ashley Road, Farnborough, Hants.
- 1948 SMITH, D. ELLIOTT, ESQ., 50 Moruben Road, Mosman, New South Wales, Australia.
- 1949 SMITH, J. C., ESQ., 75 Nelsons Row, Clapham, London, S.W. 4.
- 1946 SOMERVILLE, D., ESQ., Hillview, Achno Road, Hardgate, Clydebank.
- 1908 SOUTH AUSTRALIA, THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF, c/o The Agent General for Australia, British Industries House, Marble Arch, London, W. 1.
- 1941 SPINK, D. F., ESQ., 5 King Street, St. James's, London, S.W. 1.
- 1947 STEWART, J. R., ESQ., Dept. of History, Sydney University, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

- 1945 STONE, H., ESQ., 14 Chase Court, Chase Road, Southgate, London, N. 14.
- 1937 STRAND, A. S., ESQ., 14 Lismore Road, South Croydon, Surrey.
- 1950 SUTHERLAND, C. H. V., ESQ., M.A., D.LITT., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- 1942 THEOBALD, O. E. C., ESQ., 56 Ulster Gardens, Palmers Green, London, N. 13.
- 1943 THOMPSON, J. C., ESQ., 16 King George V Avenue, King's Lynn, Norfolk.
- 1946 THOMPSON, J. D. A., ESQ., Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- †1945 TIDMARSH, R., ESQ., 132 Kent House Road, Beckenham, Kent.
- 1949 TREVOR, LT.-COL. E. N., Tudor Cottage, 128 Priory Lane, Roehampton, London, S.W. 15.
- 1904 VICTORIA, THE PUBLIC LIBRARY OF, The Librarian, Melbourne, Australia.
- 1931 VIDLER, L. A., ESQ., The Old Stone House, Rye, Sussex.
- 1922 WALES, THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF, The Chief Librarian, Aberystwith, Cardiganshire.
- 1923 WALES, THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF, The Director, Department of Archaeology, Cardiff, Glamorgan.
- *1944 WALLACE, J., ESQ., 40 Temple Place, Morston Road, Blakeney, Norfolk.
- 1938 WATERFIELD, P. G., ESQ., Bishops Hull House, Bishops Hull, Taunton, Somerset.
- 1950 WEIBEL, J., ESQ., c/o Swiss Bank Corporation, 99 Gresham Street, London, E.C. 2.
- *1945 WEST, A. J., ESQ., Springfield, Bookham, Surrey.
- 1946 WHETMORE, S. A. H., ESQ., 4 Sydney House, Bedford Park, London, W. 4.
- 1946 WILLIAMS, B., ESQ., 30 Beeleigh Road, Morden, Surrey.
- 1939 WINSTANLEY, E. J., ESQ., 32 Belsize Grove, Hampstead, London, N.W. 3.
- 1947 WRIGHT, L. V. W., ESQ., 1 Malbrook Court, Malbrook Road, Putney, London, S.W. 15.
- 1937 WRIGHTSON, A. G., ESQ., O.B.E., 5 Ladbroke Terrace, London, W. 11.
- 1909 YALE UNIVERSITY, Newhaven, Connecticut, U.S.A., c/o E. G. Allen & Son, 14 Grape Street, Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.C. 2.
- 1930 YORKSHIRE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, The Curator, Yorkshire Museum, York.
- 1947 YOUDE, CAPT. W. J. C., The Shrubbery, Leacroft, Staines, Middlesex.

THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EXPENDITURE AND INCOME ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31 OCTOBER 1950

EXPENDITURE

INCOME

[illegible]

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31 OCTOBER 1950

[illegible]

WE beg to report to the Members that we have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. No credit has been taken for Subscriptions in arrear. We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers of the Society and are of opinion that subject to the above remark the same is properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Society's affairs, according to the best of our information, and the explanations given to us, and as shown by the Books of the Society.

18 April 1951.

GILBERTS, HALLETT, & EGLINGTON, *Chartered Accountants.*
51 Coleman Street, London, E.C. 2.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXVI

A

- Address, Presidential, 114, 242, 365.
 Aethelred II, Bohemian imitations of, 37.
 —, Polish imitations of, 37.
 —, Scandinavian imitations of, 36.
 —, Hoards of, found in Denmark, 35.
 Aethelwulf, Forged Penny of, by J. D. A. Thompson, 238.
 Alexander of Bruchsal, mint engraver to Henry VIII, 65, 67.
 Alfred, A New Type for, by C. E. Blunt, 213.
 —, Danish imitation of, exhibited, 354.
 —, Penny of *B.M.C.* type X exhibited, 355.
 Allcard, Col., exhibits by, 230.
 ALLEN, D. F., An Irish Find of forged Scottish Coins, 90.
 —, Treasure trove at Henstridge, Somerset, 1936, 91.
 —, — at Kingsley, Stoke-on-Trent, 91.
 —, — at Thorpe Hall, Yorks., 93.
 —, — at Wellington, Shropshire, 1938, 92.
 America, influx of silver from, *temp.* Elizabeth I, 62.
Amethyst, H.M.S., Medals presented to, 108, 119.
 Ancient British coins, from Canterbury, 94.
 —, from Selsey, 230.
 —, from Somerset, 213.
 —, from Sunbury, 339.
 Anlaf, The Coinage and Chronology of the two Anlafs, paper by the Hon. R. W. Erskine, 355.
 Anglo-Saxon coins, some unpublished, by C. E. Blunt, 108.
 ARNOLD, Dr. F. O., The Regnal Attribution of the Initial Mark Sun and Rose dimidiated, 164-70.
 —, exhibits by, 110, 235.
 Ashmolean Museum, 17th-century tokens in, 335.
 Athelstan, unpublished coins of, exhibited, 107, 354.
 Australian Numismatic Society elected to membership, 110.

B

- Bagnall, A. E., exhibits by, 230, 231, 235, 237, 238, 358.
 Balance sheet of the Society, 112, 240, 378.
 Baldwin, A., exhibits by, 100, 101, 105, 228, 232, 236, 338, 356, 358, 360.
 —, views on plated Ormonde Crown, 103.
 Barbarous Imitations of Roman Coins, by Philip Hill, 6 ff.
 —, list of hoards of, 21-27.
 Barber, D. R. W., elected a member, 100.
 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich, elected to membership, 362.
 BLUNT, C. E., An Unpublished Angel of Edward IV, 221.
 —, awarded the Sanford Saltus medal, 359.

- BLUNT, C. E., exhibits by, 105, 106, 108, 227, 231, 235, 236, 237, 354, 356, 357, 362.
 —, A New Type for Alfred, 213.
 —, Presidential address by, 114, 242.
 —, Some Unpublished Early Anglo-Saxon Coins, 108.
 —, The medallic Jetton of Perkin Warbeck, 215.
 Boar's head, initial mark of Edward V, 166.
 Bohemian imitations of Aethelred II pennies, 37.
 Bourgeois, Monsieur Emile, elected a member, 237.
 Bournemouth, coins of Henry I from, 345, 347.
 Bristol Mint (Henry VIII), 56, 236, 314-20.
 —, sovereigns, 78, 317, 320.
 —, half-sovereigns, 317, 320.
 —, crowns, 318, 320.
 —, half-crowns, 318, 320.
 —, testoons, 318, 320.
 —, groats, 318, 321.
 —, half-groats, 319, 321.
 —, pence, 319, 321.
 —, half-pence, 319, 321.
 BROOKE, Christopher, and P. GRIERSON, Round Halfpennies of Henry I, 286.
 Brooke, G. C., *English Coins*, third edition, 1950. reviewed, 222.
 Browne Willis, 17th-century tokens from the cabinet of, 333.
 Burstall, Dr. E., exhibits by, 100.

C

- Cabinet des Medailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, elected to membership, 360.
 Canterbury, Ancient British coin from, 94.
 —, Bath-house, Dark-age coins from, 16.
 'Carausius II', group of barbarous imitations, 13, 14, 15.
 CARLYON-BRITTON, R., exhibits by, 100, 107.
 —, Two unpublished Irish coins, 350.
 CARSON, R. A. G., A Norman Penny from Colchester Castle, 344.
 Carter, Dr. E. C., death of, 233.
 Chamberlain, Thomas, 315, 319.
 Charles I, pattern or proof shilling, initial mark Rose, exhibited, 100.
 —, Piedfort sixpence exhibited, 100.
 —, Scarborough Siege piece for 5s. 8d. exhibited, 102.
 Charles II, silver cliché for Simon's angel, 217.
 —, pattern farthing, 1662-5, 217.
 —, A Ship Type of, by J. D. A. Thompson, 216.
 Clark, Major A., elected a member, 100.
 Cnut, coins of, found in Sweden, 36.
Coin Collecting, by J. G. Milne, C. H. V. Sutherland, and J. D. A. Thompson, reviewed, 222.
Coin Collecting for Beginners, by K. A. Jacob, reviewed, 351.
 Colchester castle, coin of Henry I from, 344.
 Continental imitations of English pennies, 31 ff.
 — of English nobles, 53.

- Cooper, E. H., elected a member, 107.
 Cranmer, Thomas, 58, 197.
 Cromwell, Thomas, King's Secretary, 58, 59, 64.
 —, visitations by, 59.
 Cross & Crosslet, pennies exhibited, 100, 109, 357.
 —, Pennies of the Northampton Mint, by F. Elmore Jones, 232.

D

- D (letter), distinguishing mark on David II coinage, 158, 159, 160.
 Dampier, Count Guy de, sterlings of, 45.
 Danegeld, 35.
 Dark Ages in Britain, Coinage of, by P. V. Hill, 1.
 —, chronology of, 17, 340.
 —, hoards, list of, 21.
 —, social conditions in, 126.
 David II, Distinguishing Marks on Later Issues, by Dr. J. Davidson, 155.
 —, Great Seal of, 158.
 —, relations with English coinage, 155.
 —, variety of portraits, 156.
 DAVIDSON, Dr. J., Some distinguishing marks on the 2nd issue of David II, 155-63.
 Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, elected a member, 238.
 —, views on new British coinage, 359.
 Dobuni, A Coin of the, by H. de S. Shortt, 213.
 DOLLEY, R. H., elected a member, 359.
 —, exhibits by, 361.
 —, Note on forged William III Crown, 361.
 —, Six Coins of Henry I type XIV from an Uncertain Hoard, 345.
 Dorestadum, mint of, 34.
 DOUBLEDAY, G. V., An Unpublished Penny of Henry I type II, 345.
 —, exhibits by, 100, 230, 235, 238, 355, 356, 358.

E

- Eadmer (Canterbury monk), remarks on coinage of Henry I, 287, 288.
 Eadmund, cast of unpublished Penny exhibited, 99.
 Easterlings, the Trail of the, by S. E. Rigold, 31.
 Edred, unpublished coin exhibited, 107.
 Edward the Confessor, rare pennies exhibited, 100, 101, 105, 355, 364.
 Edward the Elder, overstruck coin exhibited, 102.
 —, penny in Saxon brooch exhibited, 234.
 —, unpublished coins exhibited, 107.
 Edward I, unpublished penny type Xa exhibited, 105.
 Edward III, coins exhibited, 105.
 —, unpublished halfpenny of Dublin, 350.
 Edward IV (?), unpublished Canterbury half-groat exhibited, 107.
 —, heavy noble, cast exhibited, 104.
 —, groats from Norham Castle, 348.
 —, unpublished angel, 221.
 Edward V, the initial mark Rose and Sun dimidiated, 164-170.
 Edward VI, The Coinages of, by C. A. Whitton (see also Henry VIII), 56-89, 171-212, 290-332.

- Edward VI, cast of pattern groat exhibited, 102.
 Edwardian types, Scandinavian imitations of, 51.
 —, Low Country imitations of, 45 ff.
 Edwards, R. A., elected a member, 233.
 Edwig, unpublished penny exhibited, 232.
 Elizabeth I, cast of milled shilling initial mark martlet exhibited, 102.
 —, reign of, 59, 62.
 Elst, Charles van der, elected a member, 106.
 ERSKINE, Hon. R. W. H., The Coinage and Chronology of the Two Anlafs, 355.
 —, exhibits by, 107, 354.
 Evans, Sir John, Classification of Base Groats of Henry VIII, 294.
 Evenet, Giles, engraver at the Bristol mint, 316, 318, 319, 320.

F

- Farquhar, Miss H., elected an honorary member, 238.
 Feaveryear, A. E., Light thrown on the Coinage of Henry VIII, 61.
 Ferguson, W. D., elected a member, 101.
 Fifth century, A Coin of, by Mrs. J. R. Pritchard, 362.
 Firth, C. J., elected a member, 233.
 Florin, Centenary of, by H. W. Linecar, 100.
 Forgeries exhibited, 237-8.
 Forrer, L. sen., elected an honorary member 238.
 Forrer, L. S., exhibits by, 99, 238.
 Forster, W., elected a member, 235.
 French, W. C., elected a member, 237.

G

- German imitations of English Short-cross pennies, 40.
 Glendining, D., death of, 361.
 Godesbrand, Saxon and Norman moneyer, note by F. Elmore Jones, 105.
 Gold and Silver Bullion, Smuggling by British Naval Officers, by J. D. A. Thompson, 109.
 Grand ryal of Maximilian, 54.
 GRANT, Col. M. II., exhibits by, 355.
 —, talk on medals, 355.
 Gray, A. P., elected a member, 100.
 —, death of, 236.
 GRIERSON, P. and C. BROOKE, Round Half-pennies of Henry I, 286-9.
 GROVE, L. R. A., An Ancient British Tin Coin from Canterbury, 94.

H

- Hammered coins officially pierced, exhibited, 101.
 Hanham, Sir John, exhibits by, 106, 237.
 Hankinson, J., elected a junior member, 360.
 Harkness, D., elected a member, 99.
 Harold I, coins of, found in Sweden, 36.
 —, unrecorded penny exhibited, 364.
 Hedon near Hull, A New Norman Mint, by F. Elmore Jones, 28.
 Henry I, cutting (nicking) on coins of types VII-XII, 284, 287.

- Sceattas, runic inscriptions on, 139, 253, 258.
 —, standard series, 251.
 —, —, dating of, 260.
 —, —, early versions of, 251.
 —, —, later versions of, 252.
 —, —, key to plates of, 276, 277.
 —, —, metrology and fineness of, 262.
 —, —, 'Porcupine' type of obverse, 254.
 —, —, prototypes of, 251.
 —, —, provenance of, 261, 263, 275.
 —, —, relations between types, 260.
 —, —, type grouping of, 273.
 —, —, variations of reverse type, 257.
 Schneider, H., exhibits by, 232, 357.
 Scottish coins, Irish find of forged, by D. F. Allen, 90.
 SEABY, P. J., A Round Halfpenny of Henry I, 280-5.
 —, exhibits by, 105, 106, 229, 234, 237, 238, 354, 357.
 Seventeenth-century tokens, the Browne Willis cabinet, 333.
 —, —, unpublished, 335.
 Sharp, John, engraver to the mint, 65.
 Sharington, Sir William, Vice-treasurer of the mint at Bristol, 65, 83, 292, 315, 318.
 Short-cross pennies, continental imitations of, 39 ff.
 SHORTT, H. de S., A Coin of the Dobuni, 213.
 Siliquae, clipped, list of hoards, 27.
 Slayter, W., exhibits by, 228, 238.
 Smith, J. C., elected a member, 100.
 Southwark mint, *temp.* Henry VIII-Edward VI, 63, 64.
 Spink, D., exhibits by, 104, 228, 231, 234, 239, 356, 357, 360.
 Stephen, King, unpublished pennies exhibited, 106, 166, 230, 363.
 —, coin of the mint of Hedon, 28.
 —, the mint of Hereford, 231.
 Sterlings, circulation of in Germany, 39 ff.
 —, continental imitations of, 39 ff.
 Streeter, E., death of, 360.
 Sunbury, Early British Tin Coins found at, by H. W. A. Linecar, 339.
 Sutherland, Dr. C. H. V., elected a member, 233.
 —, J. G. Milne, and J. D. A. Thompson, *Coin Collecting*, reviewed, 222.

T

- Tadgell, W. J., death of, 236.
 TAFES, H. W., coins of Henry I from the Bournemouth district, 347.
 —, elected an honorary member, 236.
 —, exhibits by, 229, 232, 234, 236, 237, 354, 355, 356, 358, 362, 364.
 Tealby coinage, *see* Henry II.
 THOMPSON, J. D. A., A Forged Penny of Aethelwulf, 238.
 —, A ship type of Charles II, 216.
 —, Documents Illustrating the Export of Counterfeit Currency to the West Indies, 100.

- THOMPSON, J. D. A., exhibits by, 108, 110, 230, 234, 237.
 —, Some suggestions for a new British coinage, 359.
 —, The smuggling of gold and silver bullion by British Naval officers, 109.
 —, J. G. Milne, and C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coin Collecting*, reviewed, 222.
 Thompson, J. C., exhibits by, 100, 235.
 Thorpe Hall, Yorks., treasure trove at, 93.
 Thrymsas, chronology of, 134.
 Tillesworth, appointed Master of the Canterbury mint, 197.
 Tin coins, Ancient British, 94, 339.
 Tokens, 17th century, unpublished, 333 ff.
 Torr, Adam, Mintmaster of David II, 156.
 Tournai groats of Henry VIII, altered, 189.
 Treasure trove, 90-94.
 Trevor, Lieut.-Col. E. N., elected a member, 99.

V

- Vaughan, Stephen, Under-treasurer at the Tower mint, 63, 64.
 Verulamium theatre, a hoard of minimi at, 10.
 Victoria crosses exhibited, 239, 356.
 Victoria, Queen, a pattern half-florin in gold exhibited, 100.
 Vore, Weber de, elected a member, 105.

W

- Waleran, Archbishop of Cologne, groat of, 52.
 Wallace, W. G., exhibits by, 109.
 —, death of, 361.
 Warbeck, Perkin, medallie jetton of, 215.
 Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, the coinage of, 198, 199.
 Weibel, J., elected a member, 231.
 Wellington, Shropshire, treasure trove at, 92.
 Wells, W. C., death of, 107.
 Wenden-pfennige, 35.
 West Indies, Documents Illustrating the Export of Counterfeit Currency to, by J. D. A. Thompson, 100.
 WHITTON, C. A., elected an honorary member, 110.
 —, exhibits by, 102, 107, 110.
 —, note on unpublished Edward IV (?) Canterbury half-groat, 107.
 —, obituary of, 96.
 —, The Coinages of Henry VIII and Edward VI in Henry's name, 56-89, 171-212, 290-332.
 William I, unpublished penny of type IV of Lewes exhibited, 360.
 —, unpublished penny of type V of Dover exhibited, 107.
 —, unpublished penny of type VIII of Colchester exhibited, 235.
 —, unrecorded pennies from Beaworth find, 236.
 William II, three unpublished pennies of Chichester exhibited, 109.
 —, unpublished penny of Shrewsbury cast exhibited, 232.
 William III, forged crown of 1699 exhibited, 361.

William III, pierced coins, *temp.*, paper by
F. Pridmore, 102.
—, second bust shilling exhibited, 106.
— unpublished York half-crown, 220.
WINSTANLEY, E. J., elected President of the
Society, 239.
—, exhibits by, 101, 110, 234, 236, 350, 361, 363.
—, Presidential address by, 365.
—, Profile groats and half-groats of Henry VII,
106, 361.

Wolsey, Thomas, coinage of, 202-6.
Wriothesley, Thomas, mint engraver to Henry
VIII, 65.
Wulfred, a new type for Archbishop, 343.

Y

YOUDE, Captain W. J. C., exhibits by, 228, 229,
232.
—, The Mint of Hereford for the Period of
Anarchy During the Reign of Stephen, 231.

PRINTED IN
GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
OXFORD
BY
CHARLES BATEY
PRINTER
TO THE
UNIVERSITY

